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THE SOCIOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE

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ANNOUNCEMENT

CLIFTON D. BRYANT, PhD, who as the department head served as chairman of the editorial committee and supervisor of this journal's manufacture, announces his resignation as professor and head, department of sociology and anthropology, Western Kentucky University. Dr. Bryant's new appointment (July 1972) is professor and head, department of sociology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University.
INTRODUCTION

The practice of holding sex information sessions for disadvantaged youth in their own neighborhoods is a relatively new development in the United States. This innovation has grown through the concern of family planning advocates over the high rate of illegitimate pregnancies among twelve to twenty year olds and from the awareness that even if sex education is provided by the school system many of these youths will not be reached because many have dropped out. Although the immediate goal of these programs is to provide sex information for adolescents, the ultimate goal is to reduce the rate of unwanted adolescent pregnancy.

This paper reports an ongoing study of sex information sessions which attempts to ascertain the cognitive styles of professional service personnel and adolescent youth from low income neighborhoods. Our hypothesis is that there will be differences in cognitive styles between those who present sex information and those who receive it. It is further hypothesized that an incongruity or variation in cognitive styles will impede the communication process with a consequent need for professionals to

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† The data collection instrument described in this paper was developed by Jane Schoultz and the author. We wish to thank C. B. Arnold and M. B. Sussman for their helpful comments and suggestions in discussing the initial idea with us. The author also wishes to thank Jane Schoultz for her insightful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
modify cognitive styles in order to enhance their communication skills. This paper, however, will discuss only the cognitive style of the adolescents.

By cognitive style I mean the dominant way an individual perceives the world, the response patterns he develops to handle ideas, to experience new and recurring situations, and to communicate with others. It is thought that individuals are socialized into cognitive styles early in life, but as they grow older some investigators believe that these styles may change through education and relationships with different social groups, organizations and institutions. The quality of one’s cognitive style is highly influenced by the culture or cultures in which he has lived.

Data from the sex information programs under study have been collected in two cities—one a large metropolitan area in the mid-Atlantic region and the other a capital city in the South. In the mid-Atlantic region sex information sessions occurred under the auspices of Planned Parenthood. In the southern city they were an integral part of a more comprehensive program to reduce unwanted adolescent pregnancy. In both locations, however, the structure of sessions is similar. Audiences are drawn from the immediate neighborhood and sessions are held in local churches, recreation centers or community centers. Adolescents attending range from about twelve to nineteen years old; however, in a few instances youths in their early twenties attend. Presenters tend to conduct sessions in an informal manner—at least informal in comparison to the usual classroom styles. In addition to a talk, a film or film strip is sometimes shown and adolescents are encouraged to ask questions. Most presenters are professionals—physicians, social workers, clergymen, teachers, marriage counselors, or health educators. In almost every instance they are college educated, middle class adults. In contrast, the youths who come to these sessions live in poverty areas, often belong to minority groups, and many have little education and intellectual training. As a result of these differences in background and life experiences, presenters and audiences manifest differences in cognitive styles which impede accurate communication.

RESEARCH DIFFICULTIES IN LOW INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS

Before discussing the study itself, it is important to mention some of the difficulties inherent in research projects in low income neighborhoods. Throughout the country, residents of slum areas are beginning to protest investigations. These residents say their neighborhoods have already been over-studied and that they have received none of the promised benefits from these studies. By personal communication we have been told that some communities on the West Coast have organized to permit only those studies approved by a community board and to require substantial payment to respondents for participation. The day of easy research access to low income groups is quickly passing. There is an expressed anathema for words such as research, experiment, subject, interview and questionnaire. To gain acceptance we have found that we must change our research vocabulary. For example, instead of asking a person if we may interview him, we achieve better results by saying, "Do you mind if I talk to you about . . .," or "Would you sit down and talk to me
about..." Instead of introducing oneself by saying, "I'm involved in a study of...," one gets better results by saying, "I've been talking to some people in this neighborhood about..." These people are unimpressed with academic credentials and the inherent worth of research.

For respondent participation it is also necessary to develop new data collection techniques. Group interviews often elicit more information than individual interviews. Conversational interview techniques are more easily accepted and questions are more readily answered than if the interviewers follow the usual procedure of formally reading questions from a prepared interview schedule or questionnaire. Adolescents in particular make highly negative comments about self-administered questionnaires. Attention spans are relatively short; thus data collection must be brief, extremely interesting or both.

These comments suggest a few of the difficulties in finding willing subjects. The more serious problem of validity of responses to formalized data collection instruments will be discussed later.

A STUDY OF COGNITIVE STYLE & COMMUNICATION

Our research approach includes several types of data collection techniques: observation of sessions by the research project staff, tape recordings of over thirty sessions, lists of written questions passed in to the presenter, and research assistants' lists of oral questions recorded verbatim for more than eighty sessions, and tapes of over thirty rap sessions immediately following a presentation in which young research assistants led a group of six to twelve adolescents in discussion about the session.

In March 1970 we attempted to develop a more systematic data collection instrument* based on insights gained through preliminary review of the above mentioned sources of data and administered this in the southern city. The discussion of findings will show that our approach to the development of this instrument was either too complex and sophisticated or too naive.

The instrument consisted of seventeen questions and was designed to identify cognitive styles of adolescents. Eight polar dimensions were selected for examination: (1) Specific/General, (2) Individual/Social Norm, (3) Personal/Impersonal, (4) Flexible/Rigid, (5) Exceptional Case/Usual Case, (6) Non-Technical/Technical, (7) Concrete/Abstract, and (8) Conversational/Lecture approach to presentation of information. Each dimension was covered by two or more questions. It was hypothesized that the adolescents would show preference for the following polar extremes: the specific, individual, personal, flexible, exceptional case, non-technical, concrete, and conversational.

The instrument consists of a tape recording and paper and pencil questionnaire. The tape includes the voices of a male physician and of a female adolescent from one of the low income neighborhoods. The girl asks the

* Copies of the research instrument may be obtained by writing to Betty E. Cogswell, Carolina Population Center, 113 Mallette Street, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.
seventeen questions to which the physician replies. These questions were drawn from an extensive list of questions asked by adolescent audiences and represent those most frequently asked in several substantive areas. The physician responds to each question with two alternative answers (A/B), each equally correct but constructed to represent the polar extremes on the eight dimensions of cognitive style. These seventeen questions and the two answers for each are repeated in writing on the questionnaire form. These questionnaires were administered in groups. Adolescent subjects were asked to indicate by circling whether they preferred answer A or B. They were also informed that both answers were correct. This technique can be illustrated with two of the questions which have relatively brief answers:

Can A Girl Have Sex While On Her Period?

(A) In discussion with many young people in this neighborhood it seems that most of them aren't having sex while the girl is on her period.

(B) It's up to each individual couple. It's their own thing to decide for themselves.

The A answer represents a social norm and the B answer represents individuality.

What Can A Girl Do To Keep From Getting Pregnant?

(A) Every girl who is not using some form of protection should insist that the boy use a rubber.

(B) There are several things a girl can do to keep from getting pregnant. One, she can insist that the boy wear a rubber, and she could use the foam. Or, she could be fitted for a diaphragm or an IUD. Still another method would be to use birth control pills as prescribed by a doctor.

Answer A portrays a rigid authoritarian approach while B indicated a flexible approach which provides options.

