Fall 1970

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LIFE CYCLE SERIES
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IN MEMORIAM

RAYMOND PAYNE
1919 - 1971

SOCILOGICAL SYMPOSIUM, indebted to Dr. Raymond Payne for his contributions to this Journal, joins with colleagues and friends in an expression of sympathy to his family on his grievous loss.
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Number Eight (Spring 72) THE SOCIOLOGY OF CHILDBIRTH & INFANCY
STUDIES OF WOMEN scientists and career-oriented college girls indicate that they are deviant vis-a-vis normative role expectations and behavior. Does such deviance include higher likelihood of personality maladjustment for career-oriented college women? The hypothesis tested in this study is that no association exists between college maladjustment (measured by the Mt Scale) and career aspiration (measured by a Life Style Index) either for one class of freshman or senior women. Results support the hypothesis with some qualifications. It is concluded that although career aspiring women may have unusual personality profiles, they do not manifest personal maladjustment.

The expanded participation of women in the labor force, especially of college educated women since the 1950's, creates the impression that American women proceed apace towards the man's world of occupational careers. This impression is patently false. The increased work world entrance for adult women at some stages in their lives remains a partial, temporary or intermittent element of a predominantly family-centered orientation. The documentation is substantial that nearly every college graduate will work at some stages in her life; but the proportion of career women with long term commitment to a professional field remains small. (McNally 1968, Rossi 1965) On the contrary, the career woman is relatively rare. And especially career women who enter typically male-dominated occupations (e.g., medicine, law, science, engineering) continue to comprise a minute minority of working women.

The reasons for this situation have been discussed polemically and scientifically. Among the plausible explanations is one which suggests that American norms and values about appropriate sex roles are not conducive to career choices for women. Career women are considered and see themselves as unusual both socially and psychologically. They differ from the norms of "feminine" personality and appropriate female behavior. In studies of scientists, Roe (1951) showed that high intellectual
ability, persistence in work, extreme independence and apartness from others characterized outstanding natural scientists. Although Roe did not specifically distinguish women from men scientists, these characteristics are assumed to typify both. Furthermore, other researchers later confirmed similarly striking differences in ability, personality, and social traits according to chosen field. (Bereiter 1962)

The extensive literature on occupational choice documents the close association between personal characteristics and the features of specific jobs. The process of choosing an occupation is viewed mainly as one of fitting the individual's characteristics to those of the work requirements. (Ginzberg 1951, Holland 1966, Rosenberg 1957) It is assumed that this fitting process can also account for the sex-related quality of some fields. Thus, women with their traits and sex role learning experiences learn to be "feminine" or likeable, to get along with people, to be nurturant, passive, and expressive emotionally. These are not considered qualities which make for persistence and concentration on a career. And girls choosing masculine (or male-dominated) fields can certainly be defined as deviant in terms both of personal characteristics and occupational choice. More than that, the very notion of women as career-oriented suggests deviance from the current normative conception of work as a peripheral limited feature of a woman's adult life.

With the widening choice among several role alternatives, the possible incompatibility of familial roles with career commitments raises the spectre of conflict for women who wish to pursue both interests. (Angrist 1966) Alice Rossi proposes that high career achievement among women in our society is not merely a deviant choice; women career aspirants also differ from the modal pattern of development and interests characteristic of their contemporaries. In other words, women who end up in careers learned to be different in their growing up. (Brown 1962, Ginzberg 1966, Rossi 1967) This proposition finds support in her research on women graduates from 135 colleges: highly career-oriented women were less likely to be married or to have children if married; to show low valuation of family roles; to have begun dating later; to have dated less in high school and college; to enjoy less young children, visiting, relatives, planning and organizing; and to have been consistently higher in reading, study, and solo activities than non-career salient women. (Rossi 1967) Further support for this "deviance hypothesis" (that career women present a personality and social profile atypical for women in general) was found in a study by Almquist (1968) of college women attending a professionally-oriented university. Career-salient women were less often sorority members; less likely to be attached to a male during senior year; more likely to value using their special abilities and having freedom from supervision in a work situation; less likely to value working with people, wanting to help others, and to suit parents' idea of success. But the latter study indicated that deviance alone cannot explain the career-oriented college woman. An alternative hypothesis was also supported that career-salient women have enriching family and college influences involving work role models among parents, relatives, and teachers. (Almquist 1969)

Reliance on a deviance hypothesis to explain women's career-orientation stresses the negative conflicted view of women's roles. If career-oriented women are more
introverted, less sociable, more withdrawn and independent, and from less harmonious family contexts, can they manage successfully in a world which defines them as deviant? Are they destined to experience conflict and maladjustment in trying to reconcile a career with family life? Even if career-salient college women will not ultimately pursue careers, perhaps already at this pre-professional stage they evidence characteristics indicative of deviant adult female roles, of maladjustment or emotional conflict.

This paper extends the deviance hypothesis with the question: Does it include serious personality maladjustment of career-oriented college women? If a college woman's life style choice is to combine a career field with family involvement, is she perhaps courting or already a victim of psychological disturbance? The specific hypothesis tested was that there is no association between career life style aspirations and college maladjustment.

PROCEDURES

The data derive from questionnaires and tests in a longitudinal study of one class attending the women's college of a larger coeducational university. Both the women's college and the university as a whole are known for their vocational-professional curricula. The study class included majors in physical and biological sciences, home economics, social sciences, and humanities. The original class consisted of 188 freshmen of whom fifty-eight percent remained at the college for all four years. Of the continuing four-year group, eighty-seven students or ninety-one percent participated in all phases of the research, and these are the students for whom data are presented, unless otherwise indicated. All the measures to be described were obtained through self-administered forms completed by the study class early in the fall semester of the freshman and senior years.

The measure of life style aspirations derives from questionnaire responses comprising an eleven-item index scored additively and which is internally consistent. The Life Style Index reflects the extent to which a girl foresees work in an occupation as an integral part of her adult life. Respondents high on the Life Style Index are planning to continue education after college, value freedom from close supervision in a work situation, would be willing to work under financial and familial conditions which make work unnecessary or difficult (e.g., husband's salary is adequate and children are pre-schoolers or school age), would want to work at least part-time in a chosen occupation despite not needing to work, and see themselves as career women fifteen years after college. In this research, separate Life Style Indexes are based on early fall freshman and senior questionnaires responses. High career-salient girls are those who scored at the median or above on the Life Style Index.

Maladjustment in college was measured by the College Maladjustment Scale (Mt Scale) developed by Kleinmuntz (1960 & 1961). This is a 43-item scale drawn from the 566-item Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. The test successfully distinguishes maladjusted from adjusted college students in terms of manifestation of
emotional problems. Maladjusted students tend to feel ineffectual, worthless, lack self-confidence, are pessimistic about the future, find life a strain, feel nervous, and worry a lot. A higher Mt score reflects greater maladjustment.

RESULTS

The Pearsonian correlations between life style aspirations and college maladjustment were very low and statistically not significant. As Table 1 shows, no association was found either for freshmen or for seniors between career life style aspirations and maladjustment. In terms of mean scores, Table 2 shows that girls high and low in career orientation do not differ significantly in Mt scores. So the hypothesis is accepted.

| TABLE 1 |
| CORRELATIONS BETWEEN LIFE STYLE INDEX & COLLEGE MALADJUSTMENT SCORES |

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<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Freshmen</td>
<td>$r = -.18$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seniors</td>
<td>$r = -.004$</td>
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Support for this result came from a separate measure of health status. This measure was taken from Rossi’s College Graduate Survey and used with her permission. Students were asked: How would you rate yourself in these two aspects of health? (A) General Physical Health, (B) General Mental-Emotional Health. Response alternatives ranged from 1 to 4 as very good, quite good, quite poor, or very poor, and were scored separately for physical and mental health. For seniors, the correlations between health status and the Life Style Index were $-0.06$ for physical health and $-0.05$ for mental health.

Further support for the lack of association between career-orientation and adjustment is based more indirectly on a work-related measure of personality, the Orientation Inventory. (Bass 1962) Three scales comprise the Inventory to measure the
TABLE 2
MEANS SCORES ON COLLEGE MALADJUSTMENT FOR HIGH & LOW SENIOR CAREER-ORIENTED GROUPS

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Career Orientation</th>
<th>Mean Mt Score</th>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>39</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Critical Ratio Between Means = .50, N. S.

* Based on Life Style Index Scores so that scores at the median and above were considered high career orientation and scores below the median were considered low career orientation.

degree of Self, Interaction, and Task orientation in a potential work situation. Stemming from a theory of interpersonal behavior in organizations, the scales focus on three kinds of work satisfaction: (1) getting the job done or task orientation, (2) having a happy time with others or interaction orientation, and (3) gaining some self-satisfying ends or self-orientation. The correlation coefficients between senior orientation and the senior Life Style Index were -.21 for Self, .27 for Interaction, and -.11 for Task. Again, these are low association levels and fail to achieve statistical significance.

In order to check further on the validity of the absence of difference in Mt scores between career and non-career oriented women, a "harder" behavioral measure was used. Information was obtained from college records as to whether girls in the study class had received counseling during the four college years. Counselors were those who had one or more visits to the university counseling center during that entire period. It was found that thirty-six percent of career oriented girls had been counselors compared with fifteen percent of non-career aspirers. This evidence suggests that perhaps the correlation results between Mt and LSI scores should be questioned despite the small total number of counselors involved.
The absence of maladjustment differences between career and non-career aspirers may mean that our sample is relatively homogeneous and reasonably adjusted. Certainly, the total class scores suggest such an explanation as plausible. The means and standard deviations for the total study class compare closely with those of the criterion adjusted groups reported by Kleinmuntz. While the freshman and senior study classes had mean Mt scores of 14.5 and 14.4, the criterion validation groups of maladjusted students reported by Kleinmuntz (1961) had mean scores of 20.8, 23.1, 28.2. His adjusted criterion group, vocational counseling students, had a mean Mt score of 12.2. Further, for students in the present study, the standard deviations of 7.2 and 6.1 for freshmen and seniors, respectively, suggest clustering of scores around the mean with little extreme dispersion.

The total class average Mt scores did not change between freshman and senior years even though career salience did change noticeably. About one third of the class had shifted from non-career to career aspirations by senior year. And this was true even though thirty-seven percent of career salient women were attached to a male (going steady, engaged, or married) as seniors. This suggests that in the process of making life choices about a male and a career, these girls may have been combining their commitments and fitting them together at least tentatively. (Angrist 1969)

Especially since the university concerned is reputed for its vocational-professional orientation, one could suggest that girls here are not subject to career versus family conflict as they might be at a liberal arts college or larger state university. Perhaps at a vocationally-oriented school, becoming career oriented has a more normative basis.

Now, if we seek to explain the slight discrepancy between the counseling and the maladjustment data, there are several interpretations possible.

First, we may recall that the Mt scale is an indirect measure of personality maladjustment. But seeking counseling is a direct reflection of need for help, information, or guidance. Thus, having sought counseling may mean a girl perceives herself as maladjusted or having problems despite the fact that an objective test shows her not to be more problematic than is normal. Her own perception does not jibe with the objective evaluation.

Or second, seeking counseling may reflect a girl’s desire to understand herself, or to obtain vocational guidance, or help with a dating problem. It need not define the seeker-for-help as maladjusted. Career-oriented girls may thus be the very ones who want to explore their potential and their options in life, both at college and later. Thus, they seek guidance for self-enrichment purposes rather than in order to cope with their deviance.

Still another interpretation would hold that the college period is too early for assessing maladjustment as a function of career interest. Only when a woman actually pursues a career as a central life involvement does her deviant personality develop
strongly. In that sense, the previously mentioned studies of women scientists yield special personality profiles which are not yet evident at earlier stages.

In conclusion, the evidence for career-aspiring girls as maladjusted is small in this study. As social scientists, we may have to look less at conflict, deviance, and maladjustment for career women. Perhaps we need to study the process by which individuals reconcile and mesh their several roles. Furthermore, we need to be cautious before equating sheer personality differences with personality maladjustment.

This article is a revised version of "Health, Personality & Career Aspirations," a paper delivered at the Chatham College Conference on The Double Standard: What is its Influence on Expectations for Mental Health in Women, Pittsburgh, 22 May 1969. This research was supported by the Scaife Fund as part of the Margaret Morrison Carnegie College program on New Ventures in Education for Women, Dean Brwin R. Steinberg, Director. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Institute members during her tenure as Research Affiliate, Radcliffe Institute, Cambridge, and the special assistance of Elizabeth M. Almquist, Ph.D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


SHIRLEY S. ANGRIST (Ph.D., Ohio State) is an associate professor of sociology, School of Urban & Public Affairs, Carnegie-Mellon University. She is co-author of Women After Treatment: A Study Of Former Mental Patients & Their Normal Neighbors (Appleton-Century-Crofts 1968). Her current research includes an investigation of the effects of social and environmental changes on the lives of public housing tenants.
INTRODUCTION

The living arrangements of those in the pre-adult years are undergoing rapid change. No longer do all youth tend to remain in the family of orientation until marriage and the establishment of a new family unit. Noteworthy has been the departure from dormitory to apartment residence among college students during the last five years.

The purpose of this paper is to study the phenomenon of youth living alone as well as other types of living arrangements outside the family system, both in terms of changing incidence and the probable factors influencing them.

The number of households in the United States increased from 53,021,000 in 1960 to 61,806,000 in 1969. Perhaps the most dramatic aspect of this change is that of the increase of 8,785,000 dwelling units, 3,250,000 were One-Person Households. When the U.S. Census was made in 1960, there were 7,074,971 people living alone in their own house, apartment, or other separate dwelling unit. A recently released publication of the United States Census Bureau estimated the number of one-person households to be 10,333,000 in 1969. Thirty-seven percent of all new household formations in the nine-year period between 1960 and 1969 were one-person units. The rate of increase in units occupied by an individual has been steadily rising for many years. In 1940, only 7.7% of all households contained just one person. This percentage increased to 9.3 in 1950 and to 13.3 in 1960. By 1969, census figures show that 16.7% of all housing units in the United States have but a single resident.

The one-in-a-thousand sample of the 1960 census of population is the principal source of data for this study. The tapes for these sample data were secured from the United States Bureau of the Census through the cooperation of the Population Council. The data from the one-in-a-thousand sample were supplemented with regular reports of the Census Bureau, especially for periods other than 1960.
Indications are that approximately half of the current increase in American households can be attributed to individuals living alone, many of whom are in the pre-adult years.

There are two major age segments of the population who reside outside the family system in American society. By far, the most important of these numerically has been older individuals. (Belcher 1967) With increasing age, a large percentage of the population, especially women, have lost a spouse through death or separation, and their children have left the paternal home and established residences of their own, often in other states. Another large group is composed of persons who never got married and have no surviving parents or siblings when they reach advanced age. These elder people have established life patterns that tend to be routinized, and their impact on the structure is relatively minor.

Much more significant to the structure and operation of society is the rapidly increasing proportion of youth who live outside the family system where their style of life is a product of peer group interaction. They comprise the second major group living outside the family system and are the concern of this report.

The data presented in Table 1 show that less than one percent of the children under the age of fifteen live outside the family system. After the age of fifteen, there is a rapid increase from year to year as young people leave the family of orientation. Marriage and the establishment of new families bring sharp reductions in the percentage of people living outside the family system as they enter the adult years. In the thirties, approximately six percent of the population lives in isolation from relatives. The rate is rather stable from this age until the fifties.

Increasing years brings death to most immediate relatives and more and more have living arrangements away from family members. In the most advance ages, four out of every ten people no longer live with relatives.

The primary concern of this analysis is with those in the pre-adult years, which we will consider in this paper to be years 15-24. This is a transitional period into the adult world of marriage and permanent employment for most youth. It is the period in which they leave the family of orientation to establish a family of procreation. However, for an increasing percentage of youth, this is not a direct step but one that lasts several years as youth completes formal education, fulfills military obligations, or enters the civilian labor force.

**THE LIVING ARRANGEMENT CYCLE**

Approximately nine out of every ten Americans live in a household containing close relatives. The norm is for a nuclear family of husband, wife, and offspring to live together in a separate household. There is the assumption by many that the nuclear family is virtually everywhere a common residential unit. (Leslie 1967) Consequently, living arrangements are generally related to stages in the family life
cycle. (Glick & Parke 1965) With an increasing proportion of the population residing outside the family system, a living arrangement cycle (Belcher 1967: 535-36) seems more pertinent for many purposes than the family life cycle. A tentative formulation this model follows.

The living arrangement cycle has the following stages for most people in the United States:

1. The child starts life in the home with the parents where he remains until perhaps age eighteen or graduation from high school. Some leave home because of marriage and directly establish a new household. There is, however, a rapid upsurge in the number occupying group quarters among those aged 15-19. (Table 1)

2. Stage two in the cycle is the transitional period between leaving the home of the parents and the establishment of a new nuclear family living with separate quarters. It is with this transitional stage that this analysis is concerned. A large number of young adults live in group quarters while in military service or attending colleges and universities. At the same time, the incidence of pre-adults occupying group quarters increases, and the number of youth living with non-relatives is rapidly augmented. Residing with a non-relative is typified by two or more young people sharing an apartment while in school or working. This stage tends to be relatively short and probably lasts no more than four or five years for most young people. This stage would lengthen if marriage were delayed or if the person never married.

3. This stage begins when the married couple establishes a separate residence and lasts several decades till the dissolution of the nuclear family after the children have left home or after the death of a spouse.

4. This stage is the new living arrangement established after the dissolution of the nuclear family. At this stage the majority of the one-person households come into being. (Belcher 1967) Widowed people, whose children are old enough to have left home, are much more likely to live alone than with relatives.

5. At this final stage of the living arrangement cycle, the individual is too old to live alone. Those in advance years will either move into the homes of their children or, increasingly, into group quarters where they reside outside the family system.

CAUSAL FACTORS IN CHANGING LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

What are the factors responsible for this increase in the number of youth living outside the family system? Parsons sees a general value orientation in American society:
For young people not to break away from their parental families at the proper time is a failure to live up to expectations, an unwarranted expression of dependency. But just as they have a duty to break away, they also have a right to independence. Hence, for an older couple—or a widow or widower—to join the household of a married child is not, in terms of the kinship structure, a "natural" arrangement. (1943: 37)

His statement, however, does not explain the development of living arrangements outside the family life cycle, because there is the implication that the child remains in the parental home until marriage.

According to Bogue, there has been a change in living arrangements in this nation as a result of economic prosperity and the alleviation of the housing shortages of earlier periods. He notes that living arrangements are more comfortable than ever before in the history of the United States. Fewer people are forced to live as lodgers or in secondary families in other homes. Families no longer have to double in one household. The number of secondary families is now small and decreasing rapidly. (Bogue 1959: 260-62) He also points out that there has long been an increase in the number of people living alone or with non-relatives. "Improved economic conditions permit many unmarried young people to live in their own apartments rather than as lodgers in private households." (Bogue 1959: 260)

Considerable evidence indicates that much of this movement into separate living quarters reflects a more basic factor in American society than economic prosperity. For example, Beresford & Rivlin (1966: 421) state that the typical American places a high value on a separate dwelling unit through which privacy can be secured. "At all age levels," they write, "individuals and nuclear families have succeeded in obtaining not only more housing and better housing, but housing separate from other people." In their analysis of the living arrangements of the young in the United States, Beresford & Rivlin indicate that since World War II, young people are more apt to participate in the labor force, to remain in school, as well as to get married in comparison with those in earlier generations. Employment, marriage, and college education have meant leaving the home of parents to establish a new dwelling. These authors assume the major motivation to be a desire for privacy. (1966: 422-27)

Many of the new households since World War II have been established by young couples as the average age at marriage steadily declined. However, the trend in the average age at marriage has reversed and has been slowly increasing for about a decade. There are indications that the age at first marriage will continue to increase, especially if the nation's economy is not robust. Youths who have attended college, been in service, or lived away from home for any other reason are unlikely to return to live with their parents. They may feel they lack the money for marriage, but do have the resources to maintain a separate dwelling unit. Few young occupants of one-person households have ever been married. Even a severe economic setback may not slow the establishment of one-person households as the post-war generation approaches maturity. There may be little construction of new homes for families, but there can
be several one-person units built at relatively little cost in old residences near the central business district.

ANALYSIS OF CENSUS DATA

Living arrangements of individuals can be ascertained by examining census data on the relationship of a person to the head of a household. According to the census:

A household consists of all the persons who occupy a housing unit. A house, an apartment or other group of rooms, or a single room is regarded as a housing unit when it is occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters.

The head of the household is the member reported as the head by household members. However, if a woman living with her husband is reported as the household head, the census classifies the husband as the head in its tabulations.

For the purposes of this analysis, those individuals reported as the head of households containing more than one person plus wives, children, parents, or other relatives are considered to be living within the family system, that is, with relatives. Those classified as the heads of one-person households, living in group quarters or non-relatives are considered as living outside the family system. This procedure minimizes the number of people living outside the family system because a small percentage of heads of households with two or more members are composed of non-relatives. This number is too small to significantly affect the analysis.