STUDY GROUP

In the southern city this instrument was administered to 89 adolescents -- 49 males and 40 females -- between the ages of eleven and twenty-seven with a mean age of 15.6. From a total of 88 responses 65 had previously attended sex information sessions and 23 had not. The mean number of sessions attended was 4.2. Procedures for assembling adolescents were identical to those for regular sessions. Posters were placed at each session site announcing a time for meeting and outreach workers contacted the usual adolescent leaders in each neighborhood. They were not told beforehand that this session would involve filling out a questionnaire.

FINDINGS

From previous experience with low income adolescents' resistance to paper and pencil data collection forms, we were surprised to find that they willingly participated. Although research assistants administering the instrument report that explanation of the procedure brought many negative comments such as, "Oh, no! Just like school!" or "I
wondered when you were going to ask us to do something for you!"--this mood changed drastically once the tape began. The adolescents evidenced an enthusiasm both non-verbally and verbally. The no response rates for individual questions ranged from 20% to 4.5% (Table 1). Adolescents reported that they liked these sessions because they learned something and because they had the opportunity to choose between two correct answers. The game-like quality of the instrument may have also been an incentive.

To analyze the data, percentages were calculated for adolescent preference for the A or B response on each of the seventeen items (Table 2). Because the study group is not a random sample, tests for significance of difference were not performed. Adolescents obviously have decided preferences. For twelve questions, over 60% preferred a particular answer with a high of 85% preference in one question. In four questions, there is a 55% to 59% preference. Only one question has a 50-50 division. When preference percentages are controlled for male/female, we find that females indicate a more decided preference for a response than males in 16 out of 17 questions.

Analysis by inspection of the eight cognitive style dimensions shows preferences in the hypothesized direction for two dimensions and in the opposite direction for two others. For the other four dimensions there are inconsistencies among questions which comprise the dimension.

**DIMENSIONS OF COGNITIVE STYLE**

**Individual / Social Norm**

On this dimension, adolescent preference was in the expected direction of the individual on both questions with females showing a higher preference than males and with no change in preference by age (Tables 3 & 4). This dimension is illustrated by the responses to the previously mentioned question--Can a girl have sex while on her period?--and perhaps has more stability and more support than any other dimension. In individual interviews about sexual behavior, to questions on how old one should be when the boy or girl starts having sex, on what a girl should do if she gets pregnant, and on whether boys mind using rubbers, the most frequent first response is: "It all depends." Adolescents will then indicate circumstances under which different choices should be made and differences among individuals which affect choice. These same responses are given by parents, a fact which suggests that this is a basic style of these low income populations. Social norms are recognized, but there is also a realization that there are many extending circumstances which make behavior by the norm difficult, unrealistic or untenable.

**Flexible / Rigid**

On the Flexible/Rigid dimension, preference was in the expected direction toward the flexible, with females showing a higher preference than males and with an increase in preference by increase in age. Flexibility refers to the ability to perceive alternatives or options and respond appropriately to a given situation. This adaptability and
its correlate open-mindedness are contrasted with the rigidity and close-mindedness of an authoritarian orientation. In flexible responses, presenters discuss a variety of techniques for events such as birth control, abortion or delivery. The presenter offering a rigid response would discuss and endorse the one technique he considers best suited for the given set of circumstances implied in the adolescent's question. The increased preference for the flexible with increasing age may suggest that older adolescents feel more competent to make their own decisions when presented with a set of alternatives.

Exceptional Case / Usual Case

Here usual refers to the average or near average occurrence and the exceptional to the rarely occurring or never occurring event. This dimension was included because of the frequency with which adolescents raised questions or gave illustrations of the exceptional such as: Can a five or six year old girl have a baby? I know a woman who had a loop and got cancer! Do doctors get excited when they give a pelvic? I heard about a woman who got pregnant by a dog--is that possible? The preference, contrary to our hypothesis, was for the usual with females choosing this alternative in a higher ratio and with little difference in preference by age. Adolescents obviously do not want presenters to answer a question by citing an exceptional case. Our observations of sessions and lists of questions asked does support however the notion that adolescents do want the freedom to ask about the exceptional and want these questions to be treated with respect.

Personal / Impersonal

Again preference is contrary to the expected direction. The impersonal response is chosen with females showing a much higher preference than males and with increase in choice of the impersonal with increasing age. This dimension was included because those presenters who attain good rapport with the adolescents are asked many personal questions such as: Are you married? Do you have children? What would you do if...? Similar to the last dimension, our mistake in constructing the instrument was to portray the personal by having the presenter give a personal opinion on an informational question. A rap session of adolescents presents the duality of their perspective very well:

I'd rather have more than a doctor's or one person's personal opinion, yet I still think there has to be some personal interest. A doctor should be able to answer personal questions without getting himself involved. We want him to come across as a person...

Adolescents also want the privilege of asking questions about the presenter's personal life: Are you married? Do you have children? Where do you come from? They want a personal approach but not a personal opinion. In operationalizing both this dimension and the previous one, we mistakenly transferred the initiative for bringing up the personal and exceptional from adolescent to presenter.

Remaining Dimensions

In the four remaining dimensions--Specific / General, Non-Technical /
Technical, Concrete/Abstract, and Conversational/Lecture—there were inconsistencies among questions representing the dimensions. For example, on two questions for the Specific/General, adolescents chose the specific in one instance and the general in the other. By inspection of the data and review of the instrument, two inferences can be made about these inconsistencies:

1. It is very difficult to construct presenter responses representing polar extremes and still give equal amounts of information in the A and B response. By crude estimate ten responses gave more information in one alternative than in the other. Seven out of ten times the response providing the most information was preferred.

2. In several cases preference appears to be related to the substantive topic. For example, in a question on Specific/General, adolescents chose the specific in one instance and the general in the other. By inspection of the data and review of the instrument, two inferences can be made about these inconsistencies:

   1. It is very difficult to construct presenter responses representing polar extremes and still give equal amounts of information in the A and B response. By crude estimate ten responses gave more information in one alternative than in the other. Seven out of ten times the response providing the most information was preferred.

   2. In several cases preference appears to be related to the substantive topic. For example, in a question on VD the concrete was decidedly preferred to the abstract. In a question on homosexuality the abstract response was chosen by a much higher proportion than the concrete. VD is a frequent problem among these adolescents. The practice of homosexuality is infrequent, although they express a lively interest in discussing the topic. The choices of the adolescents suggest that concrete answers are important when questions deal with problems in their life situation, but the abstract is preferred in matters of curiosity and not those of experience.

FORTUITOUS FINDINGS

In the five instances after administration of the questionnaire, research assistants held rap sessions with the adolescents and asked why they chose the answers they did. This source of data as well as rap sessions conducted after regular presentations yielded some surprising results. These data will explain my initial comment that our A/B instrument was either too sophisticated or too naive.

In many instances a literal meaning of words taken out of context by adolescents results in faulty communication. To question 10 on the instrument: Do you have to be a certain age before you can have a baby? one response reads: "No, there is no certain age. Usually a girl would be able to have a baby between the ages of eleven and thirteen." Adolescents expressed dissatisfaction with this response and said, "Between eleven and thirteen? That sounds like after you're thirteen you can't have a kid!"