Table 1 shows the living arrangements of the population of the United States in 1960 by age. A tendency may be noted for pre-adults to leave home and reside outside the family system. The percentage with such living arrangements reaches a high point about the age of twenty, then declines as marriage takes place and new family dwelling units are established. This phase of the living arrangement cycle has been characterized by life in group quarters and residence in households with non-relatives. These rates decline rapidly before starting a new ascent in the mid-thirties.

In the pre-adult years, a few do start living outside the family system in one-person households. The incidence reaches a plateau in the early twenties and continues until about the age of forty. From this age there is a steady increase in the one-person households as well as in living in group quarters and in households with non-relatives.

Not all segments of the population live outside the family system in the same proportions. Table 2 shows the percentage of the population living alone, with non-relatives, or in group quarters for single years of age by color and sex. Most youths graduate from high school about eighteen years of age. The percentage of young people residing outside the family system increases from 5.2% of those seventeen years of age to 19.4% of those eighteen years of age and reaches 23.6% for those nineteen years of age.
These rates are influenced by youth starting to college and starting military service. Three out of every ten white male youth nineteen years of age do not live with relatives. This proportion drops to one out of ten at age twenty-four. Among non-white males, the pattern is different as more in the younger ages live with non-relatives than for other segments of the population. The incidence of non-whites living outside the family system does not increase as suddenly as with white males. The proportion reaches one in five about age twenty and remains at that level for several years.

Among white females, almost one in five of those eighteen and nineteen years of age lives away from family members, but the rates are low for fifteen year olds and twenty-four year olds in comparison with other groups. The pattern for non-white females is similar to that of the white girls except that the incidence of living outside the family system does not peak as much during the college ages nor does it decline so much.

There has been a somewhat greater tendency for non-white youths than for white to establish one-person households and to live with non-relatives. (Table 3) Young males, both white and non-white, live in group quarters while serving in the armed forces and (especially whites) while attending college.

Table 4 supplements the information in Table 1 by showing the living arrangements of all youths by single years of age. It may be noted that group quarters are characteristic of youth not living with relatives. The one-person households and those residing with non-relatives become more numerous with advancing ages.

From the evidence presented, it could be concluded that life outside the family system among youth is largely attributable to military service, college enrollment, and being an inmate of a correctional institution or a patient in a hospital. However, another series of tabulations showing the living arrangements of youth by residence, marital status, and education indicates there are other situations than group quarters to be considered.

In general, the more urban the place of residence, the larger the proportion of youth living outside the family system. Only one rural-farm youth in fifty lives outside the family system. (Table 5) There are definite increases in the incidence of one-person households and those composed of non-relatives with increasing urbanization. On the other hand, college campuses, penal institutions, mental hospitals, and military bases tend to be located in rural non-farm areas or small cities. The significance of these figures is that the increasing urbanization of the United States could be a causative factor in the creation of one-person households and the development of households composed of non-relatives.

Advanced education seems conducive to living outside the family system (Table 6), although a very high percentage of youth with either no or very little formal education share group quarters. It may be assumed that these numbers reflect the patients in hospitals for the mentally ill. Still, in general, the lower the level of
educational attainment, the more youth continue to live within the family system.

Those who have attended college, many of whom were still enrolled when the census was made, live away from the family of orientation. Over one-fourth were in group quarters, but 6.1% lived alone or with non-relatives. Among those young people who have graduated from college, some of whom were in graduate or professional schools at the time of the census, 17.3% lived with non-relatives or alone and another 13.7% in group quarters. Less than one in five lived with his parents. Youths tend to leave home in order to get a college education. There are indications they do not return when this education is completed.

Marital status is a very important determinant of living arrangements. Marital status is a very important determinant of living arrangements. Very few married individuals live outside the family system (2.6%). This percentage can be largely attributed to military service where the husband lives in group quarters and his wife is forced to reside elsewhere, perhaps alone or with non-relatives.

Among youths who have lost their spouses, thirty percent live with non-relatives. Less than one third (32.0%) of the widowed return to the home of their parents. Many divorced and separated persons live with parents (46.9%), but 22.0% live outside the family system.

By far, the majority of youths have never been married; however, 15.1% live outside the family system. This percentage, of course, steadily increases with age until marriage. It was noted previously that the age at marriage in the United States had been slowly increasing for about a decade. Further increases in the age at marriage may be expected to result in a larger percentage of youth living outside the family system, especially with an increase in the incidence of one-person households and those composed of non-relatives.

CONCLUSIONS

A changing value system with the urbanization of the population, higher levels of educational attainment for youth, and potential delays in marriage may all be expected to bring a continuation of the increasing numbers of youth residing outside the family system. As a consequence, youths will be increasingly influenced by peers rather than by the family.

Nearly a generation ago, it was noted that adolescents tend to live in a world of their own, although very much influenced by the status position of their parents. (Hollingshead 1949) Now there is increasing evidence that a distinctive youth culture is developing which logically may result in new patterns of living arrangements. Eisenstadt has pointed out that in all societies, age groups are formed at the transitional stage between adolescence and full adulthood through which members develop their identity and self-evaluation. (1956: 183-84) However, in industrialized societies, where the family or other kinship group does not constitute the main unit in the division of labor, the individual must learn various role dispositions outside the family.
These age groups usually form during the period of transition away from the family of orientation. (Eisenstadt 1956:270)

Berger & Neuhaus take the argument a step further and state that a youth culture is found in all advanced industrialized societies and has deep roots in the fundamental structure of such societies. (1970:32) The structure results in a lengthened period between childhood and adulthood. (1970:33) They state that this youth culture is strongly communalistic, always in quest of what sociologists call Gemeinschaft. (1970:38) Lofland predicts the creation of Youth Ghettos near the inner core of cities in our increasingly age-structured society. (1970:756-78)

There are strong indications that our society will witness the creation of more and more one-person households by youth as well as households of non-relatives. There is evidence that college and university students are leaving the supervision of group life in dormitories to live in separate households. Future census will make possible the assessment of these trends and their impact on the structure and functioning of society. Certainly, one must conclude that the transitional stage in the living arrangements cycle by those in the pre-adult years must be acknowledged.

Tables & Bibliography Follow
# Table 1

Living Arrangements in the United States, 1960: Relationship to Household Head by Age (Percentages)

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<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
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<th>Child Of Household Head</th>
<th>Other Relatives Of Household Head</th>
<th>Percentage Of Total Population</th>
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Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population

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<th>Age</th>
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<th>Non-Relatives Of Household Head</th>
<th>Group Quarters</th>
<th>One Person Household</th>
<th>Percentage Of Total Population</th>
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<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
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Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
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Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
TABLE 3

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF YOUTH
RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY COLOR & SEX
(Percentages)

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<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Persons Within The Family System</th>
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<tr>
<td>White Males</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Females</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Males</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Females</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
TABLE 3 (Continued)

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<td>White Females</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
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Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
### Persons Outside The Family System

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<th>Group Quarters</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>2,779</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>2,901</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>2,891</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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</table>

Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
TABLE 5

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF YOUTH
RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY RESIDENCE (Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Head Of Household</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Grandchild</th>
<th>Other Relatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cities Of 100,000 Plus</td>
<td>6,841</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities Of 10,000-99,999</td>
<td>6,308</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities Of 2,500-9,999</td>
<td>2,238</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Areas Outside Cities</td>
<td>1,226</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Non-Farm</td>
<td>5,827</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Farm</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
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</table>

Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population

Continued
### TABLE 5 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>One Person Household</th>
<th>Non-Relative</th>
<th>Group Quarters</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cities Of 100,000 Plus</td>
<td>6,841</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>0.3</td>
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<tr>
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Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
TABLE 6
LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF YOUTH RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY EDUCATION (Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Head Of Household</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Grandchild</th>
<th>Other Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>637</td>
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<td>21.3</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended College</td>
<td>2,459</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>6,581</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended High School</td>
<td>10,281</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Grades 5-8</td>
<td>3,840</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Grades 1-4</td>
<td>374</td>
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<td>13.6</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>No Schooling</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
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Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
### TABLE 6 (Continued)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Education</th>
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<th>One Person Household</th>
<th>Non-Relative</th>
<th>Group Quarters</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended College</td>
<td>2,459</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attended High School</td>
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<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Grades 1-4</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Schooling</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
### Table 7

**LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF YOUTH RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY MARITAL STATUS**

(Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Head Of Household</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Grandchild</th>
<th>Other Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>7,363</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced &amp; Separated</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>16,511</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population

Continued
TABLE 7 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>One Person Household</th>
<th>Non-Relative</th>
<th>Group Quarters</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>7,363</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
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<td>12.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced &amp; Separated</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>16,511</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: One-In-A-Thousand Sample of the 1960 Census of Population
BIBLIOGRAPHY


John C. Belcher (Ph.D., Wisconsin) is a professor of sociology, University of Georgia. In 1969, Mr. Belcher served as a visiting professor, University of Puerto Rico (Spring semester) and as a consultant in rural sociology, United Development Program in the Dominican Republic (May-November). He has recently published papers in Carribbean Studies (October 1969) and Phylon (Fall 1970), and co-edited a chapter in Sociology Of Underdevelopment (Copp Clark 1970). His current research includes studies on style of life and human fertility.
THIS PAPER examines the proposition that variation in dress and hair styles on a university campus reflects variation in attitudes toward social change, or Radicalism. Results indicate that the examined student body can be grouped in four basic dress styles which appear to express varying degrees of radicalism, but that the predictability of an individual's radicalism from his dress style is low. Individuals appear to be importantly influenced in what they express through dress styles by what they perceive the position of their reference group to be.

Many social scientists have supported the idea that clothing and hair styles are related to other social and cultural factors. Veblen's leisure class of Americans still appears to be consuming clothing conspicuously. (1934) From his classic study of dress, Kroeber observed that "(periods of considerable variability in dress) were also periods of marked socio-political instability and churning." (1948: 334) Hoebel states that a chief function of hairdressing and clothing is status identification or "symbolic advertising of social positions." (1966: 268) Linton gives a rationale for such advertising: "(Clothing) makes it possible for a stranger to determine at once the social category to which the wearer belongs and thus avoid acts or attitudes toward him which would be social errors." (1936: 416) Linton's reasoning fits well with Wallace's recent model of culture as organization of diversity. (1961) This model would suggest that dress and hair styles are used to facilitate prediction of behavior between persons who do not share the same view of the social situation.

Recently in American culture, styles of dress and hair among young people have been a topic of considerable discussion. A case involving violation of a high school dress code has gone to the Supreme Court. A widely observed billboard campaign proclaims: Help Make America Beautiful--Get A Haircut! Considerable newsprint has been devoted to discussions of the Hippy dress style and the subcultural pattern's presumably linked to it. Central to much of this discussion is the assumption that
hippies and well-dressed students form opposite poles of a continuum which is directly related to radicalism, hippies being the most radical and well-dressed persons the least radical.

The impetus for this present investigation came a year ago when, in moving from a major state university to a private religious one, I suffered a mild case of culture shock. At the private university, the students appeared to be more well-dressed--boys wearing ties, girls wearing expensive clothes--than those at the state school. Some would still be designated as Hippies, but they were fewer than those at the previous school. As a means of "sounding out" my new environment, I engaged my Culture & Personality class in the investigation of the relationship between dress styles and radicalism.

METHOD

First, it was necessary to operationalize the dress styles concepts. Four basic styles were selected:

1. Well-Dressed / Fashionable Clothes: Ties for boys; boy could be classified Well-Dressed without tie if he wore sports-coat, medallion, and so forth. Heels and expensive clothes for girls; color coordination counted fairly significantly for girls.
2. Conventional / Joe or Mary College Look: Not well-dressed; not hippy.
3. Conventional With Extra Hair: Joe College look with beard, moustache, sideburns, or extra long hair; Mary College look with straight hair hanging down to or below the shoulders.
4. Hippie / Extra Hair (as noted above): Including what is called Bizarre attire--brightly-colored, bell-bottom trousers, army fatigues, and so forth.

We checked the reliability of our ratings using these definitions by requesting each student in the class to count the number of persons of each dress style who attended each of his other classes. Several students shared other classes. By examining these independent ratings of the same class, it was possible to compute our reliability--about seventy percent. Much of the disagreement appeared to come from borderline cases. In all further ratings of a person's dress style, raters ignored such cases. Thus, the reliability of the dress style ratings used here is presumably greater than seventy percent.

Second, we measured the radicalism of persons in each of the dress styles. For this the Eysenck Social Attitude Inventory was employed. (Eysenck 1957) Developed in England, this test discriminated among Liberals, Conservatives, Socialists, Communists, and Fascists. In addition to ranking persons on radicalism to conservatism, it ranks them on tough to tender-mindedness.
As a final data-gathering project, the class designed and administered a questionnaire to a sample of over one hundred students in the four dress styles. Included were a number of questions concerning background and interests, an opportunity for the subjects to rate themselves on radicalism to conservatism, and a test of radicalism constructed by the students. In the test, radicalism is defined as a general desire for social change of the sort Eysenck associated with radicalism. The subjects were ranked according to the number of items concerning change they agreed with.¹

RESULTS

Major results obtained from the study are presented in the accompanying tables.²

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

One important negative result is worth mentioning. There were no significant differences among the dress styles on Eysenck's tough to tender-mindedness continuum. Eysenck used this measure to distinguish English Liberals as tender-minded from Fascists and Communists as tough-minded. This is an indication that none of these dress-style groups believes in violence more than any other. Making an analogy between hippies and communists, or well-dressed students and fascists, would appear to be misleading.

As can be seen from Table 1, Eysenck's test discriminates hippies from well-dressed quite well, but does not indicate that conventional and conventional-plus-hair styles are very different on radicalism. The results of our test (Table 2) and those of the subjects' self ratings (Table 3) discriminate better between these groups. Table 4 shows that the subjects' reports on whether or not they had attended a student demonstration confirm behaviorally the three measures of radical attitudes. Consistency over the four measures gives fairly firm support to the idea that the dress styles are indeed ranked along a continuum of increasing radicalism from well-dressed to conventional to conventional-plus-hair to hippy.

Although there is consistent support for the hypothesized relationship between dress styles and radicalism, the support is based on mean scores. Considerable overlap in ranges of variation is evident in Tables 1-3. One can further speculate to what degree differences in radicalism from differences in dress style are predictable.

¹ A weakness in the construction of this test should be noted. Affirmative answers were always counted as radical, thus the test was subject to acquiescence set.

² Fluctuating N's in the tables arise from two sources. First, different samples were used for the Eysenck test and the questionnaire. Second, some subjects did not answer all items in the questionnaire.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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Means:  
- Well-Dressed: 7.1  
- Conventional: 8.4  
- Conventional Plus Hair: 8.9  
- Hippie: 12.2  

Coefficient Of Association: .54
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</table>

**TABLE 2**

**DRESS AS COMMUNICATION**
### TABLE 3

**DRESS STYLES & SELF RATING OF RADICALISM (1968)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Well-Dressed</th>
<th>Conventional</th>
<th>Conventional Plus Hair</th>
<th>Hippie</th>
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</thead>
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<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Very Radical</td>
<td>1 2.8</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>3 10.0</td>
<td>4 16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical</td>
<td>11 30.5</td>
<td>15 45.5</td>
<td>17 56.6</td>
<td>19 79.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>16 44.3</td>
<td>13 39.4</td>
<td>7 23.3</td>
<td>1 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>7 19.4</td>
<td>5 15.6</td>
<td>3 10.0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Conservative</td>
<td>1 2.8</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Means:**
- Well-Dressed: 5.6
- Conventional: 6.5
- Conventional Plus Hair: 8.0
- Hippie: 10.1

**Coefficient Of Association:** .60

### TABLE 4

**RESPONSE TO QUESTION: HAVE YOU ATTENDED A STUDENT DEMONSTRATION?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Well-Dressed</th>
<th>Conventional</th>
<th>Conventional Plus Hair</th>
<th>Hippie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18 50.0</td>
<td>17 51.5</td>
<td>22 73.3</td>
<td>22 91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18 50.0</td>
<td>16 48.5</td>
<td>8 26.6</td>
<td>2 8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coefficients of association (Freeman's theta in Freeman 1965) indicate that we will be right fifty-four percent of the time with Eysenck's test, forty-four percent with our test, and sixty percent with the self ratings. The best one can do, therefore, is only slightly better than even odds.

Four measures of radicalism consistently indicate group differences, yet predictability of radicalism from dress is low. An explanation for this derives from the observation that well-dressed students tend to interact with others well-dressed, and hippies with other hippies. If, in addition to individual attitudes, subcultural affiliation is involved in what is advertised through the dress styles, it might be postulated that dress styles are correlated with variables other than political radicalism-conservatism.

In selecting their favorite form of music from seven choices, a majority of the subjects chose either Popular or Folk. As indicated in Table 5, the well-dressed and conventionally dressed groups prefer Popular music, the conventional-plus-hair and hippie groups prefer Folk. This indication of a wide variety of consistent differences in attitudes and interests between the groups suggests that what is communicated by these dress styles are general subcultural orientations rather than merely specific political attitudes. Such communication would serve to give students an edge over randomness in meeting and interacting with others who share their general attitudes, interests, and values. Furthermore, it would serve to avoid some clashes of these attitudes, interests, and values between students whose general orientations are greatly divergent. Dress styles may thus serve the function of enabling a diversity of viewpoints to co-exist in a social system. From a social-evolutionary point of view, this characteristic would seem especially important to social systems undergoing change.

### TABLE 5

**DRESS STYLES & MUSIC PREFERENCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Well-Dressed</th>
<th>Conventional</th>
<th>Conventional Plus Hair</th>
<th>Hippie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
<td>(N) (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk</td>
<td>7 12</td>
<td>6 21</td>
<td>10 37</td>
<td>8 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular</td>
<td>14 33</td>
<td>14 48</td>
<td>6 12</td>
<td>3 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>21 50</td>
<td>9 31</td>
<td>11 41</td>
<td>9 45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hippy and conventional-plus-hair styles appear to be becoming more popular on the campus where this study was conducted. An important question is whether the association with radicalism is weakening as a higher proportion of the students assume these dress styles. Data collected one year following the major study (Table 6) indicate that the association is not weakening, that the increasing popularity of the dress styles indicates the expansion of a subculture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRESS STYLES &amp; SELF RATING OF RADICALISM</strong> (1969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Radical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Conservative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUMMARY & SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

The data assembled in this study indicate that those who argue that dress and hair styles communicate attitudes and social positions are correct in general but that at least in the examined instance predictability from the dress and hair styles is low. Furthermore, it appears that messages communicated through dress importantly involve the reference group of the communicator as well as his own position.

Two areas not investigated in this study would seem especially important for future work. First, it would seem that some persons are more likely to engage in this "symbolic advertising" than others. Personality variables might profitably be examined in this regard. Second, some social situations would be more likely to foster this than others. It would seem limited to large impersonal societies. But within such societies some groups are more susceptible than others. College students are
presumably more free to express themselves than other groups; but even among students, some campuses probably foster communication through dress and hair styles more than others. In both of these areas, the theory which guided this investigation would appear to continue to be relevant: Communication of social position through personal appearance facilitates prediction of behavior and thus enables a diversity of viewpoints to co-exist in a social system.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of his students enrolled in Culture & Personality, Fall 1968, and of Barbara Grove, who replicated part of the study in 1969. This article is a revised version of "Campus Dress Styles As Communications," a paper delivered at the Sixty-Eighth Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, 21 November 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


JOHN M. BREGENZER (Ph. D. Candidate, Minnesota) is an assistant professor of anthropology, Dayton University. A one-time Baker Scholar at Carleton College, Mr. Bregenzer is currently writing his dissertation on the nature of adaptation to change occurring on South Eleuthera, Out-Island Bahamas. He has presented papers at meetings of the Minnesota Academy of Science, the Central States Anthropological Society, the Ohio Academy of Science, and the American Anthropological Association. His publications include the edited Quantitative Studies In Anthropology (Simon & Schuster 1969).
It is difficult to know exactly where to place the undergraduate college experience in the life cycle of Americans. In the present collection of monographs, it is placed in a period called Pre-Adulthood. In other works, it is considered a part of early maturity. Appropriately identifying this phase of the life cycle is difficult because the growth of the college undergraduate normally crosses the line from pre-adulthood to early maturity.

Higher education is part of the socialization process whereby persons develop attitudes and attributes compatible with complex social structure. This development enables persons to manage multiple roles in a pluralistic, hierarchical, and functionally differentiated society. Accordingly, the college is viewed as a student processing agency. This paper is an examination of the following question: In what ways do students change as a result of their college experience and what accounts for these changes?

STUDENT ECOLOGY DEFINED

The concept Environment has emerged as a relevant category for collecting and sorting out the many sources of influence operating within the world of the college student. The term Student Ecology, in turn, has become a convenient label identifying courses of study which survey the theory and research on the impact of college life on students.

Ecology is the study of the relationship of organisms or groups of organisms to their environment. (Hawley 1950:3) It is a sociological truism, furthermore, that the environment effects human behavior.

The College Environment constitutes every factor providing potential stimuli for the student, every factor capable of changing the student's sensory input. Astin categorizes four consequences of changes in college students' sensory input. (1967:3-4)
These changes may effect the following:

1. Change in the student's immediate subjective experience.
2. Temporary or situational change in the student's overt behavior.
3. Lasting or relatively permanent change in the student's experience.
4. Lasting or relatively permanent change in the student's behavior.

The first environmental effect pertains to subjective reactions to newly perceived and experienced situations. If a student perceives a college to have high academic standards, he may greet the college experience initially with anxiety about possible failure, a sense of academic competitiveness with other students, intellectual aggressiveness, pride in the institution, or feelings of inferiority.

The second environmental effect, following from the first, may pertain to the relative use of time--study versus social activities, for instance. Much time in the library, however, may introduce a new subjective experience of loneliness to which the student adjusts with situational changes increasing his social activities. These first two environmental effects create a variety of chains of behavior leading in many directions, depending largely upon the introduction of new stimuli.

The third and fourth environmental effects pertain to the long term impact of the college experience. The third effect concerns change in the student's self-concept, attitudes and world-view--what some might call maturity. The fourth effect includes learned behavior patterns later manifested in competing with fellow employees on the job; or, the arousal of social consciousness may continue to express itself in terms of community involvement mediated through civic, religious, or political groups.

Goals expressed in college catalogues usually focus upon the student's character development and intellectual growth (third and fourth environmental effects), whereas students themselves may regard these as remote and may rather concern themselves with the forces of their immediate environment (first and second environmental effects).

Astin, attempting to avoid the extreme determinism implied in this approach, defines the college environment in terms of potential stimuli; he operationally defines environmental stimuli as "any behavior, event, or other observable characteristic of the institution capable of changing the student's sensory in-put, the existence or occurrence of which can be confirmed by independent observation." (1967:5)

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN STUDENT ECOLOGY

The study of environmental effects on college students is subject to methodological traps. Cross-sectional studies comparing freshmen and seniors in the same survey are particularly vulnerable when student change is inferred from differences
between freshmen and seniors. Shifts in the characteristics of more recent incoming student cohorts can produce false inferences of change from cross-sectional comparisons. Attrition creates its own problems in these studies as well, since students who do not remain in school are likely to be different in some important ways from those who do. These potential drop-outs are over-represented among the freshmen, but under-represented among the seniors.

Even longitudinal studies in which the same students are surveyed at two points in time have their own interpretation problems. When freshman-senior comparisons are made, they often mask different kinds of college impact on students. For instance, if one is asking whether students become more or less materialistic in job orientation as they pass through college, general comparisons at two points in time may not show much change. In fact, some will probably have become more materialistic and some less. A great deal of change can average out to appear to be exactly none. It is far better to separate those who have declined in some characteristic over time from those who have increased and work backward, controlling for likely environmental influences until salient concomitants of change are determined, and better yet if they have been hypothesized.

The stimulus provided by obtrusive testing over a period of time, instrument decay, and other reliability problems raise questions which are difficult to answer without the use of control groups.

Finally, there is the nagging apprehension that the change one turns up in cross-sectional or longitudinal comparisons may simply reflect maturational changes in persons of the same age (non-college populations and students alike). (Bereiter 1962; Feldman & Newcomb 1969: ch. 3; Sasse 1966)

THE COLLEGE YEARS

Feldman & Newcomb (1969:326) review the rather substantial literature on the sequence of experiences in college and conclude that "freshman-to-senior changes in several characteristics have been occurring with considerable uniformity in most American colleges and universities, in recent decades."

What does this sequence look like from year to year? Pre-freshmen are involved in a certain amount of anticipatory socialization prior to actually entering college. They are likely to overestimate the academic emphasis of the college environment and likely also to have unrealistically high expectations of academic success. Once there, however, adaptation is the rule. Freshmen who arrived on the scene with exaggerated and unrealistic expectations after the first year either drop out or recover from their anticipatory excitement. The result of the recovery is commonly a sophomore slump. Most accept more realistic levels of academic aspiration. During the latter part of the sophomore year and the junior year, students tend to strive for more short-range goals: interpersonal satisfactions, achievement in campus organizations, the development of personal interests, skills, and relationships.
Seniors, who are by now less naive about the real world outside, begin to disengage emotionally from the college environment as they look forward to careers.

The rate of change in students' attitudes and orientations seems to be fairly even through the college experience. The shock-effect of the first semester does not seem to speed it up, nor does the sophomore slump seem to retard it.

In what ways do students seem to change in most colleges? The literature verifies a steady decline in authoritarianism and conservatism toward public issues during the college years. This trend is uniform but not universal. Seniors, as a rule, do not revert to earlier attitudes when approaching graduation and the non-college world. (Feldman & Newcomb 1969:102-03)

BETWEEN COLLEGE VARIANCE

When looking at the general trends, it is easy to forget that there are great differences between colleges. Factors such as entrance requirements, amount of student fees, quality of faculty, distance to the nearest metropolitan area, nature of the degrees and programs offered, and the size of the institution are but a few factors separating colleges from one another. One can speak of colleges and students in general, noting certain broad trends resulting from the fact that colleges have some things in common. However, the variation between colleges is pronounced enough to sound a loud caveat to those who would generalize from one campus to all.

The college image is likely to be a factor in selecting different types of students. Students with higher economic and education levels in their family backgrounds and who are therefore equipped to perform at higher academic levels are more likely to select private universities first, public universities second, then teachers colleges, and junior colleges and community technical schools last. The reverse ordering is seen in the selection of students from family backgrounds with low educational and economic levels. Since family background is correlated with the degree of authoritarianism, intellectual disposition, and political liberalism of incoming students, student bodies from community colleges to private universities differ in these characteristics as well.

Student body characteristics are not the only differences between institutions. Different colleges actually confront students with different environments. Teachers colleges and state technical colleges are likely to have a greater influence of a practical nature, selective private liberal arts colleges are likely to have a greater intellectual and scholarly influence, and small denominational colleges will tend to have a greater religious influence. Student recruitment and college environment are mutually reinforcing, since faculty influences are adapted to the capacities and aspirations of their students. (Feldman & Newcomb 1969:144-45)

The better the "fit" between incoming students and the college environment, the greater the impact of the college. Feldman & Newcomb (1969:331-32) conclude:
The conditions for campus-wide impacts appear to have been most frequently provided in small, residential four-year colleges. These conditions probably include homogeneity of both faculty and student body together with opportunity for continuing interaction, not exclusively formal, among students and between students and faculty.

It must be remembered at this point that college impacts are conditioned by the personality and background of the students. Students vary in the degree to which they are open to change. A series of not-too-threatening discontinuities experienced by the student, enough to stimulate and challenge, but not dis-orient, provide the basis of strong college impact.

WITHIN COLLEGE VARIANCE

What does the college environment look like? In emphasizing the differences between colleges, the impression may have been left that colleges manifest a single environment to which students are exposed during their college years. This is almost never the case, however. A more relevant question is: What environments operate within the college and what are their dimensions? The potential environmental stimuli may be grouped in a number of ways so that analytical models of different sub-environments may be developed. Some of those most commonly discussed in the literature are reviewed below.

(1) THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

College planners have in the last two decades come to understand more clearly the implications of physical environment for college impact. In planning college expansion programs, attention is being given on many campuses to the internal arrangements of living quarters for students, the location of buildings and parking facilities and walkways, since it is painfully apparent that physical structures hinder or channel human interaction.

(2) THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE COLLEGE MAJOR

The structure of academic major programs often differs from one school to another within the same college. In the arts and sciences, the major program is likely to be pyramidal, concentrated in the last two years of the student's undergraduate career. This gives the student maximum faculty exposure toward the end of his college experience. In engineering, nursing, and other professional schools, however, the major program is likely to be rectangular, with major courses required each of the student's eight or ten semesters. The impact of the major environment is likely to be conditioned by the structure of the program, therefore, independently of its content.

Research on the impact of a college major has tended to support the position
that different major fields selectively recruit students with certain initial differences, then tend to accentuate these distinctives. (Huntley 1965) The effect of the college major field upon its students is likely to be stronger in large universities where it is more difficult to identify with the entire institution, but this is probably characteristic of several sub-units, not the major field alone. (Feldman & Newcomb 1968: 93-94)

(3) THE ENVIRONMENT OF RESIDENCE GROUPINGS

It is argued that students influence one another through peer group pressure, and that residence groupings mediate this influence since such groupings provide an important basis of contact. So far as actual research is concerned, however, residence groupings are so heterogeneous, fraternities and sororities excepted, that it is difficult to determine if they are an important environmental factor.

Members of Greek-letter groups tend to be different from members of other residence groupings in certain demographic characteristics. They more often come from higher social and economic backgrounds. In some studies, they are more conservative, authoritarian, and prejudiced than independents; in others, there is no difference. Almost never have Greeks been found to be more liberal and intellectual and less authoritarian than independent students in campus-wide surveys, though there is some internal variation between houses. These groupings tend to have a greater influence on their members than other types of residence groups, though the nature of the influence most often is that of a holding-action, retarding rather than inducing change. Much more research needs to be done on residence groupings. Very little longitudinal data has been gathered in this environmental area.

(4) THE ENVIRONMENT OF PEER GROUPS

Peer groups involve all student groups in which there is some feeling of membership and belonging, regardless of the size, degree of formality, or intimacy of the group, and is not limited to residence groups along.

Much attention has been given to peer groups in Student Ecology because they interpret and mediate so much of the college experience. There are a number of functions which they can perform for students, many of which have been empirically investigated. In the transition from pre-adulthood to early maturity peer groups can provide the support needed to make this transition from family dependency to autonomy a less trying experience. (LeVine 1966, Lozoff 1967, Sussman 1960) For the academically-oriented student, the peer group can support and facilitate intellectual growth. (Newcomb 1962) For the student whose positive self-image is threatened by failure to achieve his academic expectations, the peer group can offer alternative sources of gratification and support a healthy sense of self-worth. (Kammens 1967a, 1967b) The peer group meets needs not met by the faculty, classroom, and curriculum alone. (Bushnell 1962) It gives the student practice in getting along with people, itself an important part of the general socialization process of higher education. (Katz 1967)
The peer group can challenge old values and serve as an important sounding board for doubts and questions of world-view, or it can provide support for not changing. (Coelho, Hamburg & Murphey 1963; Pervin 1966a) Finally, the peer group can provide a set of relationships which may become even more important after college in one's career. (Kimball 1962-63)

(5) THE FACULTY ENVIRONMENT

In Student Ecology, faculty environment refers to the potential stimuli which faculty provide for students. This is a general term, like peer group environment. Faculty members like to think that they are important to their students, and that their influence will live after them in the lives of their students. The consensus of research in this area, however, is that college faculties do not appear to have a campus-wide impact, except in those settings where student peers and faculty complement and reinforce each other, and this is far more likely to happen with graduate students than with undergraduates. On the other hand, individual faculty members are often influential in respect to the career decisions of students. (Feldman & Newcomb 1968: 330-31) Students typically report infrequent contact with faculty members, and apparently prefer it that way. For the most part, students expect their relationships with faculty to be segmental and professional, not personal or diffuse. This type of relationship has to be understood in the context of transition from pre-adulthood to early maturity. The faculty member, grade book in hand, is unavoidably a symbol of authority and dependence to students who are struggling to achieve autonomy during this crucial transitional period in their lives. The struggle for student power in the latter part of the last decade makes more sense when seen in this context as well.

The faculty is unavoidably a part of the image, the generalized prestige, of the college to which students initially respond in applying for admission. To this extent, the faculty, or the public relations version of it, has a part in the selective recruitment process which ideally yields a good "fit" between faculty and students.

(6) THE CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT

The classroom environment is to faculty environment as residence group environment is to peer group environment. It is a more narrowly focused part of the more general body of potential stimuli.

The classroom environment is defined by formal and informal rules and by classroom processes. (Theilens) Well-fixed rules such as where and when the class meets, and course requirements such as quizzes, papers, and exams structure the basic content of classroom education on the college campus. In addition, campus mores concerning classroom behavior are shared by teachers and students alike. For example, students should feel free to interrupt the teacher with relevant questions, and teachers should be available to meet students who are having problems, and instructors should be fair in their evaluation of students' work.
In addition to the normative system, other already existing forces will affect the relationship between teacher and student in the classroom. The faculty member's behavior will be filtered through perceptual screens which the students bring with them to the classroom. These screens are built from faculty reputations, students' personality structures, and a variety of congruences between the faculty member and the students. All students will not seek the same things from the classroom situation, and, no doubt, all will not be equally satisfied with the experience. The standard deviation of responses on most course evaluation items tend to verify this phenomenon.

The method of instruction is also a factor in the classroom environment. These range from lecture and class discussion to small group discussion and finally student-centered instruction in which small groups of students teach themselves using the instructor as a resource person only. No single teaching method seems to have any inherent advantage over any other, at least for aspects of education which are measurable by course examinations, since examination results of any one teaching method are on the average no different from the others. This is not to say that students do not have preferences, however.

Finally, the instructor’s teaching style contributes to the classroom environment. (Solomon, Bezdek & Rosenberg 1963). Some distinguishable styles factor-analyzed from 169 classroom traits by Soloman and his colleagues will sound familiar: the laissez-faire instructor, the warm friend, the authoritarian lecturer, the flamboyant dramatizer, the needle, and the comment crowner who rewards student comments with a long, eloquent elaboration of their merits.

(7) THE ADMINISTRATIVE ENVIRONMENT

This environment is made up of the institutional bureaucracy as it touches the student. Its most characteristic set of stimuli are found in the college catalogue which states the rules which channel student behavior enroute to graduation. The Dean of Students may have another set of rules, administered through residence hall counselors and enforced by student courts.

THE OUTSIDE ENVIRONMENT

The world outside the college becomes part of the student environment when it provides stimuli to which the student reacts. Mass media, popular culture, entertainment, the spreading styles and fads of a larger youth culture, the selective service system, and the local, state, and national authorities which regulate his activity as a citizen are all part of the outside environment.

The many student environments delineated above all impinge upon the student providing stimuli which potentially alter the student’s subjective experience and lead to reactive temporary changes in the student’s overt behavior. When the stimuli are repetitive and perceived, particularly if attached to rewards, they tend to condition
students in certain ways which, taken together, bring about changes in the student's characteristics, perceptions, and behavior, or reinforce existing ones.

The challenge of Student Ecology is the topological problem of mapping the separate environments which tend to influence students in certain ways and to estimate their relative weight given a set of control variables. The task of accumulating data on all of the above mentioned environments is well underway. The process of piecing it together into clearer patterns has also begun. However, understanding the complex interaction of environments as they provide the currents and cross-currents in the student's life has hardly begun at all, and until interaction is accounted for, topology must deal with one map at a time.

THE PERSISTENCE OF CHANGE AFTER COLLEGE

Finally, we consider Astin's third and fourth environmental effects, the relatively permanent changes in the student's experience and behavior. If there is a single word which characterizes the impact of college on students, it is Accentuation. The individual characteristics of the student, drawn in part from family background, earlier educational experience, and a host of unique experiences, propel him toward particular educational environments and influence his choice of college, academic major, and peer groups. These same characteristics are apt to be reinforced by the multiple environments which he encounters in college and expanded, deepened, and indeed accentuated. The student who enters college with a predisposition toward change, an openness to new experiences, a curiosity for exploring new ways of thinking and doing is likely to feel the impact of college most profoundly. (Feldman & Newcomb 1969: 333)

As for long-range effects, there is evidence that attitudes held by students at the end of their college career do tend to persist afterward, particularly if their post-college environments support these attitudes. Here again selection of environmental influences and the principle of accentuation are at work. Students who are open to change and flexible in their stance vis-a-vis new social and technological conditions are apt to experience continued change, although the evidence suggests that attitudes change little after college years.

One's attitudes and values do not change whimsically. As one becomes older, the impact of a new experience is relatively less. The college student is in a period of his life which optimizes change. This is the developmental stage, moving from pre-adulthood to early maturity when he is maximally motivated to achieve autonomy from the dependence of childhood, and at the same time minimally constrained to conform to the responsibilities and restrictions of adult roles. These conditions move together to facilitate change. If change does not occur, it is not likely to occur later. If it does occur, the techniques of flexible adjustment and openness to further change may be carried beyond the college years. (Feldman & Newcomb 1969: 332-33)


Solomon, D., W. E. Bezdek & L. Rosenberg. (1963) Teaching Styles & Learning. Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, University of Chicago. (Note: The Center has been affiliated with Boston University since 1964.)


CHARLES F. LONGINO, JR. (Ph. D., North Carolina) is an assistant professor, department of sociology & anthropology, University of Virginia, and consultant, Federal Water Pollution Control Administration (manpower training). His forthcoming major publications are The Social Animal (Broadman Press 1971) and White Racism & Black Americans (with David G. Bromley).
READING maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend: Abund studia in mores. Nay, there is no stone nor impediment in the wit but may be wrought out by fit studies; like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises: bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting, for the lungs and breast; gentle walking, for the stomach; riding, for the head; and the like.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626)
Of Studies
ESSAYS CIVIL & MORAL
Pornography is a hotly debated issue today. All kinds of claims are made for its beneficial or adverse effects upon the viewer and the nation. Some segments of the population see it as immoral and productive of crime and personality distortions. Others claim it offers release satisfactions and may actually prevent antisocial behavior. Notwithstanding the nature of the advocacy, however, there is little hard evidence of who makes these claims or what consequences pornography affords for which individuals.

It is the purpose of this research note to examine one aspect of that question. In a college population, it will seek to determine who labels experimental material "pornographic." A college population was selected because of its literacy and relationship to its environing normative structure. College students are likely to represent a cross-section of regional moral sentiments which should be useful in locating campus and community censors. Background data available on two groups of anti-pornography campaigners indicate substantial education among community censors. An average of seventy percent of the members of these two groups reported a minimum of some college work or better.¹

In locating the censors, the social scientist can better understand the problems and processes of American democratic society. When a president and a congress repudiate an authorized study of an important social issue there must be more than meets the eye.² Pornography must also be a politically explosive issue considering its demographic correlates.

POPULATION & METHOD

In the Fall of 1970, an experimental package of readings and pictures was administered to 132 students in six sociology classes at a medium-sized Southern university. Procedures for the experiment were kept as identical as possible. On the day of the study, the students in each class were met by the researcher who explained
that the class hour would be devoted to a research project. Participation was to be voluntary and any student who didn't want to take part could leave. After these instructions, picture or reading materials were distributed in each class in a manila folder, with instructions that the members of the class were to individually review the materials and be prepared to answer a questionnaire. For three classes the materials consisted of a graded series of pictures; for the others, a graded series of readings. No discussion of the materials in the folders was permitted. Each student reviewed his folder and when he had completed the assignment he raised his hand. At this signal, the first of two questionnaires was passed out to the students. Questions on the first questionnaire were deliberately unstructured in an attempt to see whether individuals would independently apply the word "pornography" to the materials. When finished, the first questionnaire was retrieved and the second administered. The second questionnaire was relatively more structured and introduced the subject of "pornography" for the first time. Students were asked whether or not the words "pornography" or "obscenity" had occurred to them on examining the materials and to which of the materials they would now apply these labels. A background characteristics sheet was also included for purposes of differentiating responses.

RESULTS

The relatively unstructured Form I (first questionnaire) had several questions that might have elicited classifications of the materials as pornographic; however, the percentages of Table 1 indicate that this is an infrequent response to either the readings or pictorial materials. Item 1 deals with the kinds of words used in response to the question: What were your thoughts concerning the materials in your folder? Words such as "sexy," "trash," "love," and attempts at intellectualizing were far more frequent than references to pornography or obscenity. Item 2 classifies responses to the question: What thought occurred most often to you while viewing these materials? Thoughts of "arousal," "purpose of the material," and "intellectual analyses" account for the largest number of responses. Again, as in Item 1, pornography is missing as a dominant thought among the students.

Cross-tabulations of background characteristics with these items failed to yield significant relationships with the exception of the sex variable. The latter was related to Items 1 and 2 at the .001 level of significance (Chi-Squares). In both cases males were more likely to respond positively (arousal, enjoyment) to the materials and females, negatively (trash, embarrassment). After the subject of pornography was introduced other significant differences emerged.

The first question on Form II asked the student: Did the words obscenity or pornography occur to you while viewing these materials? Despite the absence of pornography as a word of dominant thought among answers given on Form I, 43.8 percent of the Readings Group and 47.7 percent of the Pictures Group answered Yes to this question. Cross-tabulations of answers to this question with background characteristics yielded the significant differences (as measured by Chi-Square) listed in Table 2. Associations between variables were moderate in strength (as measured by
TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Response</th>
<th>Readings Group</th>
<th>Pictures Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Words Used In Response</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Pornography / Obscenity</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Lesser Words: Trash / Sexy</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c Romanticized Words: Love / Enjoyment</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d Humor &amp; Surprise Words</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Four-Letter Words</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f Intellectualizing Words</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Other</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 What Thought Occurred Most To You?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thought</th>
<th>Readings Group</th>
<th>Pictures Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a Pornography</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Embarrassment</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c Enjoyment / Arousal</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d Humor &amp; Surprise</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Purpose Of Material</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f Intellectualizing Thought</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Mixed</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h No Response</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gama). The significant differences were all in the expected directions; i.e., groups of persons to which the thought of pornography occurred were more likely to be females, married, Baptists, frequent church attenders and persons with minimal sex experience or exposure to sexual activities.