Sometimes miscommunication results when adolescents give an unintended literal meaning to a word. This is particularly true when a lay term is used in a technical sense. In discussing a question on menstruation one sixteen year old boy says: "I picked B because everybody knows that most girls are on their period on the last part of every month." Further comments made it obvious that he meant the end of May, the end of June, the end of July. If one considers the way many physicians or teachers explain the 28 day cycle which terminates with a monthly period, one can begin to imagine why this boy thinks girls have periods at the end of each month. Many presenters after mentioning a 28-30 day cycle use the word "month" as a synonym for cycle. Also the very wording of the colloquial
term "monthly period" may be misleading. Later the same boy said: "Most people don't understand that the period is the womb." The meaning of this statement is beyond our imagination.

In one session that I observed, a girl asked a presenter to explain the rhythm method. The presenter, a physician, gave a ten minute explanation while sketching a chart of the 28 day cycle on the chartboard. After he completed this short lecture, another girl asked if he would now explain the rhythm method. The physician was baffled and silent. A third girl then said: "I thought rhythm was the way you moved." "No, that's not it," replied another; "it means you come and then he comes." Thus we see that for this group of people rhythm is an unfortunate word choice for a specified period of abstinence.

Another physician used the preposition prior to to avoid confusion, referring to "prior to ovulation" and "prior to the egg and sperm meeting," for example. In the rap sessions following this presentation, the adolescents discussed at length the meaning of this word. The final consensus of the group was that prior to is an organ located on the upper left hand side of the female's abdomen. In one session they mentioned that they did not understand what the presenter meant when he said: "Fertilization did not occur, so the uterus shed its lining." " Shed, shed; what does that mean?" they inquired. "Ah, like shut (shed) the door," they volunteered. "It means the uterus is shut (shed) up and you can't get pregnant."

Many other terms have caused complications. After an explanation of how the egg comes down the fallopian tubes, a twelve year old boy asked: "Who cracks the shell?" In descriptions of physical exams for contraceptives, presenters often mention that the physician takes a history, a blood pressure, and so forth. Among these adolescents, history arouses images of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. If we intended to communicate effectively, we cannot assume that even simple words will be interpreted by the adolescents according to our intended meaning. In fact, simple words used in a technical sense are apt to result in greater communication distortion than complex technical terms. Adolescents are aware that they do not know the meaning of terms like fallopian tubes and hysterectomy; but they feel confident that they understand the simple terms correctly.

In several instances in our instrument, we found that the choice of one of the two responses was based on one key word. In three questions a slang term was used in one response and not in the other. In all three cases the response with the slang term was preferred, and information from rap sessions reveals that these responses were chosen because of the slang. In two questions the phrase in nature appears in one response and not in the other. Rap sessions revealed that in nature is equated with God's will and this response is chosen "because God wants it that way." Thus we cannot rely on an assumption that adolescents are replying to the response as a whole.

SUMMARY

Data gathered through rap sessions and observation cast doubt on the actual meaning attributed to simple words by the adolescents in this study. If misrepresentations such as those just
Illustrated occur frequently among this population, and if this extends to a wide variety of words in our normal vocabulary, the validity of responses to simple language is highly uncertain. If this particular study had not included several methods of data collection in addition to the A/B questionnaire, this paper would most probably contain numerous inferences based on a set of computer print-outs. The presentation would have been logical and probably convincing. If the validity of findings were questioned, it is unlikely that these questions would deal with the meaning of simple terms.

These findings point up very clearly that research in poverty neighborhoods is much more problematic than we begin to envision. The validity of responses to questionnaires and standardized data collection instruments becomes dubious. Ways to reduce communication distortion are obscure. It is almost impossible to ask directly about the meaning of words, questions and statements, and to account for variations in meaning stemming from different contexts. My primary suggestion is that in research designs for studies in poverty neighborhoods, open informal techniques for data collection be coupled with more formal approaches.

(Tables Follow)
### TABLE 1

TOTAL POPULATION: ANSWERED NEITHER OR BOTH A/B

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<th>Question</th>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>7.9% Flexible/Rigid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>7.9% Exceptional/Usual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11.2% Non-Technical/Technical</td>
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<td>Q14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7% 2.2% Concrete/Abstract</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7% 2.2% Conversational/Lecture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q16</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Q17</td>
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* Question Number

Total Population: 89
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<td>Social Norm</td>
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<td>Impersonal</td>
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<td>54.9 (45)</td>
<td>9.8</td>
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* Question Number

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<td>%</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>%</td>
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<td>Usual</td>
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<td>49.4 (42)</td>
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<td>Q9</td>
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<td>Q12</td>
<td>36.6 (30)</td>
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<td>Q15</td>
<td>30.5 (25)</td>
<td>69.5 (57)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conversational**</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q17</td>
<td>41.3 (33)</td>
<td>58.8 (47)</td>
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* Question Number
** See Flexible/Rigid for Q16 which is also a part of the Conversational/Lecture Dimension.
<table>
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<th>Non-Hypothesized Response</th>
<th>% Difference Columns 2 &amp; 4</th>
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<td>General</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q1* M</td>
<td>50.0 (21)</td>
<td>50.0 (21)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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M = Male  
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M = Male
F = Female

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** See Flexible/Rigid for Q16 which is also a part of the Conversational/Lecture Dimension.
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b = 15-16 Years Old
c = 17 Years Old & Over

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* N = Number
   a = 11–14 Years Old
   b = 15–16 Years Old
   c = 17 Years Old & Over

** TN = Total Number

* Question Number

** See Flexible/Rigid for Q16 which is also a part of the Conversational/Lecture Dimension.
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<td>(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>3.12</td>
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<td>(10)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(15)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>6.12</td>
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<tr>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>0.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>0.96</td>
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<td>(21)</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.80</td>
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<tr>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>0.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>(24)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>0.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>(26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>6.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: (Continued)

- 34-ESAT: 16438th Position
- Table continues on the next page.
THE ADEQUACY of various sex information sources has been debated quite frequently since the late 1960's; therefore research on this topic by social scientists should aid in giving insight to these discussions. The purpose of this report is to ascertain the stated source of sex information of Black and White adolescents in a southern community and relate this source with preferred source as stated by the adolescents.

THE SETTING

This study was made in a northeast Texas community (population of 4000) located in a sparsely populated agrarian region (county population density: 25) at the western edge of the Bible Belt. The community's racial composition consists of sixty-nine percent Whites and thirty-one percent Blacks (1960 census). Since the 1870's there have been racially-based differences in various aspects of the community life. Some examples of race differences in the early 1960's are:

(1) Average Household Size:
   Blacks: 3.4
   Whites: 2.8

(2) Median Gross Family Income:
   Blacks: Less than $2000
   Whites: More than $4000

(3) Sex Ratio:
   Blacks: 84
   Whites: 89

(4) Socio-Economic Status:
   (Warner Index of Status Characteristics)
   Blacks: 91% Lower Class
   Whites: 20% Lower Class

* G. DICKINSON (MA, Baylor; PhD, Louisiana State) is an assistant professor, sociology & anthropology, Gustavus Adolphus College.

** This research note is an excerpt from "Small town: a sociological analysis of an east Texas community" (MA thesis, Baylor University, 1964).
METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The population from which data were obtained for this investigation was composed of the sophomore, junior and senior classes of the Black and White high schools in the community. The number of respondents was 367 with the breakdown of the sample by sex and race being 119 White females, 141 White males, 57 Black females and 50 Black males. This represents eighty-seven percent of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades who were enrolled in the spring of 1964 in the two high schools. The remaining thirteen percent were absent from School on the days when information was sought.