The students were then directed to reconsider the readings or pictures in their folders. In a series of questions they were now asked whether or not the label pornography or obscenity should or should not apply to each of the five readings or pictures presented to them. Table 3 shows the differences and associations that emerged from this question. Reading 5 and Pictures 3, 4, and 5 accounted for the largest number of significant differences. Again the differences were in the expected direction. In Table 3, however, some additional differences emerged. Younger students, those from rural areas, and those whose father's occupation was blue collar were also more likely to apply the label of pornography to some of the materials.
TABLE 2
SIGNIFICANT FACTORS PRODUCING THOUGHTS CONCERNING PORNOGRAPHY OR OBSCENITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Readings Group</th>
<th>Pictures Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chi-Square</td>
<td>Gamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>6.555 **</td>
<td>- .55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>5.410 **</td>
<td>- .57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Preference</td>
<td>5.710 *</td>
<td>- .49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency Of Church Attendance</td>
<td>5.562 *</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Exposure Scale</td>
<td>13.379 ***</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05  
** p < .01  
*** p < .001

Further, we found students responded differently to picture as versus reading materials. In the graded series of stimuli, the materials at the extremes--the least and most erotic--were not significantly different. The judges applied or failed to apply the label of pornography in much the same way to pictures and readings. Among materials intermediate in eroticism (2, 3, 4), pictures brought significantly more designations of pornography than did readings (Chi-Square, p < .01).

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

These findings raise some questions and suggest a number of possible conclusions. In Table 1, reading materials account for a wider variety of responses and a larger number of positive reactions. Positive reactions consist of categories C and
TABLE 3

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN DEFINING PORNOGRAPHY OR OBSCENITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Readings Group</th>
<th>Pictures Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chi-Square</td>
<td>Gamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) 6.504 **</td>
<td>-.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5) 17.917 ***</td>
<td>-.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) 6.062 *</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5) 14.059 ***</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Church Attendance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) 6.062 *</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5) 14.059 ***</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural-Urban Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) 4.655 *</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5) 4.171 *</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar-Blue Collar</td>
<td>(5) 4.649 *</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Exposure Scale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) 7.80 **</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) 13.19 ***</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5) 19.309 ***</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05  
** p < .01  
*** p < .001  

+ Number of the Reading or Picture (One through Five) to which the words Pornography or Obscenity were applied.
D, or 40.4 percent of the responses of the Reading Group as versus 12.5 percent of the Pictures Group. A similar trend is noted in regard to Item 2: Thought Occurring Most Often. Negative reactions in categories A and B are about equal. That is, persons viewing the pictures, if they were not responding positively, were more apt to offer neutral or objective reactions (categories E and F in Item 2).

These results may have something to do with normal classroom content and routine. Students are more used to a reading assignment and can therefore respond more comfortably and extensively. By contrast, nude pictures are out of place. In the partly unstructured situation, certain students are more likely to find refuge in rational processes and analysis rather than react emotionally. This group, for Items 1 and 2, consisted of females and more traditionally oriented males who intellectualized or questioned the purpose of the pictures in the classroom. The support for this view is the viability of the sex variable. Sex was the most consistent variable related to differential response throughout the study and the only variable related to Items 1 and 2 at an acceptable level of significance (Chi-Squares, p < .001).

When we turn to the more structured Form II, we encounter what appears to be a contradiction. On Form I, few labeled the materials Pornographic. But in response to the Form II question: Did the thought of pornography or obscenity occur to you? latent attitudes seemed to come to the fore. Nearly fifty percent of the students said that the thought had occurred to them.

The researcher is tempted to assume he discovered something. A response not present earlier now manifests itself rather prominently. The alternative is to assume that in a class context, the researcher and students are still performing expected roles. The researcher-instructor is the leader and the "cooperative" students are the followers. Should this be the case, Table 2 suggests that all students are not equally cooperative about the topic of pornography. A majority refused to apply the label Pornography after the term had been introduced. Without considering the personality base for differential response, we propose that if there is a type of "cooperative" student, he and the student censor may well be one and the same person.

Table 2, in any case, gives some of the characteristics of the potential student censor. The censor is likely to be female, married, Baptist, a frequent church attender, and one having had limited sex exposure. The structuring of Form II produced the following additional characteristics: on a picture by picture (and reading) basis, the censor's residence was a small town or rural area, and the censor's father was engaged in farming or a blue collar occupation.

These are the characteristics of the students who labeled the material in Table 3 Pornographic or Obscene. With the exception of age and sex exposure, they resemble the characteristics of the anti-pornographer of the Gallup and Birkelback & Zurcher samples a year earlier. The age exceptions are, of course, understandable. Our sample was younger and consequently could be expected to vary somewhat in response from the older persons.
To conclude, the student-censor is a traditionalist. He plays the game of belonging publicly; but in a more defined situation where he is called upon to take limited action, his socialization and value system emphatically emerge. This socialization and value system are characteristically Middle America, as this socio-political category is popularly designated. It is the sentiment of Middle America that is possibly reflected in the unqualified rejection by the President and the Congress of the findings and recommendations of the Commission on Obscenity & Pornography.

NOTES & REFERENCES


3 Only two students refused to participate in the experiment.

4 Sex exposure was measured by a nine-item scale which included such items as the following:

- Read Playboy Magazine
- Attend X-Rated Movies
- Believe In Sampling Life Before Marriage
- Remained Out All Night On A Date
- Drink At A Bar At Least Once A Week


6 Birkelbach & Zurcher, op. cit.
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DURING the summer of 1969, the author visited Stockholm to conduct a study of the American deserter community. Although Swedish officials were cooperative, he met stiff resistance from the American Deserters' Committee, a political organization operated by deserters themselves. As a result, the number of deserters and resisters interviewed was relatively small. However, it is quite clear that the deserters have developed a viable and cohesive community and that they do not conform to popular stereotypes. Beyond this, the encounter raises some vexing questions about the role of the sociologist and the future of field research.

GIVEN THE POPULAR IMAGE of America as a land of opportunity and a haven for the oppressed, it must be disconcerting that large numbers of young Americans are cutting their ties with the land of their birth under conditions which make it dangerous or impossible to return. According to the press, Canada alone is receiving upwards of fifteen thousand draft resisters every year. The statistics of desertion from the Armed Forces are also impressive, they having reached a high water mark of fifty thousand a year in 1968. Many of these young men have taken up residence in foreign countries, principally Canada, Sweden, and France.

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE DESERTER QUESTION

The deserter question has been a source of growing irritation to the political establishment. In May 1968, a special subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee conducted hearings on the "problem," and in March 1969, it released its official report.

These documents are of interest not only for the information which they provide about deserters but also for what they reveal about the Armed Services Committee.
In the HEARINGS, the Assistant Secretary of Defense submitted a profile of absenteees who had fled to foreign countries for stated or suspected political reasons, and provided information about the individuals, groups, and organizations in various countries which are linked with deserter inducement and assistance programs. He concluded his testimony by stating that "nearly all absenteees were fleeing personal and career problems," that their plight in the various host countries is not "enviable," and that "the actions of these absenteees have had no discernible impact on military effectiveness."5

The senate subcommittee was apparently not satisfied with these assurances, and at one point the chairman voiced his suspicion that the military authorities were making "deals" with the deserters to entice them to return.6 The subcommittee also criticized the light sentencing of some of the convicted deserters who have returned to United States custody and the difficulty of proving the offense under existing military law, adding that political activity while the accused is abroad should compound the offense. With respect to the "plight" of the deserters in foreign countries such as Sweden, the following exchange indicates that the subcommittee was not prepared to accept it as a wholly unenviable one:

SENATOR INOUYE: Unless these pictures are propaganda pictures that we are receiving in the United States, the pictures I have seen of our absenteees show smiling men who seem healthy with beautiful girl friends, living in nice apartments, well-clothed.

MR. STAHL: Some may have been more fortunate than others in finding more commodious apartments with pretty young girls, sir; we do not know.7

The subcommittee then turned its attention to the role of the State Department in this affair. State was faulted for its lack of zeal in initiating contacts with deserters in foreign countries, and for failing to secure the cooperation of the authorities in effecting their return. When State attempted to point out its limitations under international law and treaty arrangements, it was criticized for not formulating plans to re-negotiate these extradition treaties. In the Committee Chairman's opinion, the problem is that the State Department does not want to "rock the boat."8

LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE DESERTER QUESTION

From the Senate REPORT which followed the HEARINGS, it is clear that the political establishment does not recognize desertion as a political offense. In the REPORT, the question of motivation for the offense is explicitly ruled out, although it was one of the subjects of testimony in the HEARINGS. In the eyes of the political establishment, desertion is a crime which differs from other common crimes only in degree and not in quality:

Desertion from military service has through history been recognized as one of the most heinous of offenses. It possesses a degree of culpability that
The subcommittee is dismayed to learn that the Board of Immigration Appeals decided that desertion from the Armed Forces of the United States does not constitute an offense involving moral turpitude. The subcommittee is at a loss to understand the tortured rationale by which any perceptive person could conclude that desertion, which involves a most egregious form of betrayal of one's fellow soldiers, the betrayal of one's obligation to one's country, and the violation of one's solemn oath, is not an act involving moral turpitude.

The tone of moral indignation serves to cover but not conceal the weakness of the subcommittee's position regarding desertion as a "heinous" but non-political crime. On the basis of a very thorough analysis of the law, Tate has argued quite persuasively that military offenses must be included among the list of "inherently" political offenses, such as defection to a foreign state, offenses of opinion, treason, rebellion, sedition, insurrection, sabotage, and espionage.

Furthermore, the rule in the United States regarding extradition is that when evidence offered before the court tends to show that the offenses charged against the accused are of a political character, the burden rests upon the demanding government to prove to the contrary.

SOCIOCLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE DESERTER QUESTION: THE CONCEPT OF DEVIANCE

If military deserters who seek refuge abroad are political offenders, their minority status also leads to their classification as political deviants. The term Deviance has unfortunate connotations, but for the time being sociologists seem to be stuck with it. Although the concept of deviance presumably includes some forms of political behavior, the study of political deviance has been largely neglected, possibly because sociology has developed in a society where the more blatant forms of political repression were presumed to be absent. Horowitz & Liebowitz have attempted to bridge this gap in a recent article, but without specific reference to the category of military offenses.

Political offenders are different from other rule breakers in that their behavior is ideologically based, and because the evaluation of their behavior is subject to serious controversy within the larger society. Such conflicts of value do not exist in reference to ordinary crimes such as murder, theft, or rape.

Yet political deviance is similar to other forms of rule breaking in that it is subject to punishment by those who wield social power and who define it in non-political terms. Deserters are also similar to other deviants in that they are stigmatized, which means that other attributes such as age, marital status, education, and occupation are completely over-shadowed by their status as deserters. The authorities refer to them as Kooks, Bums, and the Rotten Few, contending that they were in
chronic difficulties prior to desertion. They are presented as social undesirables whose actions may be based on cowardice or bad judgment, but never on principle.

The press, with its need for headlines and sensationalism, simply tends to reinforce such stereotypes or at best reverse them. The scoundrel of the Daily News becomes the hero of the underground press, but he remains a stereotype nonetheless.

My assumption was quite different. I expected to find that the deserter is neither a hero nor a scoundrel, but very much like the boy next door. In fact, he is the boy next door. My purpose in studying deserters was to check on some of the stereotypes about this group and to dispel some of the myths about deviance.

Most studies of deviance have taken the societal context as a given; the ordinary law violator may occupy a subculture, but he also lives inside the USA and its network of law enforcement agencies. In the case of the American deserter, this situation does not obtain; like Yossarian, he is safe in Sweden. Sweden in particular has gone further than other countries in opening its doors to military fugitives and in providing them with social and educational assistance and work opportunities. In public opinion polls and in the actions of its officials, Sweden has made quite clear its distaste for the war in Vietnam, which helps to account for the fact that so many pages of the Senate Subcommittee’s HEARINGS and REPORT were devoted to the „problem” of deserters in Sweden and the uncooperativeness of Swedish officials, despite the fact that there are many more deserters in Canada than in Sweden.14 What this means is that on both a personal and ideological level, the deserter in Sweden should find himself in relatively congenial surroundings. Under these conditions does the deserter still remain a social undesirable in the eyes of the Swedes? To the extent that he finds himself socially handicapped (as a deserter or as a foreigner with a language problem) does his predicament lead to secondary deviance (patterns of illegal and discreditable behavior) or to other kinds of adaptations? In terms of Howard Becker’s postulate that deviants are not homogeneous groups, we should expect to find a variety of responses to the identity crisis of the self-exile, including: (1) attempts at cultural assimilation, (2) creation of a deserter community united by political activity, or (3) a marginal existence.

A final problem in the study of deviance stems from the lack of clarity regarding the criteria to be used. Most studies seem to be predicated on the belief that normative and statistical criteria of deviance coincide. But in the case of political deviance, this may not be true. Certainly the black revolution suggests that a numerical minority may be more committed to the professed values of the society than the power structure which professes to represent the majority. Is it possible that the deserter is a threat to the system precisely because he takes seriously certain values which many of us are merely cynical about? Can a statistical deviant be normatively straight? Perhaps the political establishment is really brighter than the brass in its anticipation of the impact of such forms of personal witness on the troops.
Prior to my departure for Sweden in June 1969, I contacted the Committee of Clergy & Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, which had sent a delegation to Paris and Stockholm earlier for the purpose of interviewing military deserters and reporting on their situation. The Committee suggested I write to the Reverend Thomas Lee Hayes, Episcopal, who had been placed in Stockholm to meet the need for a ministry among the deserters. In my letter to the Reverend Mr. Hayes, I outlined some of the research objectives and further requested assistance in contacting the American Deserters' Committee, whose active membership includes a large minority of the young men. The first letter went unanswered, but the follow-up letter produced a rather curt reply. He questioned the conceptual framework of the study and expressed doubt that I would be able to get any cooperation in view of previous experience with reporters and researchers and the deserter community's sensitivity to exploitation. "For my own part," concluded Mr. Hayes, "I think you may get more help from the Pentagon than from us."

Social research is fraught with difficulties, but the assumption is that with patience and diplomacy these difficulties can be overcome. On this basis, I accepted Mr. Hayes' reply as a challenge rather than a rebuff. I arrived in Sweden at the end of June and met with Mr. Hayes a few days later. A social worker from Columbia University was present at the meeting; she had just arrived from the States to spend the summer working with deserters in Stockholm.

Mr. Hayes began the discussion by stating that he found my proposal "frightening"; clearly, I was imputing deviance to these young men, and the purpose of the study could only be to find out what is wrong with the deserters so that the establishment could take the appropriate counter measures. At one point the rhetoric became quite eloquent:

If you want to find out what's right with America, talk to these young men. . . . Their refusal to participate in an immoral war cuts the roots out of an inhuman and repressive system, and that gives me great joy! . . . The fact that they have been able to create a viable community, that too gives me great joy!

But how was I to talk to them without sponsorship? Mr Hayes was evidently not disposed to assist me. I decided to try my luck with a Swedish contact whose name I had obtained before leaving the States. At our first meeting, Eva appeared to be open and interested in what I was attempting to do; and although her contact with the ADC was no longer very active, she agreed to introduce me to some of the key people at their headquarters a few days later.

A Vietnam protest rally had been scheduled for the Fourth of July, and when I arrived at the steps of the Concert House, the reading of the names of the American war dead was still in progress. The usual banners and costumes were present, but
the crowd did not compare in size with similar demonstrations in the States. The police were much in evidence but their presence was not provocative. The senior officers were white-gloved and professionally detached; the younger policemen looked like college students in blue uniforms with beards and sideburns neatly trimmed. Street cleaning equipment was circling the square used as a flower market during the day and occupied by demonstrators that evening. But it seemed to be a routine procedure rather than a form of harassment, and there were no incidents.

Milling with the crowd I suddenly ran into Eva. She looked startled and somewhat shaken. When I asked if something had happened, she said that on the previous day she had been present at a meeting between the members of ADC and Tom Hayes and that I had been the subject of the meeting: "The priest said, 'No interviews!' and nothing I could say did any good." There was an awkward moment of silence; then she disappeared into the crowd. I now suddenly felt the need to be alone, and broke off from the line of march as it headed towards the American Embassy.

The following day I decided to go directly to the American Deserters' Committee for the purpose of confirming or correcting what I had heard at the demonstration. Their present headquarters are in the basement of a building in one of the older mixed-residential sections of town near the University of Stockholm. I was received by two young men who did not identify themselves and who listened impassively to what I had to say. They explained that a collective decision had been reached regarding my research and that the decision had not been favorable. My motives in conducting the study were not necessarily in question, but it was felt that the kinds of information I was seeking could only prove dangerous to the deserter community. The organization has its own sources of information and vehicles for communication. If I wanted to make a genuine contribution, I might study the workings of the Pentagon or the military caste system. They expressed the hope that I would soon return to the States; in any case, there seemed to be no basis for further communication.

The days which followed were filled with false starts and further disappointments. My request to visit the government administered camp for deserters at Oesterbybruk was denied, not by the officials, but by the volunteer inmates of the camp. At the student complex where I was staying, several young people knew about my work and claimed to be in friendly terms with deserters who were more or less independent of ADC, but the meetings which they offered to arrange never materialized. Evidently the word had gone out.

One afternoon I went out to the archipelago to visit an American psychologist who was working as a consultant at an institute outside Stockholm. He had conducted T Group sessions with some of the deserters, and I was eager to get his impressions about their situation. He said that he had discontinued the sessions because the predicament of the deserters was too grim for sensitivity training to have any relevance. We talked about Susan Sontag's recent article on Sweden (Ramparts, July 1969); he considered her remarks about the emotional climate of the country far too mild. Swedes are emotionally cut off, status-ridden, full of introverted hostility; even their nature-worship is a form of alienation. To my host, Sweden represented a nightmare...
version of the "smooth society," and he was looking forward to relocation in the West Indies.  

Regarding ADC's refusal to cooperate with me, he explained that deserters were outcasts in any society, not heroes; they will not support the system which made them outcasts, and since I was part of that system, they would not cooperate with me. I came to Sweden on a university grant, an academic entrepreneur; he had come with his family and on his own resources after severing ties with the States. "I was not about to go to prison for that system," he proclaimed, referring to his anti-war activities and the experiences of some of his friends. When he arrived in Stockholm, he did not seek out the deserters; they came to him—for a meal, a place to sleep, and a chance to "rap" with somebody. On parting, he gave me this piece of advice: "Even if you don't meet any deserters, stay here long enough and you may encounter yourself...."

My host's opinion about the status of deserters was partially confirmed in my talks with Swedish students and professional people during the weeks which followed. Although they did not find fault with the government's policy of admission and assistance, their attitude towards deserters themselves appears to be one of indifference or mild distaste. (None of these persons had met any deserters.) To these people, the deserters were no more desirable as immigrants than any other group of foreigners who lack skills and knowledge of the Swedish language. Perhaps they are even less desirable in terms of their demands for special treatment, their real or imagined propensity for crime, and their tiresome political activity. Among Swedes, it is considered bad form to make too much of a fuss about anything (what is there to fuss about?), and the mentality of crisis is completely alien to this consensus-oriented people.

Towards the end of my first month in Stockholm, my luck appeared to change. The Director of Study Visits at the Swedish Institute for Cultural Relations informed me that he had managed to locate Bertil Svanstrom, head of the Swedish Vietnam Committee in Stockholm, and that Svanstrom was willing to see me. Also, the Institute had arranged a special showing of the film, "Deserters USA," written and directed by the leaders of the ADC and produced by a Swedish company.

On one level, the film is little more than an animated stereotype, presenting the ADC leaders as intrepid young men who must resist the attempts of Swedish liberals to treat them merely as unhappy kids in search of a new home, and thereby defusing their political struggle. They must similarly guard against American agents sent to infiltrate and demoralize their group, cope with parents who do not understand them, and try to awaken the indifferent Swedish public. Finally, they must fight the temptation of some of their weaker members to succumb to a purely sensual existence. The labor unions are presented as part of the conservative Swedish establishment who in collaboration with US authorities keep them under constant surveillance. On an existential level, the film evokes something which may or may not have been intended by the producers, namely a sense of profound nausea. It is the nausea of youth betrayed, the nausea of young men having fled the barracks only to find themselves in a
The meeting with Bertil Svanstrom took place immediately after the film showing. I saw absolutely no resemblance between this quietly resolute man and the weak character portrayed in the film as "Lundberg" meant to represent him. Svanstrom was at a loss to account for A DC's personal vendetta against him and its denunciation of the Swedish Vietnam Committee as "an instrument of American imperialism." It was the Swedish Vietnam Committee which mobilized public opinion against the Vietnam war and, with the assistance of trade unions and other associations, helped to effect the government's open door policy towards deserters. Perhaps, as Novak suspects, the extremist line is the work of undercover agents seeking to discredit and divide the deserter community, or perhaps self-determination requires that we break with our benefactors. Finishing our coffee, Svanstrom produced two recent clippings from the Swedish press. One concerned a bank robbery in Stockholm, bungled by an American deserter; the other involved the suicide of an American deserter in Gotland. There was a look of sadness in Svanstrom's eyes as if to say: "These young people have taken over now, but the results are not too good."