The research instrument utilized was a questionnaire which was administered in the classroom. Only a small portion of the information obtained was used for this paper.

FINDINGS

Each respondent was asked: What is your major source of sex information? For fifty-one percent of the Blacks and thirty-two percent of the Whites, the response was: Parents. (See Table for a breakdown of responses by race and sex as well as to which parent the student made reference.) Books, Pamphlets & Other Reading Material was the source for thirty-four percent of Black adolescents, for seventeen percent of Whites. Friends was the major source of information for thirty percent of the Whites while only seven percent of Black adolescents cited this source. (Table)

Each respondent was further asked: In your opinion, from what source should one receive most of his sex information? Responses here do not correspond with the actual sources of sex information since sixty-eight percent of the Blacks and seventy-four percent of the Whites named Parents. (Table) Twenty-four percent of Blacks preferred Books, Pamphlets & Other Reading Material as compared to only six percent of Whites. Friends as a preferred source of sex information was listed by fewer than six percent of both Black and White adolescents.

Thus Books, Pamphlets & Other Reading Material appears to be more significant to Black adolescents than to Whites in actual sources used and in preferred choice. Friends is given as a major source of sex information for Whites, especially males, but plays a minor role in the sex education of Black adolescents. Very few Blacks or Whites preferred Friends as a major sex information source.

CONCLUSIONS

While the majority of both Black and White adolescents prefers Parents as their major source of sex education, these data reveal that parents are not the major source for the majority of adolescents. The fact that parents of Black adolescents are a major source of sex information more than for the Whites may suggest that communication lines
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race &amp; Sex Of Adolescents</th>
<th>Stated Source</th>
<th>Preferred Source</th>
<th>Significance Level Of Chi-Square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent Of Same Sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: Black</td>
<td>12 (24)*</td>
<td>13 (26)</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10 (7)</td>
<td>44 (31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: Black</td>
<td>17 (29)</td>
<td>12 (21)</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>35 (29)</td>
<td>55 (46)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent Of Opposite Sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: Black</td>
<td>4 (8)</td>
<td>5 (10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>7 (5)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: Black</td>
<td>1 (2)</td>
<td>3 (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Both Parents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: Black</td>
<td>8 (16)</td>
<td>9 (18)</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>21 (15)</td>
<td>54 (38)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Females: Black</td>
<td>13 (23)</td>
<td>31 (55)</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>11 (9)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Books, Pamphlets &amp; Other Reading Material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: Black</td>
<td>14 (28)</td>
<td>17 (34)</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>30 (21)</td>
<td>10 (7)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: Black</td>
<td>22 (39)</td>
<td>9 (15)</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>14 (12)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Friends</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: Black</td>
<td>7 (14)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>49 (35)</td>
<td>8 (6)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: Black</td>
<td>1 (2)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>30 (25)</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages given in parentheses.
within Black families are more open than in White families or that perhaps Black parents in this study simply fulfill the role of sex informant for their offspring to a greater extent than White parents. However, the role of sex informant could be a latent function of parents since they may not consciously make an effort to "educate" their offspring but through their word of "mouth and deed" may actually be socializing their children concerning sexual matters. From data analyzed here, one cannot ascertain if the sex information derived from parents was done in a manifest "Let's sit down and talk about the birds and bees!" type of approach or if it was a latent function. Pursuance of this question by further research would be of interest to social scientists.

The Black father as a sex informant is more "successful" than the White one, this research showing that the White father is a major source of sex information in only seven percent of the cases cited, whereas the Black father is the source in twenty-four percent of the cases—a finding contradictory to reports which stress the matriarchal

authority patterns of Black families.

These findings challenge the argument of many opponents of sex education in school that the function of sex education should remain with the family. (See Baker 1969: 210-17 for a summary of these arguments.) Data presented here fail to give major support to the family functioning in the role of sex education. Thus, according to this report, the argument to leave the sex education function with the family is not warranted.

Assuming that sex education is a significant aspect of the socialization of these adolescents and that adequate sex education is or should be a societal goal, the source which would adequately serve the majority of individuals would be the best source to utilize. Despite the fact that these adolescents "ideally" desire parental sources of sex information, experience has shown this source to be inadequate in reaching the majority of adolescents. Since by state law individuals are required to attend school until they reach a certain age, the school system might well be the answer to the dilemma of sex information sources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

ESTIMATES of the number of drug addicts in the United States vary considerably from a low of 60,000 to a high of 200,000, but it is generally conceded that there are more addicts in this country than in all Western nations combined. Since the supplying and use of drugs outside the context of medical treatment are illegal practices in the United States, drug traffic is restricted largely to metropolitan areas on the east and west coasts and to other major transportation centers such as Chicago, Detroit and Miami, Florida, where suppliers have a large number of potential users and addicts can easily maintain anonymity. In the early part of this century drug addiction was primarily a phenomenon of the middle and later years of life, but current data suggest that as many as one-third of the addicts in the United States are youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, reflecting the gradual decline in the average age of drug users. During the 1960's for example, while the total number of arrests for drug related offenses increased 325 percent, juvenile arrests increased 1860 percent.¹

THE PROBLEM AMONG TEENAGERS

The first teenage drug fad in the United States, a relatively innocuous one based on the myth that one could get “high” on a combination of aspirin and coke, appeared in the mid 1940’s. In the mid 1960’s however, two dangerous drug fads became popular among American teenagers—glue sniffing and the inhalation of fumes from various solvents and amyl nitrate (Amy Joy), a potent drug prescribed for relief of the painful heart ailment, angina pectoris. Today’s youth are resorting to even more dangerous forms of drug abuse—the oral and/or intravenous ingestion of LSD,

marijuana, amphetamines, barbiturates and to a lesser extent heroin. Of the 900 persons who died in 1969 from heroin related causes in New York City for example, 224 (c 25%) were teenagers and twenty-four of these were under fifteen years of age. 2

DRUG ABUSE AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS EXAGGERATED

There is a high correlation between the intellectual "climate" of a college and the incidence of drug use among its students. The highest incidence is found at small, progressive, liberal arts colleges with superior students as measured by College Boards--colleges with a non-vocational orientation, a high faculty-student ratio, close student-faculty relationships, and a great emphasis on academic and personal freedom. At perhaps a dozen or so such colleges, including Antioch, Reed, Swarthmore and Wesleyan (Connecticut), the proportion of students which has tried marijuana or some other hallucinogen probably exceeds fifty percent, but there are more than 2200 other colleges in the country. Lesser rates of student drug use (10 to 50%) not only characterize the college of arts and sciences at such private universities as Harvard, Yale, Stanford and Chicago and at such large state universities as Michigan, Wisconsin and California, but also at such major technical schools as Cal Tech and MIT which are notable for their recruitment of high ability students and for their emphasis on intellectual excellence and academic freedom. Rates of student drug use at most state universities are estimated at between five and twenty percent with a concentration of users in the college of arts and sciences, the graduate school, and the schools of art, architecture, drama and music as opposed to the schools of agriculture, business administration, education and engineering. At the bottom of the list in terms of student drug use (less than 5%) are those institutions of higher learning where the vast majority of American college students are enrolled--state teachers' colleges, junior colleges, community colleges, smaller denominational colleges, and most Catholic colleges and universities--and which are characterized by a strong vocational orientation and the presence of strong student subcultures centered around social and sports activities. If the single largest group of student drug users--"tasters" who have tried drugs a few times out of curiosity but who have no plans to continue--are excluded from consideration however, fewer than five percent of our nation's total college population could be labeled Drug Abusers--students who have experimented with a variety of drugs and who have made drug use the central focus of their college lives. 3 For these young men and women, generally called Pot Heads or Acid Heads by their contemporaries, drug use is not just an intermittent assist in the pursuit of meaning but an expression of their membership in a collegiate version of the Hippie subculture.