The interview with Svanstrom marked a turning point in my work for it opened the door to deserters with Swedish Vietnam Committee connections. The most helpful contact turned out to be a high school language teacher who had been assisting deserters since the arrival of the Intrepid Four. In addition to providing temporary lodging in his apartment, he devoted much of his free time to helping them through the first stages of cultural adjustment. On the afternoon of my second visit, I found Finn playing chess with a rather shy looking young man. There was little conversation while we listened to a recording of Carl Bellman's classic ballads, and I watched the progress of the game.

The game concluded, Charles told me that he had lost a semester as a transfer student and had been drafted as a result. His major had been architecture, and he seemed to have a talent for portraiture as well, judging by a sketch he made of Finn. Once in the army, he definitely decided he would desert if ordered to Vietnam. When the orders came, he purchased a plane ticket to Scotland, fearing that he would be detected if he bought a ticket direct to Stockholm. From Scotland he went first to Iceland and Norway, then Sweden. Arriving in Stockholm he did not know where to turn, but spent the first few days in a hotel, obsessed with the idea that he might be caught and returned to the States. He was in Sweden only three weeks when he already enrolled in the Swedish language course at the folk high school; he planned to remain in Sweden for the rest of his life. Because of this decision he was interested more in meeting Swedes than other Americans, but he was more than willing to oblige his host in becoming acquainted with me. He seemed interested in my views on what was happening in the States; he mentioned with some discomfort a letter received that very morning from home. It was the first letter he received from his parents since his arrival in Stockholm; they were confused and upset.

At the apartment we were introduced to Herb, another of Finn's friends. Herb
was accompanied by an attractive girl who had been his Swedish instructor at one of the folk high schools in Stockholm. They were planning to marry. Herb was a reservist (29th Brigade) when his unit was activated following the Pueblo incident. While stationed in Hawaii, he came to the attention of his company commander for distributing leaflets critical of the war. He heard his commanding officer decided to order him to Vietnam. He responded by spreading the word of his intention to desert among the members of his unit, most of whom opposed the war and were disgruntled about reactivation. His destination in Sweden was to be reported to the commander immediately after his departure. "Why," I asked, "did you deliberately take this risk?" "Just to get the CO up tight," he replied, smiling. Unlike Charles, he seemed to enjoy taking risks. He traveled outside Sweden on several occasions, and one time in Monaco he came face to face with two American MP's.

Despite his air of genial bravado, Herb had gone through some difficult periods. His wife deserted him and he struggled through a phase of meaningless Swedish relationships in his search for a new life. With Ingrid he found what he was looking for. He planned, further, to continue his university studies in psychology. I had the impression that Herb would not only survive but would manage very well.

A few days later I visited the Immigration & Naturalization Service. Mrs. Nyström, a young social worker, had recently taken charge of the office, and from the informal atmosphere it was apparent she was able to establish good rapport with the deserters. "Despite the fact that I'm over thirty!" as she exclaimed. In addition to providing various forms of social assistance, Mrs. Nyström kept close contact with prospective employers, many of whom, however, hesitated to hire deserters. She believed, nevertheless, that the employment climate was gradually improving. She verified reports I received elsewhere that some university registrars in the United States refused to forward transcripts requested by Swedish officials purely on the grounds that the applicant was a deserter. We discussed the possibility of contacting the AAUP and other organizations to alert them to these abuses. We discussed the problem of drugs, particularly the use of the more dangerous amphetamines. She confirmed what I heard about the ADC's efforts to discourage drug use among deserters. She informed me that ADC's opposition to the government administered camp at Oesterbybruk diminished once it was made clear that attendance at the camp was to be solely voluntary. The camp had increased in popularity since the first news reports because the men found it easier to master Swedish isolated from the distractions of Stockholm. During this discussion we were joined by John, who was examining the housing file. He had been a resident of Stockholm for about eighteen months, and we jokingly shared experiences in learning the Swedish language. We discussed the relations between deserters and American students at Stockholm University; he said he found most of them friendly.

I met several draft resisters during the last weeks of my stay in Stockholm. One young couple was referred to me by the Columbia University social worker, and we spent one evening together in my apartment. Harlan majored in mathematics at Harvard and then enrolled in the graduate sociology program at the University of Michigan. When he received a 1A draft classification, both he and his wife Marjorie
applied for landed immigrant status in Canada. They had come to Sweden three weeks before and were now considering permanent residence. Canada was too close. Sweden’s peaceful climate seemed ideal for rearing their children. After attending the recent premiere of Easy Rider, their feelings about the level of violence in the United States were reinforced. Marjorie was employed at a book bindery, and Harlan was looking for a job as a computer programmer. After only three weeks at the TBV language institute, Marjorie successfully managed a job interview in Swedish. She is a Boston University graduate and a sometime professional folksinger. Both are confident of successfully managing their affairs financially. They met many deserters at the language institute and found them willing conversationalists. They encountered some resistance from Mr. Hayes when they visited him, but the deserters at ADC openly discussed all subjects. There is consensus among the membership regarding the organization’s demand for political asylum, its commitment to a program of mass desertion, and its support for the NLF in South Vietnam; but they were divided on questions concerning the necessity for revolution in Sweden and specific strategies for changing the quality of life in urban industrial society. On this point, Marjorie and Harlan learned that some of the deserters left the city to engage in communal farming.

Although I had met a number of American refugees by this time, they did not seem to be a very diversified group. All were making attempts to learn Swedish and to obtain university training which would equip them for a place in Swedish society. I had not encountered any black Americans, however, whose prospects in this highly homogeneous society might be somewhat different. At Finn’s we had talked about the prejudice towards foreigners which existed in Sweden as much as in other countries, but whether race would compound this problem or whether the new mystique of blackness would provide compensations was an open question. Robert, a Canadian studying educational administration and who had worked one time with ADC, took the position that blacks actually have less trouble adjusting to the formal aspects of Swedish society because “they know how to shuffle.” Hoping to find some black Americans who could draw on their own experiences in these matters, I went to the SCAN/SNCC office in Stockholm but found it closed for the summer. I did locate in the same building the Swedish organization VUF (Leftist Youth League). It seems the Swedes in this organization not only have liaison with SCAN/SNCC but also comprise a good part of the membership. (Evidently the tactic of reverse exclusion has not been found necessary in Sweden.) After presenting my plans, I was given the names of two black Americans studying at Uppsala University and managed to telephone one of them.

In Uppsala, I met Kenneth and his Swedish girl friend and their American friend Dave. Both men were draft resisters, not deserters. Kenneth is black; he had been in Sweden since January. Dave had been here for three years. Both men were studying social anthropology at the university; Dave had done field work among the Lapps. We discussed new developments in sociology and anthropology in Sweden; then the conversation turned to my study of deserters. Once in referring to the deserters Dave used the term Deviance. I reminded him my use of the term got me into difficulties with Mr. Hayes and with the ADC. Smiling, he replied, “I can say it, but you can’t.” We did agree that the deserter category is a somewhat arbitrary one, and I
invited Dave and Kenneth to participate in the group encounter I was organizing. Finn and his friends agreed to permit me to tape the conversation, the topics being left up to the participants. In this way I hoped to explore the situation of American exiles in more personal and human terms in order to dispel some of the stereotypes propagated in the States. Some tapes I had found useful for promoting class discussion; if this one turned out well, I would try to arrange for wider distribution. Kenneth had some reservations. If the participants did not know each other very well and if there was fear of misuse or misinterpretation of the tape, the discussion would be a very superficial one. Dave also demurred, claiming that the use of depth psychology would tend to obscure the basic political factors which inform the deserter community. He believed my humanistic bias would make the discussion of ideological issues taboo. By the time we finished lunch, however, all three had agreed to participate if for no other reason than to meet some of the Stockholm men.

The end of my stay in Sweden approached. In six weeks of work I managed to reach only a handful of deserters and resisters. That it had been impossible to collect survey data did not really disturb me, because it demonstrated existence of a community capable of making its own decisions and protecting its boundaries. In this regard I was glad I had failed. But the impending group encounter was something else; in a very real sense, it would be a test not only of my ability to generate trust but also of the young men's capacity for trust as well. If they failed to show at the appointed place and time, I would not be able to blame it on power politics since none of them are governed by ADC policy.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15: LAST ENTRY IN THE FIELD DIARY

My equipment bag felt awkward as I waved to Finn. He was waiting for me at the street entrance of his apartment building. Or was he waiting for the others? As I came within speaking range, I noticed he had an astonished look on his face. "There's a lot of people upstairs waiting for you," he said, "and most of them I've never seen before."

I expected to find a half dozen people at Finn's this evening, but there were four times that number in the living room. The conversation died down as I entered the room. Among the unexpected guests I recognized several members of ADC. What were they doing here? I recalled a telephone call of three weeks before. It was from someone calling himself Lun; he said he had received instructions from ADC to tell me they had decided to cooperate. He expressed regret for the inconvenience, asked questions about my progress, and seemed to know something about my contacts. When he failed to telephone again, I checked it out; ADC denied having any knowledge about the matter.

The air in the apartment was already stale. I wondered how long the group had been waiting. Herb rose to open a window. Most were sitting on the floor, but I found an empty chair in the middle of the room, sat down, and steadied myself for what might be a bad scene; but in any case, it would be my last one. I had orchestrated an
event which would now unfold by itself, and although I might occupy center stage, others would be speaking the lines.

Try now to imagine, not the living room of an apartment in Stockholm, but a science laboratory. Amid disarray, there is the apparatus, the specimens, the experimenter. The scientist is preparing some new cultures for examination under the microscope. He approaches the task curiously, cautiously. Bending close to the microscope he notices something extraordinary—a tiny face. Thinking he sees his own reflection in the eye piece, he reaches for the reflecting mirror to make an adjustment. But he can't reach it. It's too far away. Suddenly, he realizes he is on the slide! He looks up towards the lens and sees an enormous eye. The eye soon disappears but is immediately replaced by another. Then the eyes acquire voices that speak to him from an enormous distance:

You know, when we first talked, I thought you were here on your own as a private person. You didn't tell me you were coming here on a university grant, and I hadn't seen that proposal you sent Tom Hayes.

You talk a lot about the importance of trust, but I don't trust anybody. Why should I trust you?

What are your views on the Vietnam war? (Female voice)

You don't seem to fully accept the fact that your presence here might be dangerous for us all. And you already have a degree of power over us. To come here tonight is dangerous, but not to come would be even more so.

Let me make one thing clear. We didn't come here to participate in your plan for the evening. We came to find out what you are up to and decide what we should do about it.

He's persistent, I'll say that for him. And whatever he's up to, he didn't come for the scenery.

Have you organized other groups like this? Do you intend to try to organize groups like this in the future?

Do you still intend to write something about us? Perhaps you can understand why we might be somewhat concerned about that. If you have finished a draft of your report, could we have a look at it? You only have notes? Well, would you be willing to show us your notes?

By the way, you might be interested to know that we are writing an article about you. Here it is.
I don't know whether he is really a sociologist, and if he is, what kind? But I find it strange his name is not listed in the ASA directory. Too bad there isn't time to check up on him.

You may not have been aware of it, but I was checking you out when we were talking the other day. And I must say, you seem deficient in anthropology, which I know is a required field for most sociologists even in the States. And as far as your present study is concerned, I don't see how it can possibly be a contribution to science with this kind of sampling procedure.

Obviously, he is a sociologist. (irritation in voice) That's not the issue. The question which concerns us is not what he is, but what he represents, and how his study would be used.

(Short pause) What questions were you planning to ask us tonight?

I don't see the point of that question. It must be obvious by now that it will not be possible for him to carry out his plans for the evening.

(Longer pause) I would hate to be in his shoes right now, and I don't see any reason for prolonging this. Is there anyone who feels that we should not leave at this point?

(Complete silence. Then, gradual stirring. Chairs scraping, feet shuffling on the carpet. Foreign object has penetrated the perimeter defense. Warning light flashes. Object is surrounded and finally neutralized by the cell mass. The cell releases the object and moves away--indifferent.)

POST MORTEM

In terms of its original objectives, this study was a signal failure. When it became clear that a conventional approach was out of the question, the original plan was modified. Nevertheless, resistance hardened to such a point that even the uncommitted deserters fell into line with AOC. In this respect, the author's presence helped to solidify the deserter community. The community defined the situation as a zero-sum game in which any gain for the investigator meant a loss for all other players. He was a representative of the academic establishment, and his findings would fall into hands of the enemies of the community. Although he might be personally sympathetic, his motives were perceived as shallow, since he was not active in any radical organization, he had sacrificed nothing in coming to Sweden and could only gain in terms of his career. Finally, the relatively privileged position to which he would return after completing his hit-and-run study was a source of resentment to persons facing a very
uncertain future. In the eyes of the deserters, it was the sociologist who was the deviant. Thus, the encounter with deserters became an encounter with self, and the effect on the investigator was as unsettling as the portrait of Dorian Gray.

The familiar self is that of a certified professional whose projects have been given the stamp of approval by his respected peers. His passport is the search for truth; and although it is supposed to be valid anywhere, he is generously prepared to accept a refusal rate of, say, ten percent. Therefore, it is astonishing when the passport is returned with a question: Whose truth and for whom? Suddenly, the sociologist finds himself surrounded in his own preserve. The sociology of knowledge is his domain. What are his Subjects doing here?

It is useless to call them basement bureaucrats or to "blow one's sociological cool" and resort to clinical epithets. (Paranoid is always what the other fellow is called.) We can protest that they have substituted a new form of intolerance for the old, and this may very well be true. For what is happening is that the docile populations which we found convenient for research purposes are transforming themselves into communities. They are profoundly conscious, and they are organized. They have veto power, and we can only hope that they have creative potential as well. Perhaps they entertain the same hopes for us.

The deserter is the boy next door—your neighbor's son, my neighbor's brother. He is safe in Sweden, but he is not there on a lark. Tourists and sociologists are his enemies because they remind him of home. Of course he is homesick, but we must understand the double meaning of that term. The Senate's fist-shaking will not bring the deserter home, nor will the liberal's appeal for presidential amnesty do likewise. To want her sons back, America must cease playing the role of prodigal parent; otherwise she may even lose her children still at home.

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1 In August 1968, Colonel Frank Kossa, Assistant Director, U. S. Selective Service System, reportedly told a veteran's group in Calgary, Alberta, that 15,000 Americans were fleeing to Canada every year to escape the draft.

2 In fiscal year 1968, there were 53,357 servicemen administratively classified as deserters, having absented themselves for more than thirty days. See United States Senate, Committee on Armed Services, Report On The Treatment Of Deserters From Military Service (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969) 24.

3 Thirty countries which have received American deserters are listed in United States Senate, Committee on Armed Services, Hearings On The Problem Of Military Deserters (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968) 6.

4 According to the testimony, there are twenty-three such organizations in seven countries and more than fifty individuals and groups associated with the deserter movement throughout the world. See, op. cit., 72.


9 Senate Committee, Treatment Of Deserters, 7.

10 Op. cit., 13. The strategy here is to obtain more favorable extradition treaties by excluding deserters from foreign military forces from the United States, "except when exempted by the President on the basis of U. S. national security requirements."


14 There were 327 deserters in Sweden as of September 1969. A recent estimate for the number of deserters in Canada is 5,000 to 8,000. A recent estimate for the number of deserters in Canada is 5,000 to 8,000. See Roger Williams, The New exodus, New Republic (16 May 1970).

15 In general, deserters prefer not to give their family names, possibly to spare their families from harassment.

16 One ADC publication is the Second Front Review, published monthly in Swedish. The issue I obtained included articles on the need for political asylum (Sweden now grants "humanitarian" asylum), protest in the ranks and conditions in military prisons, deserter news from various countries, and an analysis of the American system by Paul Sweezy. In addition to their journalistic activities, ADC leaders devote considerable time to lecturing around the country.


19 The four sailors who deserted from the aircraft carrier Intrepid on 23 October 1967. From Japan, they fled to Moscow and then were given humanitarian asylum in Sweden.

20 Some Swedish writers argue that even a welfare state like Sweden is part of the capitalistic bloc of nations, and that eventually she will pay for her role in the exploitation of underdeveloped countries. See Goran Palm, As Others See Us (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill 1968).


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Young adult sons and daughters of manual workers in America today support three provocative sub-styles or variations on the general blue collar style of life. The Rebel, the Accommodator, and the Achiever—these sub-styles are time-honored ways of meeting both the age-general and class-specific challenges of adolescence and young adulthood. The mosaic which is adult blue collar life forever after reflects the commonalities and differences among these three sub-styles. Each is here briefly explored with particular attention being paid to the human gains and costs both to adherents and to society-at-large of the young blue collarites' way of life.

**THE MALE REBELS**

Generally found in transitional blue collar neighborhoods, especially in worn, low-cost ethnic enclaves, the blue collar rebels frequently attend notoriously inadequate neighborhood public schools. Buildings are often dilapidated, classrooms are crowded, textbooks are outdated or inadequate, teachers are weary and demoralized, administrators are inept and fearful, and parents are apathetic or fatalistic and trusting.

The Caucasian rebel in such a school is commonly a low level achiever, usually below standards for his age, as measured on culturally biased national achievement tests. With blue collar parents, who themselves have low educational attainment, the rebel may receive only awkward if unrelenting and often punitive pressure to "do well." Uncomfortable with the better-adjusted blue collar accommodators favored by school authorities, the rebel generally avoids involvement in the extracurricular life of his student peers and flees the place at the earliest opportunity.

After school hours, however, the young rebel is strongly attracted to an impulsive, independent, undisciplined, unsupervised, rebellious, peer-oriented style of life. The particular Youth Culture of these youngsters is largely independent of parental control and is antagonistic toward the adult culture of the Squares. The rebels themselves are disdainful of the Deferred-Gratification pattern of those blue collar
boys intent on graduation and class mobility. Rather, the rebels retain the generally more promiscuous pattern of the hard-core working class poor and remain sexually alert and indulgent.

Not surprisingly, many blue collar rebels become high school dropouts. In 1965, for example, some 252,000 young men, or thirteen percent of all sixteen-to-seventeen-year-old sons of Caucasian blue collarites, were dropouts as contrasted with only 39,000 or four percent of that cohort. If there is substantial economic opportunity in the area, boys now hopeful of job advancement may elect to remain in school. Some may even return to school after dropping out. A Syracuse study, for example, found twenty-five percent seeking more schooling within two years of quitting. If times are bad outside, few rebels can muster up enough patience to endure long years of drudgery in pursuit of the diploma they know they should have.

Related to this situation is that of the youngster who drops out of conventional behavior as well as out of formal schooling. Some of the blue collar rebels are encouraged to enter into delinquent careers by a community and family milieu conducive to law violation [thesis of Walter B. Miller, of Richard Cloward & Lloyd Ohlin, and endorsed by the gang-reforming priest, Father C. Kilmer Myers, who reminds us how "really difficult it is to be a Christian on (New York's) Lower East Side, especially if one is young"]. Other blue collar delinquents may be in revolt against the imposition of middle class values by Caretakers--school, church, and others--and may retaliate by setting these values on their head [thesis of Albert K. Cohen]. A few probably aspire to careers in the rackets [thesis of Irving Spergel], and some may seek in delinquency a counterbalance to their own failure to develop motivation to achieve along conventional lines [thesis of Jackson Toby, adapted from the Bennett Berger analysis of the emphasis in Youth Culture on irresponsibility, hedonism, and expressive behavior]. From still another perspective, blue collar delinquency appears a means of affirming masculine prowess. A restless search for excitement, "thrills," or "kicks" substitutes for more mundane and routine patterns of behavior.

Whatever his delinquent style, and especially as a narcotic addict, the blue collar rebel is not especially responsive to remedial efforts. Few take seriously the common call by blue collar fathers for the use of the "old man's belt" to discipline youthful irresponsibility. And hardly more are effectively reached by the state's various efforts. Continuation schools, for example, though designed to help youngsters on probation or dropout-returnee status, generally do a very poor job. Many such schools fail to maintain an employment program, are deficient in their educational offerings, and generally warrant their poor reputation in the community.

Once a convicted law violator, the rebel confronts a host of inadequate state responses to the challenge of reform. For example, while strict discipline and severe punishment no longer characterize most correctional schools, over-crowding, inadequate facilities, and an underpaid, under-trained staff combine to reduce the rehabilitative value of the average nine-month stay. The more widely used probation system suffers the same shortcomings, excessive case loads especially undermining the system.
The Job Corps, the labor market, and the military draft are sometimes thought promising answers to the nation’s delinquency problem. Ironically, delinquents are frequently screened out of all three. That is, eligibility standards operate to exclude youngsters with certain kinds of police records, with little or no consideration of the needs of the individual case. While situational pressure to find and to keep white teen-agers in the now defunct Job Corps (to protest racial "balance"), along with the willingness of "patriotic" judges to permit Vietnam military service to substitute for probation or confinement, may "help" some few delinquent sons of manual workers, these remain short-term and small-scale advances.