MARIJUANA USE AMONG AMERICAN G.I.'S IN VIETNAM

Various studies have shown that thirty to fifty percent of the American troops in Vietnam have used marijuana and that the percentage is rising as evidenced by the fact that marijuana related arrests have increased about 3000 percent since 1965. Vietnam marijuana, a much stronger variety than that available in the States, may be purchased at any newsstand or bar or from any prostitute or taxi driver for as little as five to fifteen cents per cigarette, because about 100,000 kilograms of processed marijuana are produced annually in Vietnam and one kilogram makes 1000 cigarettes. Since no marijuana cigarette factory has yet been found, it is surmised that the reefer's are packed in homes and shops on a kind of cottage industry basis. The farmers who supply these packers bring the marijuana to Saigon on market day hidden among other goods and food-stuffs such as rice and corn.

Little marijuana was grown until American troops began arriving in large numbers in 1965; since that time however, marijuana production has been detected in six provinces. The search for marijuana, usually found growing amidst rice fields, is conducted from low and slow flying American helicopters. When spotted an order is sent to the South Vietnamese national police to burn the plants within twenty-four hours. Many farmers who have caught on to what the helicopters are searching for have sufficient time during this twenty-four hour period to harvest and hide the illicit crop. Although the South Vietnamese Government, at the insistence of United States officials, issued a decree (8 October 1968) making it illegal to grow, sell or use marijuana, enforcement has been weak. The Saigon Government seems to feel that since the use of marijuana is mainly a problem among American military forces, the United States Government should bear primary responsibility for its control. Besides American military commanders' concern about the negative effects of marijuana use upon the performance of our combat troops, there is the problem of relieving addicts of dependence upon the drug at the termination of their tours of duty. The United States Government is currently establishing some twenty-five treatment centers in various parts of the United States for this purpose.

Besides the largely physical repercussions of drug abuse cited in the chart on the following pages, there are drastic socio-economic consequences. Drug abusers are not only exploited financially by their underworld suppliers (organized crime annually reaps at least $300 million in profits from illicit drug traffic), but they are frequently forced into prostitution, theft (the average heroin addict steals some $50,000 worth of property annually), or into drug-pushing itself to secure sufficient funds to support their habit. If arrested and imprisoned for one or more of these crimes, they are branded as criminals,


5 Marijuana--the other enemy in vietnam, 69.

6 Congressional Record (12 October 1970) E 9190.

7 Congressional Record (9 July 1970) E 6455.
**A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE MOST COMMONLY ABUSED DRUGS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drugs</th>
<th>What They Are</th>
<th>Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morphine (M, dreamer)</td>
<td>This principal component of opium is a sedative &amp; analgesic. It comes in several forms: crystalline powder, light porous cubes, or small white tablets.</td>
<td>Man is very sensitive to its respiratory-depressant effect until tolerance develops. Psychic &amp; physical dependence* develop quickly; deprivation results in a characteristic withdrawal syndrome: running eyes &amp; nose, nausea &amp; vomiting, abdominal cramps &amp; diarrhea, mild temperature &amp; chills, bone-ache &amp; restlessness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroin (snow, stuff, H, junk)</td>
<td>Heroin is diacetylmorphine, an alkaloid derived from morphine; a white, off-white, or brown crystalline powder, it is the choice drug of opiate addicts.</td>
<td>Dependence liability greater than for morphine, but other effects similar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codeine</td>
<td>A derivative of morphine, but in most cases, much less effective than morphine.</td>
<td>Novices consume it in liquid preparations (cough medicine) for &quot;kicks,&quot; but large amounts required to produce effect; occasionally used by opiate dependent persons to tide them over, but with inadequate results.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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8 Congressional Record (5 November 1969) S 13808.

* In recent years physicians & psychiatrists have been using the term Drug Dependence to include both addiction (implies physiological dependence, tolerance for increasingly large doses, & withdrawal symptoms) and habituation (continuous use of drugs due to psychological rather than physiological dependence.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drugs</th>
<th>What They Are</th>
<th>Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cocaine</td>
<td>Extracted from the leaves of the coca bush, it is a white, odorless, fluffy powder which resembles crystalline snow.</td>
<td>Convulsions &amp; death may result from an overdose; paranoid activity; produces very strong psychic dependence, but no physical dependence or tolerance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphetamine</td>
<td>Amphetamines are stimulants prescribed by physicians chiefly to reduce appetite &amp; to relieve minor cases of depression. Often used to promote wakefulness or alertness &amp; to increase energy.</td>
<td>Can cause high blood pressure, abnormal heart rhythms, &amp; even heart attacks. Teenagers who take it to increase their nerve may behave recklessly. Excessive use can cause hallucinations &amp; excitability. Tolerance to large doses acquired by abusers; psychic but no physical dependence results; there is no typical withdrawal syndrome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methamphetamine</td>
<td>A very strong stimulant used medically to treat obesity &amp; narcolepsy.</td>
<td>Effects resemble those produced by amphetamine, but are more marked--extreme restlessness, irritability, violence, &amp; paranoid reactions--&amp; toxicity is greater--psychotoxic effects sometimes fatal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>What They Are</td>
<td>Effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbiturates (red birds,</td>
<td>Sedatives prescribed by physicians to induce sleep or</td>
<td>Produce both psychic &amp; physical dependence; many deaths each year from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow jackets, blue</td>
<td>to provide calming effects.</td>
<td>intentional &amp; unintentional overdoses. Potentiation when combined with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavens, goof balls)</td>
<td></td>
<td>alcohol also hazardous--coma &amp; even death may result from respiratory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synthetic Hallucinogens**</td>
<td></td>
<td>failure. Withdrawal syndrome--potentially fatal convulsions resembling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(LSD, acid)</td>
<td></td>
<td>epileptic seizures--characteristically different from that associated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijuana</td>
<td>LSD is a lysergic acid derivative; mescaline is a</td>
<td>with opiates. Even small doses may cause hallucinations lasting for days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pot, grass, joints, weed,</td>
<td>chemical taken from peyote cactus; and psilocybin is</td>
<td>&amp; psychotoxic episodes may recur months after an injection--victim &quot;sees&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Jane, reefer, sticks)</td>
<td>synthesized from Mexican mushrooms.</td>
<td>smells, &quot;hears&quot; colors, tries to fly, &amp; brushes imaginary insects from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- a natural hallucinogen</td>
<td></td>
<td>his body. Damage to chromosomes, &amp; hence potentially to offspring, has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>been demonstrated.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

** The term Psychedelic Drugs is frequently used to include both natural & synthetic hallucinogens.
which in turn jeopardizes their employment opportunities, oftentimes resulting in their becoming further involved in criminal activity as a means of obtaining a livelihood. The effects of drug abuse on the user's family, if he or she is married, are also serious: poverty with all its implications and sometimes addicted offspring due either to congenital factors or to example.

MAJOR EXPLANATIONS FOR DRUG ABUSE AMONG TODAY'S YOUTH

Why have so many of our young people turned to drugs? This is a major question which parents and other laymen are asking today of various professionals—psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, clergymen and educators. Admitting that in any particular case of drug abuse there are usually several motivating factors and that the combination of factors may change from time to time, Dr. Emil S. Trellis has classified the basic causes of the problem in three interdependent categories: intrapsychic, intrafamilial and intrasocial. In other words, the causes of drug abuse reside in the psychological make up of the individual drug user, in his family relationships, and in the context of the larger society in which he lives.

AN ESCAPE FROM UNPLEASANT REALITIES

In the ghettos of our large cities heroin has been used for years by Negro and Mexican American youths as an escape from blighted reality: lack of educational opportunity, unemployment, poverty, welfare dependency, dilapidated housing, malnutrition, inadequate medical care, disorganized family life. Stressing the relationship between family problems and drug abuse, Chein et al reported that separation, divorce, open hostility, and lack of warmth and mutual interest characterized the marital relationship in ninety-seven percent of the heroin users' homes they studied. In eighty percent of the cases, users experienced an extremely weak relationship with their fathers, and in forty-eight percent of the cases a father figure was absent during the greater part of their childhood. Moreover parental norms were described as vague or inconsistent in sixty-three percent of the cases. 11

In recent years however, there has been a dramatic increase in heroin use by white adolescents from middle and upper income families. Affluence has undermined personal relationships within the American family in several insidious ways. Husbands and fathers in affluent families often devote most of their time to their professions and tend to be perceived by their wives and children as self-propelled robots who dress in three-piece suits, carry an attache case, and provide expensive gifts and other "advantages"—cars, stereo and tv sets, furs, jewelry, sports equipment, maid service, governesses, exclusive club memberships, private schooling, and foreign travel—as a

9 Former Psychiatric Chief, Women’s Addiction Service, United States Public Health Service Hospital, Lexington KY


compensation for the fathers' lack of personal involvement and interaction with other family members. Wives and mothers, desperate to be "interesting" persons, are often involved in an excessive number of activities outside the home, many of which their adolescent children view as "phoney." This situation is compounded by the gap which these youths observe between their life style and that of most other people, and they soon come to the conclusion that their own lives are "unreal." Such young people are not only attracted to psychedelic drugs in an effort to see "life as it really is," but they may become Hippies and emulate lower class life considered by them to be more authentic or genuine than their own.

**AN ASSIST IN COPING WITH PERSONAL PROBLEMS**

An alternative to escaping from difficult life situations through heroin is the use of amphetamines, especially dextroamphetamine and methamphetamine, to secure the self-confidence and power necessary to control such situations. Many students for example take amphetamines when studying for examinations. Virtually all research indicates however that amphetamine use is greatest among suburban housewives on "diet pills." Even after their diet is over, many of these women continue to take a maintenance dose of such pills to suppress their appetites and to "feel better," frequently attributing the latter result entirely to weight reduction. Such matrons of respectable society are just as much on "speed" as their Hippy sons and daughters. Moreover, when one considers how firmly American society as a whole is committed to the concept of "better living through chemistry" -- chemical fertilizers are used to produce bigger and better crops; chemicals are dropped in clouds to control storms; chemical preparations are used by international agencies to control diseases and population growth in underdeveloped nations; chemicals such as tear gas and mace are frequently used to restrain crowds -- it is not surprising that many young people resort to chemicals as a means of coping with their personal problems.

**AN EXPRESSION OF ADOLESCENT NEEDS**

Unlike more experienced drug users who take specific drugs because of the particular effect they produce, many adolescents associate drugs in general with the youth culture and take whatever drugs are available when interacting within their peer groups to be "part of the scene" -- in order not to feel "left out." Another disturbing feature of the adolescent years is the tendency to do incredibly dangerous things "just for kicks," including the use of dangerous drugs and the misuses of non-drug substances such as glue and various solvents. Parental rebellion is still another strong tendency among adolescents which is normal and desirable to the extent that it enables a youth to establish his own identity but abnormal and undesirable to the extent that it is used as a means of hurting his parents. Many youths purposely use heroin for example, realizing that their parents fear this drug more than any other and would feel terribly distressed should they die from an overdose.
A MEANS OF SECURING UNIQUE PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIENCES

Psychological explanations—the desire for deeper insight into themselves and others and for mystical experiences—are most frequently advanced by confirmed Hippies who indulge exclusively in psychedelic drugs such as marijuana, LSD, mescaline and psilocybin. These young people almost unanimously insist that even a "bad trip" is worthwhile if one thereby achieves a better understanding of himself and others. The mystical experiences of psychedelic drug users are explained as insights into "how everything in the world fits together," resulting in death of the ego and its concomitant, an egocentric view of the universe. Many members of the Hippie subculture who have experienced such insights become extremely passive and have an almost irresistible desire to become part of a larger reality which they have perceived as complete and perfect. Thereafter personal property loses significance as does the ego need to "win" an argument or to cope with hostile persons. Both the insights and mystical experiences associated with psychedelic drug use are important elements contributing to group cohesiveness among Hippies, which is reinforced by their shared feelings of persecution by and alienation from "straight" society and by common patterns of speech and dress.

AN EXPRESSION OF ALIENATION

From The Federal Government

The Vietnam War is unquestionably the central political issue explaining the alienation of today's young people. When President Johnson decided upon a significant escalation of the war in 1965 necessitating huge increases in the federal budget, many young people experienced a tremendous crisis of faith in the "system" because the already meagerly financed Great Society programs were suddenly given a lesser priority than military expenditures. Moreover many young people consider United States intervention in the Vietnam War unjustified and the killing to be murder because they regard the conflict to be a civil war, the Viet Cong to be nationalists rather than Communists, and the Saigon regime to be corrupt. Such youths spend anxious years wondering if and when they will be drafted and resenting the possible interruption of their life plans by military service. Hence when their elders ask: Why can't they (youths) work through the system? -- a question which assumes the moral integrity of the system--their voices seem to belong to an "age of innocence" long since past. Some young people respond by advocating the violent overthrow of existing institutions so that more equitable ones can be erected in their place; while others feel that even revolution cannot reform our society and that the only solution is to "drop out." While the former strongly oppose drug use contending that it dulls the revolutionary mentality, the latter feel that they can at least liberate their own minds and "get their own thing together" with the help of drugs.

From Our Dehumanized Technologically-Oriented Society

Members of the Hippie subculture are convinced that many spiritual values have been lost as a result of the technological innovations which have accompanied the industrialization of our
society. As they study the long assembly lines in our giant factories, the masses of men whose working hours are totally oriented toward the production of more and more gadgets, and a school system dedicated primarily to preparing students for more efficient participation in this huge materialistic marathon, our society appears to them more like hamsters running through a maze than like human beings living in a community. If our "phoney" familial, educational, economic and political institutions could only be dismantled, they muse, they might be free to experiment with new styles in which the dignity of man would be preserved.