So ineffective is much that passes itself off as remedial that a small but significant number of adolescent blue collar rebels aggressively carry their rebellion on into young adulthood, and are disproportionately represented among the inmates of state and federal prisons. Typical here are blue collar members of California's notorious native-fascist motorcycle gangs, the Hell's Angels, and such related groups as Satan's Slaves, Coffin Cheaters, Devil's Henchmen, Outlaws, El Diablos, Hangmen, Misfits, and the Gypsy Jokers. Made up largely of under-educated and job-switching sons of blue collarites in their twenties, the "outlaw" motorcycle clubs are unpredictable, dangerous, and defiantly alone.

Whether as Angels or otherwise, few blue collar rebels are going to be changed by explicit reform efforts to this effect. Rather, in the last analysis and with reference now to the largest number, the concomitants of aging (marriage, family, maturity) will probably continue to have more positive and lasting impact than society's anti-delinquent efforts. Small bad blue collar boys grow up; most become big and better blue collar men. Company bowling teams and soft-ball clubs replace both the corner group and the bopping gang for many. In the process, blue collar sons file away memories of brighter, bolder times, memories to warm one's hands in front of when chilled in later years working the assembly line or "redballing" it down the pike.

THE FEMALE REBELS

Blue collar girls, by and large, who warrant the label Rebel, appear to come especially from low income, highly disorganized households of under-educated laborers living in criminogenic slum sections of the city. Common to these families are many deep-seated and corrosive frustrations that build on ignorance, fear, and disappointment. The girls in such families often feel unprotected and friendless, many growing up in homes where, should there be anyone, the generally inadequate mother is the only source of strength and stability.

In keeping with a Victorian backwardness about sex, the young rebel is often left totally unprepared by her mother and sisters for the biological changes of young adulthood. One researcher relates how "over and over the girls talked about the beginning of puberty as something unexpected, frightening, unexplained. Information was usually gained from other youngsters, sometimes in school, but the damage was done: fear had become part of growing up." In his turn, the father, though frequently not part
of the family, may compound the harm done by forcing or encouraging incestuous relations or non-physical but highly emotional entanglements. Such relations are a phenomenon much more frequent than is generally assumed in a society like ours that makes their discussion taboo. Little wonder that "facing life" for many comes to mean a hard-bitten, distructful cynicism directed toward almost all adults.

Sexual experiences are probably begun earlier, are probably more frequent, and are probably more uneven than is true in the situation of the other two types of blue collar female adolescent. Though many of the blue collar rebels may be unwillingly initiated into sexual relations, large numbers learn quickly to traffic in sexual wiles. At odds with society on various fronts, many girls "act out" their problems by flouting prohibitions against heavy petting or premarital relations. In keeping with their pathetic endorsement of Hollywood-based notions of romantic or true love, however, the girls are not especially promiscuous, and many try to confine their attention to one blue collar boy at a time.

Throughout their youth, the girl rebels generally fail to secure rewarding relationships with adult authority figures. Many go through childhood without knowing the meaning of personal or social success. Teachers, in particular, make demands the girls often find strange: demands for orderliness, attentiveness, achievement in verbal skills, and grade-oriented competitiveness. (In 1965, the percentage of blue collar girls who were dropouts was four times as high as that of white collar girls: twelve percent versus three percent, with 238,000 blue collar dropouts involved.) Similarly, the girls often feel themselves pressured by social workers, psychologists, judges, and others who seek trust, measure response, or mete out judgments. Blue collar rebels find many such authority figures uniformed about the lives the girls themselves actually live.

As rebels, the girls often see little future ahead. In the words of sociologist Gisela Konopka:

The touchstone of our understanding of the adolescent girls in conflict is not just loneliness, it is loneliness which sees no way out, an inner helplessness confronted with an enveloping 'anonymous' world.

While most appear to be of average intelligence, the largest number have had severe school problems. Few complete school, and as school failures, they find themselves barred from the new employment opportunities now opening up to women with diplomas and degrees. While standard blue collar jobs as waitress and counter girl are always available, many of the girls share society's view of these positions as dreary, temporary, poorly rewarding, physically demanding, and personally degrading. A few rely dreamily on occupational "magic" [Barbra Streisand, they point out, began as a cashier in a Chinese restaurant]. Most turn their hopes toward a youthful, romantic marriage. Vague about the responsibilities involved, many rebels do not value marriage as such, but view it instead as the only legitimate way out of having to support themselves at dreary conventional jobs or at self-defeating illegal pursuits, such as prostitution and theft.
The rebel, more than any other blue collar type, may choose violation of the law as an alternative in seeking solutions to her life problems. While there is no consensus among academic students of the subject, the origin of the delinquency of many young rebels appears related to their sense of the injustice done them and to their desire to somehow affirm their new adulthood. These girls often perceive their own law violations as simple variations on behavior strictly prohibited to juveniles but casually permitted to adults, such as drinking, leaving home, or "making out." (Relevant here is the fact that Children's Bureau statistics based on large city court reports reveal that more than half of the girls referred to juvenile court are referred for conduct that would not be criminal if committed by adults.) The girls seek to affirm their adulthood with a demonstration of control over their social environment (many rebels, for example, shoplift goods they feel unjustly deprived of and deeply desire). Very few are full-time, regular law-breakers; most only drift into intermittent delinquency, sexual and otherwise.

Those who escape incarceration find little effective guidance away from continued difficulties with the law. Rather, the weight of the neighborhood, the family milieu, the school's inadequacies, the girl's own low self-esteem and evaluation of her prospects seem to dominate events. A four-year study of girls with potential problems enrolled in a New York City vocational high school established recently that the impact of a case worker's preventive effort, "if any, was minor." On all the indices employed--dropping out of school, academic performance, truancy, pregnancy, and others--the valiant efforts of the social workers had no noticeable effect.

When indicted for an offense, the rebel is routinely and poorly treated. In nearly three out of four of the nation's juvenile courts, youngsters are never referred to community welfare agencies. Few probation officers see their wards more than once every six weeks, and probation case loads are so heavy that officers often terminate probation after only a month. While a 1967 Supreme Court ruling requiring certain reforms may lead to changes in these 1966 research findings, the girl rebels who have been hurt in the past or in the interim are more numerous than statistics will ever tell.

For those arrested and convicted of criminal behavior, the future is especially uncertain. In reformatories, the prospects of rehabilitation are very uneven: little or no vocational training, short of cottage-cleaning and beauty culture, is generally undertaken. Institutional programs still include practices like solitary confinement which humiliate and decrease self-esteem. At the same time, these same programs almost always exclude the use of group therapy and the creative arts so successful otherwise in isolated demonstration projects. Better off are the all-too-few rebels who manage to secure a place in the all-too-small women's division of the Job Corps. Overall, what hope exists for rehabilitation rests largely with the blue collar girl rebels themselves. Many desperately wish to be part of the "good" world, and most struggle in their own awkward way to join or rejoin that world, as blue collar accommodators.
The blue collar accommodator, generally found in traditional blue collar neighborhood and especially in sections preferred by better-paid semi-skilled workers, makes up the bulk of the nation's blue collar young. Unlike the rebels, accommodators accept school as an unavoidable evil. They dimly recognize the challenge of making things happen, but will go no further than maintaining an illegal muffler on a custom rebuilt hot-rod, acting rowdy after a winning football game, or in other like ways, conventionalizing their mischief making. And they considerably downgrade the need the rebels feel to confirm sex role identification. Accommodators dilute blue collar admiration for toughness and physical prowess. For all of this, they receive assurance and rewards both from admiring parents and relieved middle class "caretakers."

An appreciable number of accommodators seek out or are routed by school authorities into vocational high schools of varying quality. A 1967 evaluation study of such schools in nine Northeastern areas found them offering reasonably good courses in certain traditional areas, but failing to keep abreast of technological innovations through new courses and new training advances. The research team concluded overall that the vocational educational schools "have not been able to serve the needs of either the students or the communities." 15

The largest number of accommodators attend public high schools with significant blue collar blocs. Sociologist Edgar Z. Friedenberg's rare study of a typical school of this sort leads him to criticize its grim prison-like atmosphere and its relentless attack on independence of spirit and mind. Many of those who do not drop out, he contends, are forced to relinquish their own powers of critical observation, their integrity, and their ability to form their own vision of the world. Of equal significance is Friedenberg's finding that this exhausting acquiescence is accompanied by a deep-seated class rivalry, one that separates as antagonists the relatively crude accommodators with their limited occupational horizons and the more ambitious of the middle class crowd with their college or white collar goals. In the language of the high schoolers themselves, the accommodators are not simply "called out" by the authorities, but they are also "put down" by their middle class high school peers, a development rich in its implication for the later behavior of blue collar adults. 16

Almost regardless of whether they attend a vocational or a public high school, the blue collar accommodators characteristically move to protect themselves by endorsing their own special variant of Youth Culture:

... an emphasis on fun and adventure; a disdain for scholarly effort; the more or less persistent involvement in "tolerated" status offenses like drinking, gambling, occasional truancy, "making out" in the sense of sexual conquest, driving cars before the appropriate age, smoking, swearing, and staying out late. 17

Aggression is considerably tempered from that endorsed by the rebels, and crimes
that victimize others are avoided. In the manner of William F. Whyte's Corner Boys, the young blue collar supporters of their own brand of youth culture avoid serious delinquency by a certain wariness and make a special effort to co-exist with middle class institutions. They use their youth culture as an equalizing mechanism, one that helps erase the distinctions of socio-economic background among its devotees, even as it discourages high ambition and academic values with its irresponsibility and mediocrity.

Not surprisingly, college attendance is severely downgraded by young accommodators. Four-year college may be regarded as nothing more than a difficult struggle by the typical blue collarite who believes he has reason to doubt both his academic skills and his ability to pay the $12,000 required for higher education in the average four-year private college program. The boy is also likely to be aware that skilled workers can earn more than many college graduates, and that blue collarites much like himself are disproportionately represented among the non-graduating college dropouts. Finally, he may know that most blue collar college graduates enter the salaried or less lucrative professions, such as teaching, social work, and engineering. Some accommodators may conclude that the gain in prestige from going to college will hardly compensate them for the delay in securing material benefits.

On graduating, the accommodator confronts both the draft and the employment office. While publicity has focused primarily on the sons of the poor, the draft rejection rate of such youngsters makes it likely that their group ranks second to that made up of Caucasian sons of blue collarites. Accommodators might especially be drawn to enlist by the well-publicized availability of job training: in fiscal 1966, for example, 750,000 servicemen completed specialized training programs in 2,000 courses ranging from auto repair to aerospace technology.

Similarly, an unknown number of accommodators are among over 1,600,000 students taking advantage of the low-cost vocational education available in the 900 new two-year community or junior colleges. Programs in aeronautics, automotive trades, building and construction, drafting, electrical technology, and machine technology are well-subscribed, the blue collar students avoiding the four-year duration and liberal arts emphasis of conventional colleges even while preparing themselves for the upgrading of skill-level common to much blue collar employ.

Between unemployment and a job, the blue collar accommodator had two alternatives, the 40,000-member Job Corps and the 150,000-member Neighborhood Youth Corps. While data are not available, it is likely that many accommodators sought extra schooling in the now-defunct Corps and are among its 50,000 graduates, even as other accommodators have been among the 900,000 teenagers who have used the part-time work of the ill-fated NYC to help them stay in school and get some on-the-job training at the same time.

In due course, most accommodators find some sort of full-time blue collar employ. Their knowledge of the labor market, however, is characteristically uneven and unreliable, the more so because well-meaning parents, friends, and the mass media
transmit only incidental, and potentially stereotyped, ideas about the world of work. Accommodators are often under financial and psychological pressure to speedily secure work, and many take the first job available. The importance of this entry post is underlined by the fact that blue collarites generally remain in the bracket they begin in. To be sure, there is considerable job-switching by some accommodators in the early years, but government specialists judge much of this "uninformed (or mis-informed) and wasteful." However this may be, the accommodator is launched, and the youthful phase of his life, whatever his years, is at a decisive end.

Relevant in evaluating the accommodator's record are findings from an exceedingly rare longitudinal study (1959-1963) on post high school youth. The majority of non-college-goers expressed dissatisfaction with their lives and livelihood. Most of the men were limited to factory jobs, and while not preferring them, had not changed or improved them. Few could find in their work the options and opportunities for exploration necessary for adequate vocational and personal development. Little or no discernible personality development was apparent in these young men over time, and a great many of them expressed regret that they had not entered college.

If the rebel pays a price in social marginality and personal loneliness for his style of life, the accommodator pays much for denying his own need as a youngster and young adult for diversity of experience and for some modicum of self-realization. His rejection of the goal of ascent into the ranks of the white collarites seems petty and insignificant alongside of his premature attitude of acquiescence and resignation. The accommodator grows old too soon; he does not mature through the trial of trying new roles and experimenting with new causes. Indeed, he may have no cause beyond his own welfare, no self-enlarging concept of what human dignity might entail if nurtured and continuously clarified and re-defined. The passive and "realistic" accommodator defers to one prosaic set of given "facts," accepts his traditional responsibilities, and disregards his own sense of self-authority. Such a young adult, Friedenberg warns, fails to realize that life has more to offer than is entirely envisioned in a blue collar existence. Never experiencing the kind of scouting appropriate to and an integral part of adolescence and young adulthood, the accommodator runs the extraordinary risk of never becoming fully the man he might have.

THE FEMALE ACCOMMODATORS

Conventional blue collar daughters frequently come from commonplace, tradition-endorsing homes such as those maintained by semi-skilled workers living in stable ethnic enclaves. The girls are often over-protected and closely supervised. Their adolescent rebellion reduces to a mild and conventional one (hysteria at Acid Rock concerts, necking with a steady date, or illicit smoking in the high school locker room). A major motivation of these girls is their fervid desire to retain membership in the blue collar community they have known since birth, the only community they can imagine for themselves.

Overall, the vast majority of accommodators meet the challenge of puberty with
less difficulty than in the case of the rebels and the additional challenge of moderating their own sexual behavior poses no special problem. Knowledge, as an antidote to fear and confusion, can frequently be had from mothers and older sisters in the warm and tight-knit families of the accommodators. Similarly, the stable blue collar neighborhood endorses a sex code that helps to regulate conduct and set limits.

Like the rebels, the accommodators are also intrigued by an unrealistic, highly romanticized version of male-female relations. This helps explain their early interest in steady dating (a safe way to "practice" marriage), their preoccupation with faddish clothes and make-up styles, and their endless stream of gossip about local boy-girl affairs and distant Hollywood romances. Unlike the rebels, the accommodators are the "good girls" of the neighborhood, and as they view themselves as appropriate mates for eligible young blue collarites in the area, they have a valued reputation to protect. Oriented toward early marriage, the blue collar accommodators are heavily represented among the half of all young women who marry before they are twenty years of age.

Courtship has a special flavor where accommodators are concerned. As marriage rather than career or college is the focus for the immediate post high school period, a number of blue collar girls try to use sex and even pregnancy to move neighborhood boys into marriage. Premarital relations are common, though carefully screened to protect the girl's reputation as a "one-man woman." The girls remain traditional in their disbelief in the sexual rights of the woman and frequently do not get personal satisfaction from male-centered coitus bereft of foreplay or variations in technique or procedure (such sexual expressions, including heavy and extended petting, are often condemned as animalistic perversions by traditional blue collarites). The girls accept the double standard because "men are that way," and they take their chances on drawing their teenage steadies into a sex-and-marriage relationship. Sociologist Robert R. Bell estimates that "when all unmarried pregnancies are taken into account, it may be that over half of all white lower class women are pregnant at some time prior to marriage." The manipulation skills entailed in learning "how to get around the men," in learning how to lead partners from bed to altar to nursery, undoubtedly stand the girl accommodators in good stead in their young marriages.

Looking closely at their high school experience, it appears that many girl accommodators may profit considerably from secondary school. A significant minority, oriented exclusively toward marriage, are free of the pressure boys feel to secure a good grade record, an impressive school transcript, and possibly even college admission. These blue collar girls are oriented instead to the school's complex informal social system. They glide through their academic exercises while struggling instead with the problem of learning the appropriate feminine role and attracting the attention of members of the opposite sex.

Other blue collar accommodators, particularly those few who seek an education in a vocational high school for girls, are not as fortunate. Rather, new research suggests these blue collar girls chose their high school courses not out of interest, but out of grim resolve to prepare for a short-term, semi-bearable traditional job that
will occupy them before a quick marriage (file clerk, pool typist, and others). Girls who want to obtain vocational preparation have very few options available to them. The explanation here revolves around "culture stereotypes" that condition the girls themselves, as well as school administrators, to believe the blue collar girls are not capable of getting or holding any but traditional female posts. Neither trained to plan nor prepare for new employment possibilities, many accommodators of high natural ability under-achieve the whole of their workplace lives.25

Indeed, blue collar accommodators as a whole go nowhere in the labor market. Sociologist Ethelyn Davis' study of careers as concerns of blue collar girls found forty-one percent expect marriage to prevent them from securing jobs they most desire. Even more dismaying is the fact that seventy-five percent never expect to obtain the job they would most like to have.26

The situation improves slightly for the bulk of accommodators who secure high school diplomas, but improvement is confined here to the matter of the distribution of traditional female jobs. As might be expected, diploma-earners secure comparatively desirable clerical jobs and avoid factory and waitress-like service employment with more success than do high school dropouts.27 Blue collar accommodators in general also seem to work earlier outside the home, longer before marriage, longer before becoming pregnant, and longer before giving birth than was true of their blue collar mothers. Many accommodators work at cleaner, more demanding, and better-paying work than their mothers ever knew, and a large number of such budget-pressed and restless girls return to work at the first possible opportunity.

In the main, the feminine identity and adult future of the accommodators are intimately linked to the general blue collar endorsement of home and family as opposed to a family-less pursuit of a career or a college education. Of greatest significance is the role of the accommodators as carrier and protector of the local culture; much more than either the rebels or the achievers, the accommodators encompass in their example, and expect to inculcate in their husbands and children, the standard blue collar values.28

THE MALE ACHIEVERS

Originating especially in success-oriented transitional suburbs (those heterogeneous areas passing slowly from white collar to blue collar domination), the blue collar achievers are likely to have in common the experience of having been reared in families where the father is in a high status (skilled) occupation, where a "strong" mother has married "down" or is presently in a white collar job herself, where a grandfather was in non-manual work, and where other family members or friends of the family have had some favorable college experience.29

Many of the achievers are directed by their ambitious parents into the nation's parochial school system (thirty percent of all school children participate in this system). Classes are sometimes crowded, discipline is very firm, and religious
precepts guide the entire curriculum. Rebels are quickly uncovered and transferred to the public school system, while accommodators are treated with quiet respect. The achievers, on the other hand, are especially honored, the parochial high school offering access to both parochial and secular colleges and universities.30

The largest number of blue collar achievers probably attend cosmopolitan public high schools. Recognizing this kind of school as a critical sorting mechanism, many achievers early dissociate themselves from their blue collar peers and identify with the college-oriented, middle class reference model usually dominant in suburban schools. Engaged in "anticipatory socialization," they form close clique ties with their middle class peers, involve themselves in the extra-curricular world of high school life, and otherwise pursue the kind of leisure-time activities that middle class youth normally enjoy. Taking their schoolwork seriously, they are found to be both receptive and responsive by their teachers.

A large proportion of blue collar achievers terminate their formal education with high school graduation and secure white collar employ. These youngsters appear especially drawn to the well-paying and challenging posts opening up for keypunch operators, computer programmers, and other space-age type of employment, even as many others are drawn to more traditional posts as uniformed airline clerks, retail store "management trainees," civil service career candidates, and the well-established like. Regardless of the job title and specifications, the simple fact of its being a white collar post (albeit one that may pay less than skilled craft jobs earned by some accommodators) probably provides a deep feeling of accomplishment for both the achiever and his proud parents.

More significant for involving greater strain on class and reference group ties is the situation of the smaller but growing number of blue collar achievers who go on to college. To the blue collar achievers (some of whom are married and many of whom work from twenty to forty hours a week) college is largely off-the-job training, a place that helps one insure a job advance and permits one to buy a diploma somewhat as one buys groceries. Nor surprisingly, like participants in the better-known collegiate culture, many blue collar achievers are resistant to intellectual demands on them beyond what is required to pass. To many, "ideas and scholarship are as much a luxury and distraction as are sports and fraternities" - -this despite the fact that many in the ranks of the achievers have graduated near the top of their high school class.31

Where blue collar achievers find themselves at a high status university as scholarship winners rather than at a "vocational culture" school, college may also prove a far cry from the stereotype of gay times and good friends. Research suggests that the achievers at such a school do not easily adapt and gain acceptance. Despite the fact that many had enjoyed friendships with college-oriented peers in high school, most had long before adopted a middle class reference group and its attendant norms and values, and almost all had acquired awards and offices in the past that would stamp them as likely leaders in the student culture. Nevertheless, the blue collar achievers are quickly identified as marginal individuals, limited in manners and
money, and nearly half do not succeed over their college years in overcoming the social barriers initially encountered. They are excluded from the fraternities, go through long periods of not dating, and are perceived as "social isolates and/or unpopular" by their peers. For many such "strangers," although not for all, the price of social mobility is social isolation.\(^{32}\) A large majority of blue collar achievers apparently do make it through, however, their experience of academic success in high school helping to sustain their motivation.