CONTROL OF DRUG ABUSE

The Legal Approach

Efforts to suppress addictive drugs in the United States have had an interesting history. Prior to World War One addictive drugs could be purchased freely from pharmacies, mail order houses and even grocery stores. Following the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 however, the Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914 was passed requiring all importers and handlers of coca and opium products to register with the Treasury Department and to pay a stamp tax of one penny per ounce. Physicians were specifically exempt from the Act's provisions, but only when prescribing or administering drugs in connection with their medical practice. Initially some doctors and public health clinics interpreted this exemption as permission to prescribe and administer narcotics to addicts, but a subsequent Supreme Court ruling outlawed this activity and as a result addicts turned to illegal sources. In response to the increased prominence of illicit drug traffic following World War Two, Congress passed the Boggs Act in 1951, prescribing prison terms ranging from two to five years for the first offense of possession to ten to thirty years for the third offense and denying parole to those convicted of drug law violations. Congress also passed the Narcotic Control Act in 1956, increasing the maximum sentence for possession to forty years, prescribing a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment for selling heroin to a minor and permitting the death penalty for the latter offense upon recommendation of the jury.12

Historically speaking the federal government's broadest attack upon drug abuse is embodied in the Comprehensive Drug Control Act of 1970 including prevention, treatment and rehabilitation provisions as well as revised penalties and enforcement measures. Congress thereby authorized $39 million for drug abuse education projects, $85 million for special treatment and rehabilitation programs, and $75 million for community mental health facilities dealing with addicts and drug dependent persons for fiscal 1971, 1972 and 1973. Drugs to be controlled under the Act have been classified into five categories, but the most frequently abused and harmful ones are in the first three. Hence heroin, marijuana, LSD, mescaline and peyote are classified under Category I; methadone and liquid methamphetamine (Speed) under Category II; and most amphetamines and barbiturates under Category III.13

Revised penalties under the 1970 law are as follows: (1) possession of a controlled drug by a first offender for his own use constitutes a misdemeanor punishable up to one year in prison and a fine of up to $5,000 or both; if such a person is under twenty-one however, he may seek a court order expunging his guilt from official records; (2) anyone over eighteen who sells a controlled drug to someone under twenty-one however, will receive twice the authorized penalty for that offense; and (3) professional criminals trafficking in drugs will henceforth receive a mandatory minimum sentence of ten years and a maximum fine of $100,000 for a first offense and a minimum term of twenty years and a maximum fine of $200,000 for a second offense. The law also provides that enforcement officers may obtain "no-knock" search warrants if there is probable cause to believe that the drug sought would be destroyed or that someone’s life or safety would be endangered if advance notice of a search were given. Finally an annual appropriation of $6 million, beginning in fiscal 1971, was authorized under the Act to enable the Bureau of Narcotics & Dangerous Drugs to add at least three hundred agents to its present staff.\textsuperscript{14}

Attempts by the U.S. Treasury Department to limit the importation of drugs have been generally unsuccessful. Opium is still pouring out of Turkey, the main source of natural narcotics for the American and West European markets despite government promises to outlaw the business, because Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel needs all the political support he can get and is not likely to alienate 100,000 Turkish opium farmers by banning one of their major crops. France, whose clandestine laboratories around Marseille convert opium and morphine into heroin for the American market, has also promised a crackdown on drug traffickers, but the financial resources and manpower of its narcotics squads are inadequate for the job. The Mexican Government also has pledged itself to eliminate opium production and to prevent the flow of narcotics into the United States, but these good intentions have become snarled in a web of bureaucracy, lethargy and corruption. Even if all these traditional sources of opium were eliminated, drug traffickers have stockpiled enough narcotics to keep the existing market supplied for several years. In addition American syndicates are showing increased interest in the new opium-growing lands of Burma, Laos and Thailand.\textsuperscript{15} Against this background American narcotics agents are pessimistic about their ability to significantly restrict international drug traffic for the indefinite future. Much could be done to eliminate opium production in underdeveloped countries if the United Nations would do more to uplift their economies, but this would require a much deeper commitment to narcotics elimination and much greater expenditures of money by member nations than they have thus far demonstrated. The principal conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that the only meaningful approach to the problem of drug abuse is the education and regeneration of the user and of the society which contributes to his degeneration.

\textsuperscript{13}Congress clears comprehensive drug control bill, Congressional Quarterly (16 October 1970) 2539.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 2539-40.
\textsuperscript{15}Congressional Record (7 July 1970) E6351-52.
The Educational Approach

Almost without exception drug addicts state that prior information about the harmful effects of drug abuse might have prevented their involvement with drugs, especially when curiosity and thrill-seeking were the principal motivating factors. President Kennedy’s Advisory Commission on Narcotic & Drug Abuse stressed in its November 1963 report the importance of the educational approach to drug abuse as follows:

An educational program focused on the teenager is a sine qua non of any program designed to solve the problem of drug abuse. The teenager should be made conscious of the full range of harmful effects, physical and psychological, which narcotics and dangerous drugs can produce. He should also be made aware that although the use of drugs may be a temporary means of escape from the world about him, in the long run these drugs will destroy him and all that he aspires to. 16

Similar convictions motivated President Nixon (3 December 1969) to invite all the State governors to a White House Conference on Drug Abuse where he urged them to wage an educational campaign against drug abuse that would reach all the people of the nation. 17

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John E. Ingersoll, Director of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics & Dangerous Drugs, believes that educational programs regarding drug abuse should begin in the third and fourth grades and continue through high school, but that it is essential for the teachers involved to be well informed and to avoid emotionalism and preaching when discussing the subject, both of which tend to “turn off” young people. 18 In addition to classroom discussions there are other activities which can constitute valuable educational experiences relative to the problem of drug abuse. For example, groups of students might be required to collect newspaper items, magazine articles, pamphlets and other publications on drug abuse for a class resource file; to compile a list of community agencies concerned with drug abuse and to describe their respective functions and programs; to dramatize a situation in which a student is urged to try dangerous drugs; to interview persons having professional experience with drug abuse problems and/or to invite these experts to speak to their classes; to write research papers, essays or short stories on drug abuse themes (prizes could be offered for the best ones); to present panel discussions on drug abuse for PTA meetings and for the meetings of various civic and service organizations in the community; and to make posters and bulletin board exhibits on the subject of drug abuse.

The Therapeutic Approach

Federal Government Hospitals: In the mid 1930’s the U.S. Public Health Service established two hospitals for the treatment of narcotic addicts at

18 Ingersoll, op. cit., 42.
Lexington, Kentucky, and Fort Worth, Texas. Today these hospitals are being used for the examination and treatment of addicts under the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act (NARA) of 1966. Under this Act's provisions addicts charged with certain federal crimes may choose treatment instead of prosecution; or addicts convicted of a federal crime may be committed by the court for treatment; or addicts not charged with a crime may ask to be civilly committed. Eventually the federal government intends to make available in local communities throughout the country all the services now provided at the Lexington and Fort Worth hospitals, for follow-up studies reported by Glasser & O'Leary in 1966 indicated that twenty-five to fifty percent of the addicts released from the two hospitals experienced a relapse within a period of six months to a year. In the Pittsburgh area the federal government has already contracted with the Harmanville Rehabilitation Center for the post-hospital care of approximately twenty addicts.