Nevertheless, even as the other two blue collar adolescent types pay a price for adoption of their particular sub-styles, so also does the achiever confront a "bill" uniquely his own. He expects, of course, to be rewarded by an appreciative society with increased lifetime earnings, job security, and higher status than that of his parents. The achiever, however, as an adolescent and young adult, may not easily free himself of nagging doubts about social separation and self-worth. As sociologist Pitirim A. Sorokin pointed out over forty years ago, upward social mobility comes at a psychological cost to the individual. Part of this cost is an experience of rootlessness, of psycho-social isolation and loneliness.\(^{33}\) Related is a feeling of esteem confusion. Confronted with the necessity of being disloyal to his earlier values, the achiever may experience both adjustment pains and uncertainty that may prove permanent. As a marginal man involved in two different reference groups, the achiever may never be comfortable in either.

It would seem that the incompleteness of the achiever's internalization of middle class values often dominates the achiever's career planning. Specifically, like their blue collar fathers, many college-going achievers believe the hardest part of a job is getting hired. These students fix their academic objectives on easily obtainable vocational targets, often without noting the lack of second or third steps in a specific occupational ladder. Their example corresponds with the idea that it is difficult to take more than one step in a specific occupational ladder. Their example corresponds with the idea that it is difficult to take more than one step up the social ladder without special advantages (financial, intellectual, or personality). One step up for the achievers is apparently equivalent to becoming a teacher or engineer rather than a physician or a lawyer.

Under pressure to convince the "old crowd" that a college education leads quickly to practical financial benefits, the upwardly mobile, job-anxious blue collarites finally learn less (and earn less) than was suggested by their early "promise" of achievement. Fixed on low level vocational aims, many achievers cannot comprehend, either in high school or later at college, those values of higher education which lie in something other than the job for which it may be a prerequisite. A sociology instructor of many such students comments:

Such goals as the development of a capacity to appreciate and create, a willingness to accept responsibility for the direction in which society is moving or might be induced to move--these are only dimly recognized by most students. Here is prudent, working class morality... with a vengeance.\(^{34}\)
Possibly the smallest of the three sub-types, the blue collar girl achievers are also the least often discussed in the literature. Many blue collar girls who persevere through to college degrees and to full-time careers probably spent their youth in the comparatively affluent suburban homes of better-educated skilled workers (such as postal clerks, chefs, and others). In such a setting, the girl is likely to be well-prepared for the physiological and personality changes that bring her into young adulthood.

More troublesome may be the challenge of moderating sexual behavior, for the achiever, unlike the other two sub-types, rejects early marriage as an alternative to school or career and seeks to have as wide a choice as possible in the marriage "market." Concerned to guard her reputation and to protect her hope of marrying into college-bred, white collar circles, the achiever must curb her desire to join the socially-oriented high school crowd of blue collar accommodators, even as she seeks to avoid a romantic attachment to a blue collar friend that might result in crib-rocking rather than matriculation.

Achievers engage here in a type of anticipatory socialization that can be very restricting. To attract men from a higher socio-cultural level, the girls strive to achieve behavior they imagine prevalent in middle class circles. Their definitions of "lady" often become narrower and more conventional than is true of many born into the middle class. When the blue collar achievers, or their ambitious parents, cannot measure up to what they wish to attain, considerable psychological discomfort ensues.

To buttress the drive for achievement, high school is taken in grim earnest and is turned to every possible advantage. In high school, the achiever probably seeks out the company of college-oriented peers, and may find such friends in selected extracurricular activities such as the school newspaper, language or science clubs, the debate society, and others. However, while popular with her teachers, the achiever may never find comfort in her isolation from blue collar accommodators and in her intermittent contact with students from high status origins.

Overall, the achiever contends with serious problems in defining a feminine identity. In addition to the general cultural problems involved in the "feminine mystique," the blue collar achiever has to wrestle with a background hostile to careers for women. Often part of the first generation in her family's history to have delayed her marriage and childbearing and to have become part of the college world, the achiever is regarded both with pride and skepticism by family members and blue collar friends. Pride in accomplishment combines with fear and suspicion of the unfamiliar world the girl has entered. Furthermore, because ambition is so characteristically masculine, the achiever is obliged to take on some values from across the sex line, to acquire in certain respects a less feminine constellation of values than other girls. Few developments are as likely to disturb blue collar families as the phenomenon of a daughter appearing to "put on pants"; few developments threaten the already uncertain status of male manual workers as directly.
These strains, in combination, cannot help but take a heavy toll in peace of mind. They may well explain why so few girls take this particular route, and they may also explain the apparent disinclination of blue collar girls to pursue college much beyond the associate or bachelor's degree. Most of the girl achievers seem to choose short-preparation, quick-employ careers, such as those available in fashion design, school teaching, nursing, or the like. Their willingness to accept low-paying occupations probably links up with the fact that they are not expected to achieve economic success, but instead to come to value the respectability and proper style of life encouraged by their college attendance. Earning, then, often only as much as experienced clericals from the ranks of blue collar accommodators, the girl achievers are obliged to believe their extra effort and difficulties amply rewarded by the prestige of a white collar post and the chance at a white collar husband.  

SUMMARY

Three kinds of sub-style presently divide the sons and daughters of white urban blue collarites, each sub-style a response to the challenge of career planning, of personal autonomy, and of sex role identification. Significantly, each of the three kinds of young adult approaches the prospect of life as a blue collarite from a very different perspective:

Rebels often view it as an unavoidable hardship, against which one fights until subdued (as in a teenage marriage) or until a real alternative is secured (such as a career in the rackets or in the Army).

Accommodators generally view blue collar employment as right and natural, a tradition in the family, and rather deserving of respect.

Achievers reject the notion of a blue collar destiny in its entirety.

Each sub-style contains a disturbing surprise of its own: some of us are easily cheered by unexamined Horatio Alger life histories. But the situation of upwardly mobile blue collarites suggests that many such climbers appear never fully to leave or to arrive anywhere. Some of us are also inclined to romanticize juvenile delinquency in the spirit of West Side Story. But the situation of many blue collar rebels makes it clear that they suffer much and profit little for their self-centered revolt.

Above all, some of us are inclined to applaud the fidelity of those who stay close to home and to the old ways. But we do this too easily and with little recognition of the jeopardy involved therein to ourselves. The fact that the largest number of blue collar sons and daughters accommodate themselves early to a blue collar destiny is fraught with significance. As Friedenberg points out, an enormous loss of imagination, energy, and talent is involved in this premature surrender to "fate." Even more, having previously dared little as play-it-safe accommodators, many adult blue collarites remain unwilling thereafter to risk or dare very much at all. Few qualify for the ranks of those on whom an adventurous and inventive society must depend.
Few boast the energy and challenge necessary if they are to exercise the historical role of young adults as initiators of change and as architects of progress.

EPILOGUE

America's working class appears to be one that fears to dare, figures small angles incompetently, and makes the least-best of its life-enhancing possibilities. Blue collarites, or the Americans whose voices Walt Whitman heard singing, the sons of the Oakies that John Steinbeck and Woody Guthrie wrote of, the descendants of John Dos Passos' *U.S.A.*, and the masses exalted by intellectuals in the 1930's (and forgotten since), appear to be very much in trouble. Their plight, however, is hardly unique, and resembles nothing so much as a national epidemic or fate: too much at present has too many members of the working class making too little of their lives. We can help change this situation--if we dare. Or, we can continue to run the very real risk of soon sharing all the more in it. The price of procrastination, and thereby of increasing participation, comes exceedingly high.

This paper is based upon the following chapters in the author's *Blue Collar Life* (New York: Random House, 1969): "Blue Collar Sons," Chapter 9 (142-68); and, "Blue Collar Daughters," Chapter 10 (169-84).

NOTES & REFERENCES


10 Research suggests that lower class females start their petting and kissing behavior earlier than those in other classes who marry later and who are more likely to marry their teenage steadies. See, Ira L. Reiss, "America's sex standards--how & why they're changing," Trans-Action (March 1968) 26-32.

12 Konopka, Adolescent Girl In Conflict, 41.

13 President's Commission, The Challenge Of Crime, 56.

14 Henry J. Meyer et al, Girls At Vocational High (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1966). The authors suggest that perhaps "the diagnosis and management of environment might produce better results than the diagnosis and management of individuals through the prevalent case work method."


20 For rare confirmatory data, see, James W. Trent & Leland L. Medsker, Beyond High School (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968) 68, passim.


22 Trent & Medsker, Beyond High School, 36-37, passim. "Limited ability, limited education, a constricted socio-economic background, over-dependence on a dogmatic or fundamentalist religion, and an unenlightened, unstimulating, and autocratic family background seem to be prominent factors associated with regression in social maturity." (P. 212)

24 Robert R. Bell, Premarital Sex In A Changing Society (Englewood Cliffs: Spectrum, 1967) 144, passim. For research which suggests that girls with illegitimate pregnancy have no personality traits that distinguish them from girls in general, see, Starke R. Hathaway & Elio D. Monachesi, Adolescent Personality & Behavior: MMPI Patterns Of Normal, Delinquent, Dropout & Other Outcomes (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963) 53.


26 Ethelyn Davis, "Careers as concerns of blue collar girls," in Blue Collar World, ed. A. Shostak & W. Gomberg, 155.


28 Turner's data lead him to suggest adolescent girls are "less weaned from their strata of origin than men are at this stage of life . . . the girls continue to believe in the values which their backgrounds have forced on them while the men do not."


32 R. A. Ellis & W. C. Lane, "Social mobility & social isolation: a test of Sorokin's dissociative hypothesis," American Sociological Review (April 1967) 237-52. The subjects consist of twenty-two Caucasian freshmen who entered Stanford as first-year freshmen in the fall of 1958; all were blue collar achievers. " . . . the evidence bears out Sorokin's dissociative hypothesis that upward mobility is itself a disruptive social experience which leaves the individual for an appreciable period without roots or effective social support." (P. 237)


35 A rare study of high school seniors (706 in the San Francisco Bay area) found working class students' post-high school plans, for boys and girls respectively, were: college, forty-three and thirty-seven percent; technical school, thirty-one and twenty-nine percent; and no further education, twenty-five and thirty-four percent. For middle class students these percentages were sixty-six and sixty-one, twenty and twenty, and fourteen and nineteen. Irving Krauss, "Sources of educational aspirations among working class youth," American Sociological Review (December 1964) 867.

36 On the reluctance of upward mobile women from lower class backgrounds to risk sexual behavior that might interfere with their mobility, see, Ira L. Reiss, "Social class & premarital sexual permissiveness: a re-examination," American Sociological Review (October 1965) 753. See, also, Bell, Premarital Sex, 116.


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NOW, therefore, embrace these rules and be happy. Banish the bleak winds of sorrow from thy mind, and live independent. Then shalt thou be a man, and not hide thy face at the approach of the rich, nor suffer the pain of feeling little when the sons of fortune walk at thy right hand: for independency, whether with little or much, is good fortune, and placeth thee on even ground with the proudest of the golden fleece. Oh, then, be wise, and let industry walk with thee in the morning, and attend thee until thou reachest the evening hour for rest. Let honesty be as the breath of thy soul, and never forget to have a penny, when all thy expenses are enumerated and paid: then shalt thou reach the point of happiness, and independence shall be thy shield and buckler, thy helmet and crown; then shall thy soul walk upright, nor stoop to the silken wretch because he hath riches, nor pocket an abuse because the hand which offers it wears a ring set with diamonds.

Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)
The Way To Make Money Plenty In Every Man's Pocket
* POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC
OBSERVATIONS about political protest will find useful, as a point of departure, Aristotle's unassailable observation that "man is a political animal." He is an animal. He is political. Any attempt to define him another way in the political arena is absurd. He is rational, yes, but he is an animal. He is political, yes, but he is self-centered and loving. The psychological context of man's inner being may well be intact and whole; yet, how man meets his own intrinsic psychological needs may vary profoundly within each family and the social, cultural, and political contexts in which that family has its being. The different psychological and social worlds of each member of that family is also distinct and unique.*

Students are human. Students are political animals. The bewildering panorama of student protests in modern America, now quiescent under threat and intimidation represented by the policeman's baton at the Chicago 1968 Democratic Convention and of the "whiff of grapeshot" experienced at Kent and Jackson State colleges, are difficult to fathom, fearful to behold, awesome to experience, exhilarating to the participant. As difficult as understanding is, it must be surely sought, because such knowledge is useful for its own sake; but valuable also if we are to make some contribution to avoiding the pulverizing agony of misunderstanding among the generations running angrily amuk, and again to contribute to a dialogue that may aid the possibility of achieving creative and constructive political change rather than fatefuly accepting cynical alternatives which include at least the violence of angry despair of some and the metaphysical, spiritual, and psychological withdrawal of others. Political man cannot be understood apart from his psychological nature. For the generation holding political power, the agencies socializing their young and the institutions in which they move and work are comfortable and familiar, and their existence lends the appearance of stability and order to those sharing their beliefs, perceptions, paradigms, and lifestyles which seem to be an immutable part of the universe.

The emerging generations come to their place of power on the evolutionary clock in this time and this hour through profoundly different instruments of socialization than their parents. That this exacerbates already difficult communication is a considerable understatement. Although their humaneness remains intact, the process of their socialization is infinitely different. Mass culture dominates the value context of their emerging world view. The psychological needs of the youthful aspirants to power have been set by the mass character of the media to which they have been abandoned by their parents, namely monstrously inhumane massive educational institutions, materialistic profit-mongering television, and powerfully intimidating peer group standardization. Their grievances are different, their communication efforts seemingly uncomprehensible, their concerns difficult to assess, their behavior perplexing. Each generation seems to see the other in the context of this singular isolation which inhibits, even precludes, clear views of one another.

The result is no less than ominous for mankind, given the technological capability of modern man locked unknowingly and unawarely into his own hidden psychological agenda obscured from one another, but acted out in the political arena with appeals to the instruments of Armageddon lurking darkly in the background of man’s consciousness as possibilities. The emerging generation seems dominated by eschatological concerns, understandably so in light of the awful weapons and awful international situation they are about to inherit. The anxieties driving their behavior relate to qualitatively different values than those presently in power who were blooded in depression and reached their maturity during a successful Holy War, i.e., World War II. Hunger, material well being, economic stability, and the fending off of the awesome unknown by development of a paranoid enemy structure that feeds a terrible and feared war machine (identified by some as a military-industrial complex) are the driving social-psychological engines of the politics of the generation in power. These are hardly perceived as threats by the sons and daughters soon to define the world they inherit. Rather, they seek humaneness, intimacy, authenticity, the gentle values which were also part of the goals of their fathers and mothers and which rationalized the behavior of the parents.

Yet the values of their fathers that threaten to turn the world into ashes are angrily challenged because the instruments which they have been told are available to change the world and redress their own grievances are a mockery controlled not by the people but by awesome unchallenged centers of powers which dominate the definitions of virtue and truth, and define the conventional wisdom for which they might well be conscripted to possibly give their lives. This is an anathema to them. As the fears and anxieties of all involved rise, the mutual fulfilling exchanges wane, and repression appeals to violence and the justification of monstrous acts wax exceedingly strong. The failure to hear through the wishes and anguish to the hurts and aspirations of the young is met by angry actions that when unsuccessful turn to cynical despair or escapist withdrawal. The response by the wielders of power is cynical, destructive, frightening. Bewildered and angry, they strike out almost blindly and are answered only by provocative language, passionate anger, or a calculating rage translated into an ideological justification of their actions. The downward cycle of reciprocally fed violence is nurtured. This portends dire consequences for the political
order. In a cogent paragraph, Benjamin Barber summarizes the present juncture in the history of these generations:

To thoughtful students, the myopic self-interest of profit-mongering corporations seems no worse than the short-run, self-seeking avarice of racist unions . . . Both have sustained a value network pervaded by materialism and vulgarity; neither has questioned the brutal priorities implicit in a society that puts order before content, sex before love, numbers before wisdom, property before people, and profit before life.*

These psychological aspects of the present youth culture explain to a large extent their predisposition to rebellion. It takes, however, an issue to act as a catalyst and thus change attitudes and feelings into overt behavior that has been characterized as Unrest, Revolution, Riot, and Rebellion. The political issues that stimulate this political transformation are both national and international and are to a large extent mutually dependent. The international issue is the war in Southeast Asia. The war replaced the civil rights movement as the primary focus of college youth in the early 1960's, and peaceful protest has often given way to senseless violence often beyond the scale experienced in the civil rights movement because the United States government has been visibly unresponsive to whatever form of protest, short of violence, used in an attempt to change United States policy in Southeast Asia. Students who protest the war may be motivated by a variety of concerns: the taking of human lives, the money expended that is badly needed at home, the racial implications of the war (including the statistical implications for minorities of American soldiers being killed and enemy body counts), the injustices inherent in the draft, the profiteering by defense contractors, and many others. Whatever the prime concern, the anguished protest is legitimate. It is legitimate in at least two respects. First, peaceful protest is guaranteed by the First Amendment. Second, United States foreign policy is a legitimate concern of the citizenry. The violence experienced recently is almost surely a result of the extreme frustration that has accompanied the social response to the anti-war movement. Alienation from orderly processes of change is inevitable when mass protest not only does not result in de-escalation but results from (or at least is followed in time by) what appears to be increased commitments. The Laos and Cambodia ventures followed some of the largest, most peaceful protests this nation has seen.

Nationally, race is still a pervasive issue, even though demands and tactics have changed considerably from the voter registration and passive resistance of the late 1950's and early 1960's. Again, protestors are turning away from established orderly processes for change and toward more direct means. The targets have changed from local business to the government itself and often to the university, the institution that ironically was a major rallying point for earlier protest. Students began to direct their energies toward more covert forms of prejudice and discrimination, many of

which exist in the university itself, and at the same time using more overt forms of protest. The demand for ethnic studies programs and departments in the university was almost universally met by resistance, and in many cases it took violence or the threat of violence to obtain them. And even after several years of operation, these meager innovations still face the threats of economic demise, white cooptation, and academic disdain. Demands for separation and complete control of their own programs have followed too quickly demands for integration and joint control for most white administrators and academics to comprehend and adjust to, and yet these demands are not at all contradictory. Experience with what was called Integration and what was called Joint Control have shown that minority groups were little better off than they were under more covert forms of discrimination, and thus demands for separation follow this realization.

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest separates the issues of the war and the black student movement (it does not concern itself with other ethnic movements), and yet many students today feel that there is a very real connection between the two. Both are the result of what is in effect a corrupt society. This corruption is seen in the policies of large corporations and their allies in Congress and the administration. It is the failure of government (i.e., the Executive, Legislative, Administrative, and judicial systems) to respond seriously to this pervasive attitude that is in part a cause of protest itself, and when the government does react, it reacts by harshly and negatively treating the symptoms rather than the disease. For example, undercover agents are sent to the campuses to keep an eye and ear on suspected subversives (defined as anybody who criticizes the status quo), or it indicts people for conspiracy (an offense more appropriate in a police state) which is the modern equivalent to the ancient charges of treason and heresy. Thus government inaction and reaction both cause greater alienation, frustration, and resultant unrest.

Pollution also is a vital life concern of politically aware youth, with both industry and government to blame for destruction of their life sustaining environment. The ecology movement has not as yet reached overt appeals to violence, although the exploits of Chicago's The Fox and Michigan's billboard destroyers might point the way to the future if government and industry does not respond to student demands for effective action. By and large, however, student activity with respect to pollution has been constructive, with much energy being devoted toward cleaning up a littered countryside and collecting newspapers and bottles for recycling. It is important to understand, however, that government and industry are blamed for pollution just as they are blamed for fostering the war and tolerating racial discrimination, and adds another particular to the bill of indictments of The Establishment. Although student reasoning may sound simplistic, because the war, race, and pollution are very complex issues, there is an element of truth and logic to their notion that ultimately government and industry are responsible, for the priorities established by the public and private sectors of the economy tend to reflect concern with national defense and profit rather than with the alleviation of human suffering, and the students know this; they will not be fooled by "slight of hand" public relations, threats or rewards; they will not be deterred from viewing the results of technology's awful environmental destruction.
Nor does the university escape the thrusts of student discontent: general dissatisfaction with contemporary education as well as specific complaints about issues on particular campuses. Much of the general dissatisfaction with higher education is a function of the mere size of many colleges and universities today, and the concomitant depersonalization of the academic community. Many students today expect a university such as existed in the early part of this century, yet demand open admissions; it is clear that both cannot exist simultaneously. Mass education need not result in depersonalization, but the meager dollar commitment by government to education guarantees little else.

Yet it is the university itself, the heaviest visible focal point of systemic failure, that usually bears the brunt of student criticism, not the funding agency or other agencies of the government. Student complaints concerning depersonalization have a basis, for the priorities set by many institutions of higher learning tend to reward research over teaching and student obedience over innovation. The political student has come of age and acts out hostility built through years of deadening elementary and secondary school experiences. Thus, even though students do not always direct their criticism toward the correct source, their complaints are legitimate. Specific campus issues that have resulted in a good deal of unrest are often associated with the broader issues of the war and racism. The Kent State unrest, for example, was over ROTC and, implicitly, the war, and the unrest at Jackson State was a combination of anti-war activity (ROTC again) and racial policies. It is well known that these incidents resulted in the deaths of students, six in all. These deaths in turn sparked further protests across the nation, some as a direct result of the killings and some as a result of college and university administrators refusing to allow students to protest the killings. Other campus protests have been over the firing of popular professors, ethnic studies programs, and university land-use policies. Whatever the specific issue, one common thread runs throughout: lack of adequate channels of communication and lack of understanding between students, faculty, administration, and the public. Student grievance procedures, when there are any, are usually cumbersome, time consuming, and rarely result in any alleviation of grievances. They are designed to wear down the student, not to provide him with access to decision makers.

Whatever the congealing issues, virtually all protests are for legitimate reasons. Students may aim their protest at the wrong targets, but their grievances are meaningful and deeply felt, their sense of frustration immense, and their anger and anxieties intense. Youths who have not been exposed to the awesome bureaucracy found in both the government and the university, and who have had little real experience in the political process, find it difficult to understand why redress of grievances takes so much time and is so often unsatisfactory. They substitute power for politics, force for negotiation, the streets for the bargaining table. Unfortunately, this has the result of further polarizing the generations, of further alienating the students, and of preventing students from becoming familiar with the art of politics.

It is perhaps the alienation from politics, from the processes of peaceful change, from the Establishment that is the significant aspect of current student unrest. What effect this will have on the next generation is difficult to predict, but there is some indication that some student radicals are turning back to the political process.
It may be that the cynical despair that turns students off has already arrived. To many students the New Left is seen and experienced as being as manipulative, rigid, and arbitrary as are the forces they seemingly oppose. One is experienced as obnoxiously self-righteous as the other. The recent election in Berkeley of three radicals to the city council through the determined effort of students gives some hope that the alienation is not permanent. The recent wave of terrorist bombings seems to have subsided, and the Weathermen have officially rejected such terror tactics. The Black Panther Party is rife with internal bickering, and some of its leaders, along with other young radicals, have sought exile in other countries. The government's reaction to the wave of bombings was not what many radicals expected; there was not an increase in repressive tactics, the radicals were not rounded up and shipped to concentration camps, and the bombings did not throw fear into the hearts of the Establishment. But it seems that there still exists a radical fringe, dedicated to urban guerilla warfare, that is lying low waiting to see the direction in which the nation will turn. There are other students who are waiting also, waiting to see if it is necessary to join forces with the guerillas or whether change is possible through the system. Other students may have propensities that are supportive of the established order.

The nation, then, is at a crucial turning point. It is indeed a profound constitutional crisis. Students will move in some direction, depending on what happens in the next year with regard to the war, ecology, and race. The present quiescence on campus belies awesome tension, fear, growing cynicism, and despair. Local outbursts over campus issues are perhaps inevitable but seem to be receding. They do not fit into the larger picture of general discontent in that such issues might turn large numbers of students toward violent radicalism. If the war is not brought to a rapid conclusion and if the resources of the nation are not turned toward effecting true equality of races, cleaning up the environment, and altering the destructive educational system, it is likely that the emerging generation will be permanently alienated citizens--citizens who drop out and thus allow government to rule by default or citizens who turn to full-scale guerilla activity. Which way they move will be more determined by the nation's decision makers, more determined really by the decisions they fail to make, than by any positive action they may take. The emerging context of political life as perceived by the student and seen as the point of reference for his behavior may be summarized as follows:

1. Political power is experienced as divorced from student access with concomitant and exceedingly dysfunctional consequences.

2. Great numbers of students have "dropped out," "turned off," or otherwise withdrawn for a great variety of reasons.

3. Black students hurt so much they angrily eschew the ethics of "hard work" and "improving the mind" as the means of "getting somewhere," and assert verbally that violence is the only way. They seem to be biding their time while they work hard at improving their minds to improve their situation and personal effectiveness. Brown students are not far behind.
4 Few students (some exist) are ready to defend the conventional wisdom against all challengers.

5 Some radical students on left and right stand ready to "inherit the wind" of angry despair and are now working on themselves and "getting it together" or developing the ideological basis for the appeal to the masses.

Violent action for a minority of white and black students seems to lie close to the surface. The days of violence are awaited. For a majority of students, the epitaph on a bumper sticker in the late 1960's seems more appropriate: Suppose They Gave A War & Nobody Camel. The established powers, it would seem, would be unable to evoke the allegiance of the great majority of students in their defense; the students would simply not come. The "powers that be" have received failing marks from the students they have judged harshly. Rectification may come at the ballot box in the next decade, but little hope by students for this alternative is given. A political system, ostensibly democratic, that reflects such widespread disenchantment, despair, alienation, and anger by those soon to inherit the system indicates severe systemic crisis in the decade of the 1970's. Political democracy in America is in serious trouble and will undoubtedly undergo serious and fundamental alterations before the decade is concluded.

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IDEAS rule the world and its events. A revolution is the passage of an idea from theory to practice. Whatever men have said, material interests never have caused, and never will cause, a revolution. Extreme poverty, financial ruin, oppressive or unequal taxation, may provoke risings that are more or less threatening or violent, but nothing more. Revolutions have their origin in the mind, in the very root of life; not in the body, in the material organism. A religion or a philosophy lies at the base of every revolution. This is a truth that can be proved from the whole historical tradition of humanity.

Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872)
ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
This paper describes the development of a typology of student role orientations through the examination of previously developed typologies of student cultures, through experience in developing an empirical instrument to measure such role orientations, and through application of a classificatory scheme from a general theory of action. It is hoped that this will afford a case study of continuities in theory and research. For this reason, the typology is set forth in a developmental fashion rather than being presented merely in terms of the categorial system that forms the final basis of organization.

Considerable interest has developed in the study of student cultures at institutions of higher education. Those engaged in the research have worked with a concept of culture as an abstraction derived from observations of the students' perceptions of the characteristics of the college environment. Gottlieb & Hodgkins,\(^1\) for example, developed a method of assessing orientations by asking students to rank their preferences for four kinds of student cultures described in global terms. This method has been modified and used in a new form in the College Student Questionnaires developed by the research staff of the Educational Testing Service.

Our research staff has come to feel that the college environment might be more appropriately assessed by determining the preferences of students for certain kinds of behavior at the college. Rather than assessing an attitude toward a global description of a student culture, we would try to construct the student culture or cultures of the campus from preferences for clusters of behaviors that are possible in the role of student. We have a concept of culture as an abstraction derived from observations of behavioral preferences of individuals acting in roles. The focus of our research, then, is more precisely the role of student rather than student culture.

Although we emphasize role rather than culture, our research benefits from previous studies of student culture. In research at the University of New Hampshire, Jervis & Congdon\(^2\) had observed three basic orientations: (1) a stress on intellectual activity and growth specific to the faculty, (2) an emphasis on vocational preparation...
and social development specific to the students, and (3) a concern for self-actualization common to both faculty and students.

Trow developed a typology of four student subcultures derived from two basic dimensions: the level of identification with the college, and the level of involvement with ideas. Where students were committed to the college and had an interest in ideas, the culture was academic. Identification with the college without a commitment to ideas characterized the collegiate culture. Students interested in ideas but uninterested in the college as such formed a nonconformist intellectual culture. The consumer-vocational culture existed where a substantial proportion of students neither identified with college nor felt committed to ideas.

Clark & Trow distinguished two varieties of Trow's vocational culture. Diploma vocationalism existed where little more than successful completion of a number of years of study at a college was regarded as necessary to obtain a job. Skill vocationalism was found where students believed that some sort of learning of job-related skills and information had to occur as part of the college experience in order to find employment at a later date.

Wedge identified four types of student culture somewhat similar to those already mentioned, but added a fifth. This was an aggregate of students who were achievers without strong goal commitments. They did rather well in their studies, but had not clearly defined the goals of education for themselves. The author speculated that this might constitute the largest group of students.

Pace & Stern have identified through factor analysis of data from a questionnaire five basic college environments: (1) a humanistic, reflective, sentient culture that fits the usual image of the liberal arts college; (2) a scientific, competitive culture with an academic emphasis on science and technology; (3) a practical, status-oriented culture, characterized by a vocational orientation toward business and engineering flavored with a strong social life; (4) a human relations, group welfare culture common to the kind of small college that emphasizes warm relations between the school and the community, the faculty, and the students; and (5) a culture of rebelliousness distinguished by noisy, inattentive, spontaneously acting students.

From these previous efforts in the study of student culture, we derived an initial typology of seven student role orientations:

1 ACADEMIC and scholarly, of either a humanistic or a scientific orientation, with concern for acquiring the formal knowledge of courses taken in the college.

2 INTELLECTUAL but non-academic, stressing art and ideas outside the context of formal course instruction; in one instance or more, following the nonconformist pattern that may be called Beat.

3 SKILL VOCATIONALISM, emphasizing skills and knowledge from
course instruction that will be directly applicable in future employment in 
science, technology, business, education, or social work.

4 DIPLOMA VOCATIONALISM, seeking successful completion of a 
course of study in a college so that one may be qualified for certain jobs 
requiring a college degree.

5 COLLEGIATE & ATHLETIC, stressing enjoyment of the experi-
ence of being in college through social and athletic activities.

6 SOCIAL GROWTH & EDUCATION, learning to get along with 
people; a justification, perhaps, for the short-run hedonism of the colle-
giate culture.

7 RITUALISTIC, fulfilling personal, parental, or social expecta-
tions regarding educational activity in pursuit of diffuse goals; going to 
college because it's the thing to do--the ritual of education.

Having devised this typology, we turned to developing an instrument for measur-
ing the role orientations represented in the typology. We have been trying to do this 
through use of a questionnaire that asks the responding student to indicate the level of 
his preference for each of a large number of behaviors open to a college student. The 
instrument is designed to extract, through such techniques as factor analysis, clus-
ters of behaviors that conform to the role orientations in the typology. We have met 
with some initial success in this effort.

The empirical analysis, however, has led to a re-formulation of some elements 
of the typology.

The factor analysis has not distinguished skill vocationalism and diploma voca-
tionalism. The kinds of behavior that we expected to be associated with a factor of 
diploma vocationalism have clustered as part of a general vocationalism factor or as 
part of the collegiate and ritualistic factors. It seems that diploma vocationalism is 
not an analytically independent role orientation, but one that is usually related to 
other role orientations.

The analysis has produced two collegiate role orientations. One is character-
ized by preference for participation in activities that have been organized by others--
going to parties, dances, sports events. The other shows a preference for construc-
tive or productive contributions to the social or collegiate life of the campus--leaders-
ship in organizations, planning of college events. This first role orientation we call 
Consummatory Collegiate; the second, Instrumental Collegiate.

A revision of the typology takes this form:

1 ACADEMIC, either humanistic or scientific, with concern for 
acquiring the formal knowledge of courses taken in the college.
2 INTELLECTUAL, stressing art and ideas outside the context of formal course instruction; in one instance or more, following the nonconformist pattern that may be called Beat.

3 VOCATIONALIST, emphasizing skills and knowledge from course instruction that will be directly applicable in future employment, seeking successful completion of a course of study in a college so that one may be qualified for certain jobs requiring a college degree.

4 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, learning to get along with people, to help people.

5 INSTRUMENTAL COLLEGIATE, active work or leadership in the social and collegiate life of a campus, stressing enjoyment in the experience of doing things in college.

6 CONSUMMATOR COLLEGIATE, participation as a consumer in the social and collegiate life of the campus, stressing enjoyment in the experience of being in college.

7 RITUALISTIC, fulfilling personal, parental, or social expectations regarding education in pursuit of diffuse goals; going to college because it's the thing to do--the ritual of education.

These proposed categories of student role orientations might gain in value if the rule of parsimony could be applied to them. The value of Trow's scheme of student cultures was increased by his ability to relate these orientations to basic commitments to ideas or to the institution. Here, the notions of consummatory and instrumental collegiate, of social development, and of ritualism break down the consistency of Trow's scheme and produce what appears to be a congeries of types.

We have found, however, that this classificatory scheme of seven student roles may be ordered logically by a general theory of role orientations, and the application of that theory to the present problem has suggested that a typology of eight student role orientations may be exhaustive and internally consistent. The general theory is Parsons' categorial system of pattern variables. 

In the original formulation of the pattern variables, Parsons identified five dichotomies or dimensions that represented the problems that any social actor had to resolve in evaluating or acting toward a social object:

1 Affectivity
   Affective Neutrality  To act for gratification of impulse
   To act with delay of gratification

2 Self Orientation
   Collectivity Orientation  To act for private or personal interests
   To act for the interests of a group
In the time since the original formulation, Parsons has relegated the dimension of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation to a less significant position, and the terms quality and performance have come to be used in lieu of ascription and achievement.

The typology of student roles uses universalism-particularism and performance-quality as a single dimension. In American society, the dimensions of universalism versus particularism and performance versus quality, though analytically distinguishable, are empirically confounded. In this society, though perhaps not in others, the values of generalized applicability represented by the orientation of universalism are always based on standards of performance. Americans tend to regard as more morally upright the man who asks, How well can he do the job? rather than, Who is he? Who is in his family? What is his race and religion? What schools did he attend? This is not to say that Americans do not act in terms of standards of quality, but some moral censure seems often to be the consequence of such decisions.

In the classification of student role orientations, three sets of pattern variables may be used: (1) affectivity versus affective neutrality, (2) diffuseness versus specificity, and (3) performance versus quality. (Table 1) The dimension of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation may be ignored as a secondary matter, and the dimension of universalism versus particularism may be treated as being closely related to performance versus quality.

Four kinds of student role orientations are characterized by affective neutrality—by decisions to act in favor of the delay of gratification of impulses: academic, intellectual, vocationalist, and social development. All four subscribe to the view that impulse gratification must be postponed or at least controlled during the process of education.

In relation to ideas and to persons who represent ideas, the academically oriented and the intellectually oriented are diffuse, while the orientations of vocationalism and social development are specific. Breadth of interest characterizes persons with the first two kinds of role orientations while those vocationally oriented and socially oriented evaluate their college experience in terms of its specific relevance for future social and occupational roles. Ideas pervade the minds of academically and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutrality</th>
<th>Diffuseness</th>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Role Type</th>
<th>Highest Loading Items On Relevant Factors In An Early Factor Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutrality</td>
<td>Diffuseness</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>INTELLECTUAL</td>
<td>Attending poetry recitations &amp; analyses. Studying the history of ideas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutrality</td>
<td>Specificity</td>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>VOCATIONAL</td>
<td>Listening to authorities discuss problems in my career field. Gaining practical &amp; direct experience for my chosen occupation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutrality</td>
<td>Specificity</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>Meeting people I do not know so that I can gain new points of view. Traveling &amp; seeing places that are different.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectivity</td>
<td>Diffuseness</td>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>RITUALISTIC</td>
<td>Crossing days off the calendar as they go by. Going home on weekends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectivity</td>
<td>Diffuseness</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>REBELLIous</td>
<td>Sitting with friends near the jukebox in the local hangout. Talking in a lounge on campus about social events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectivity</td>
<td>Specificity</td>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL COLLEGIATE</td>
<td>Being on a committee that arranges college-wide events. Working on the college yearbook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectivity</td>
<td>Specificity</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>CONSUMMATORY COLLEGIATE</td>
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intellectually oriented students, but vocationally and socially oriented students compartmentalize learning. For vocationally and socially oriented students, the role of student is a narrowly defined aspect of the life pattern of the individual.

The academic role orientation and the intellectual role orientation differ in terms of universalistic standards of performance and the particularistic standards of quality. Both favor affective neutrality (the delay of gratification of impulse) and both favor a diffuse orientation toward social objects in the situation. The academically oriented student, however, is concerned with judgments of himself and others made by the formalized standards of performance set up by the institution, that is, by the grading system. The intellectually oriented student, on the other hand, questions the importance of grades or of success in formal courses, and applies particularistic standards of quality, that is, projecting the proper image of being an intellectual.

Similarly, vocationalism and social development are distinguishable in terms of performance and quality. Vocationalism stresses the acquisition of skills and knowledge for a specific occupation in the future, and this makes the formalized standards of performance in the institution a primary basis of making judgments; courses and grades are important to the vocationalist as evidence of achievement.

For one oriented toward social development, however, the degree is only one requirement for social mobility in the future. Although one must get passing grades in order to graduate, cultivating interpersonal skills and meeting social standards for evaluating status are of great importance.

The collegiately oriented student, whether instrumental or consummatory, and the uncommitted student ritualistically passing through the college experience has resolved the issue of impulse gratification in favor of affectivity. It is true that, as students in institutions of higher education, they are delaying some gratification, but they seek a significant measure of gratification of impulse in college. If anything is to be delayed or deferred by these students, it is study. They sometimes delay or defer it until the evening before a final examination. Some defer it even longer.

In contrast to the ritualistic student, who dissipates his energy in a wide variety of activities lacking clear goals, the collegiately oriented students direct their action along specific lines. For them, the aspects of the student role are well defined. Indeed, the specificity of the collegiate role orientation and the specificity of the orientations of vocationalism and social development make it relatively easy for a single student to play two or more of these roles. With specificity of role definitions, it is easy for a student to distinguish situations in which it is appropriate to study from situations in which it is appropriate to play, to find the right balance between study and fun.

The instrumental collegiate and the consummatory collegiate are clearly distinguishable in terms of their variations in the primacy of standards of performance. The first seeks confirmation of achievement through judgments based on performance. It is not enough to be "one of the crowd"; one must stand out from the crowd as a
leader or organizer. High status is accorded to one who demonstrates an ability to achieve according to criteria of performance. The consummatory collegiate orientation is less sensitive to achievement. It is desirable to be "in" according to the particularistic standards of quality favored by the "in crowd."

By this point in the application of the scheme of pattern variables to types of student role orientations, it should be clear that the internal consistency of the categorial scheme requires eight rather than seven classes of student role orientations. With the combination of affectivity and diffuseness, it should be possible theoretically to distinguish between an orientation that emphasizes universalistic standards of performance and an orientation that emphasizes particularistic standards of quality. We have here only the identification of the role orientation of the ritualistic uncommitted student, who plays the role of student because it is the thing to do, seeking to fulfill vaguely defined personal, parental, or social expectations. This may be seen as the combination of affectivity, diffuseness, and performance, a role that favors gratification of impulse while pursuing loosely defined goals that are to be judged by universalistic standards of performance. Such a student will be concerned with grades in college despite affectivity and diffuseness.

If the scheme of pattern variables has utility, then it should lead us to identify yet one more kind of student role orientation and the attributes should be determinable. It will be a role orientation based on affectivity, diffuseness, and particularistic standards of quality rather than standards of performance, an absence of concern, for example, with course requirements and passing grades. They will differ from the collegiate student in the diffuseness rather than the specificity of the role orientation. They will be distinct from the intellectual in preferring gratification of impulse to delay of gratification. This may be called the non-conformist, non-intellectual role orientation or the rebel role orientation. It is characteristic of the true Beat culture, dissipating the energy of its members in sensuous activities, favoring the senses over the intellect, seeking new experiences just for the sake of such experiences. The fascination of this group with the hallucinogenic experiences of narcotics and drugs may be understandable in this respect.

The application of the scheme of pattern variables has made it possible, then, for us to distinguish two orientations to the role of student that are usually confounded. In our first typology of roles, we included in our description of the intellectual student a statement that in some instances the intellectual orientation might take the form of Beat culture. The analysis in the context of pattern variables has suggested that the intellectual culture and the Beat culture should be distinguished analytically.

This identification of an eighth role orientation was made too late to be introduced into the first form of the instrument designed to assess student role orientations. This will have to be done in future work with the instrument.

Since recognition of the rebel role was made, other typologies have been developed that analytically distinguish two or three aspects of what was originally identified as an intellectual non-conformist orientation. Warren found it possible to
distinguish empirically the Intellectual, the Autonomous, and the Social Activist. Kenniston\textsuperscript{9} discussed the difference between the Disaffiliate and the Activist. Newcomb and his associates\textsuperscript{10} identified Creative Individualists, Wild Ones, and Political Activists. Peterson\textsuperscript{11} proposed a distinction between Intellectuals, Hippies, and Left-Activists. There is increasing recognition that, among students who challenge the system as it is, there are those who are oriented to the challenge of ideas, those who are oriented to the challenge of experience, and those who are oriented to the challenge of action.

Two reservations must be expressed in regard to a typology based on the pattern variables. First, the pattern variables have been a basis for ordering the typology of role orientations theoretically, but the empirical ordering of the typology may be different. The second reservation to be expressed here is a general problem in the use of such devices as the pattern variables. In applying these categories of theoretical analysis to role orientations, we have had to be selective in the identification of relevant aspects of the role orientations. This process of selection, rather than reliance on an inventory of all aspects of orientation, exposes one to criticism of biasing reality in favor of confirming one's ordering principle. It is difficult to escape such a criticism in theoretical analysis.

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