State Government Programs: The two most advanced states in the handling of drug problems are California and New York. Since 1961 when California introduced civil commitment for persons addicted to narcotics under the Narcotic Treatment-Control Project operated by its State Department of Correction, addicts stay in the California Rehabilitation Center at Corona for at least six months undergoing group psychotherapy, remedial education and vocational training. Then they become eligible for parole as outpatients, a condition of which is that they must submit to periodic tests of Nalline, a synthetic anti-narcotic which produces abrupt withdrawal symptoms if a person is using narcotics. Since 1965 the program has also provided half-way houses where outpatients who feel unable to adjust immediately to community life may stay as long as ninety days. New York's Drug Abuse Control Law, passed in 1966, provides for a compulsory three-year treatment program similar to that in California and for recommitment to therapy if an addict returns to drugs during the post-treatment parole period. Unlike California and New York however, most states either have no drug addiction treatment programs or very inadequate ones. In some the only facilities provided for addicts are mental hospitals or jails, where no attempt may ever be made to alleviate the addict's withdrawal sufferings much less provide any other type of therapy.

Private Programs: According to the National Institute of Mental Health there are at least twenty-five private residential programs for the treatment of drug addiction in the United States today, all of them patterned after Synanon, an 1100-member community in California which began in 1958 as an offshoot of Alcoholics Anonymous. One of the inherent weaknesses of these programs however, is their voluntary character; one-third of the addicts who join Synanon for example, leave within a month. But for those who stay,

20 Freeman & Jones, op. cit., 441.
23 Congressional Record (22 September 1970) E 8523.
motivation to "kick" the habit is strengthened by the group-living experience as well as by the emphasis upon personal responsibility for one's life condition.

Admission to most residential treatment programs is deliberately humiliating: first the addict must withdraw from drugs "cold turkey"; secondly he is not permitted to see his family for several weeks; thirdly he must start at the bottom rung of the treatment center's job ladder--cleaning toilets and washing dishes. Three times a week, groups of eight to ten residents get together to play the "encounter game" designed to elicit the expression of feelings previously submerged by a "fix". Membership in a residential treatment program gives the addict a sense of involvement in something greater than himself, i.e., involvement in a kind of spiritual movement which enables persons with a common problem to live together in love without prejudice or fear of any kind. However, since many addicts "cured" or rehabilitated in such programs have experienced difficulty securing jobs and even housing in the "outside" community, re-entry to them is not forced. Indeed, many former addicts make a treatment center their permanent home while working in the community, and still others serve as directors or staff members of new centers.

Methadone maintenance programs are also spreading rapidly in the United States: the National Institute of Mental Health recently reported that there are sixty-four such programs, fifteen of which receive federal funds. But methadone maintenance is far from a panacea for our nation's drug abuse problem. Critics point out that while it relieves an addict's craving for heroin, it offers no relief to non-heroin drug addicts such as chronic amphetamine and barbiturate users; that since methadone itself is addictive the majority of persons can never get off the drug without reverting to heroin or resorting to some other drug; that unless methadone is administered under carefully controlled conditions, there is danger of methadone patients selling the drug on the black market thereby spreading narcotic addiction; and finally that methadone maintenance is only a half-way approach to drug addiction, failing to strengthen the victim's ability to cope with life without drugs.

CONCLUSION

Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish political scientist, recently listed drug addiction, along with air and water pollution, the population explosion, and the proliferation of modern weapons, as the major factors threatening to extinguish half the earth's population by the year 2000. Drug abuse is undeniably symptomatic of a society which has become unanchored--a society which is unsure of its values and goals and which resorts to desperate measures in search of happiness and escapes from frustrating life circumstances. Moreover drug abuse thrives wherever and whenever human beings fail to recognize the inherent dignity of their fellow men, creating and perpetuating social, economic and racial injustice. In the final analysis therefore, the current drug abuse crisis in the United States is a reflection of the moral and intellectual disorientation of...
moral and intellectual disorientation of our society—a society which appears to be dominated by a technology it cannot or will not control, and which at least temporarily seems to have subordinated humanistic values to the pursuit of material goals. Laws can be passed, educational programs established, and millions spent on treatment programs, but until this society regains its original vigor, direction and integrity, drug abuse will remain a serious problem.
The document contains text about various topics, but it is not clear what the main focus of the document is. The text appears to be a combination of random sentences and paragraphs, possibly extracted from different sources. There are references to topics such as "window," "editor," and "network," but the overall context is unclear. The document does not appear to be a coherent or complete piece of writing.
POLITICAL scientists and sociologists have had a long standing concern with the influence of the family in the member’s development of a political party preference. The major findings of this research tradition have received wide dissemination in spite of the fact that not all of these results have been consistently supported. Consequently, subsequent research endeavors in this area have neglected certain important aspects of the influence process. Three major themes in the literature on the processes of party preference influence or transmission within the family will be treated here: (1) the family as the prime agent of socialization; (2) the father as the dominant influence in the political socialization process within the family; and (3) the male as the least susceptible member of the family to the family influence in political socialization.

That the family is the single most important agent of political socialization is one of the best documented findings in social psychology. As early as 1928 Allport, in a study of 340 undergraduates, found seventy-nine percent of the students expressing a presidential voting preference identical to their fathers.¹ The now classic Erie County & Elmira studies conducted by Columbia’s Bureau of Applied Social Research reported similar findings.² In an excellent review of the literature on political socialization Hyman cited several other studies all confirming this result.³

Additional support may be found in a study of high school students in Illinois where parents' political party preference was found to explain sixty-eight percent of the variation in the party preferences of their adolescent offspring. 

Lazarsfeld and his associates were probably the first to report evidence suggesting the husband to be the politically dominant influencing agent within the family. They found that when there was disagreement in the family as to vote intention early in the campaign, agreement was established by election time "as a result of male dominance." Wives were more likely to be aware of their husband's political opinions than the reverse, and wives reported political discussions with their husbands while husbands rarely reported such discussions. Lazarsfeld and his associates suggested this male dominance also existed between father and daughter, and by implication the entire nuclear family.

The male dominance model has received recent support from a study conducted at Rutgers University by the Rileys. They found that youths who discuss politics with their families are most likely to direct such communication toward the father. Greenstein found the father more likely to be chosen as the "preferred source of voting advice" than the mother by children. At least one psychoanalyst supports the model of father dominance of the children's political attitudes through case study procedures.

The impact of the Lazarsfeld findings upon subsequent research in political behavior seems to have been so great that a model of male dominance in the political climate of the family was firmly established, irrespective of the particular constellation of relationships within the family or the extent of consensus within it. This view persisted in spite of the fact that research predating the Lazarsfeld study by several years suggested that this particular pattern of male dominance does not always appear in parent-child relationships. A study conducted by Newcomb & Svehla between 1931 and 1934 found that in

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5 The People's Choice.

6 Ibid., 141-42.
attitudes toward Communism, "father-daughter and mother-son correlations are higher than those between parents and children of the same sex.\textsuperscript{11} This finding suggests parental political dominance operates selectively and in this case cross-sexually.

Other research has also demonstrated that the model of male political dominance may not be as universally valid as had been thought. Hartshorne, May & Shuttleworth reported higher partial correlation coefficients between mother and child than for father and child on moral values.\textsuperscript{12} In a Purdue Opinion Poll for Young People reported by Remmers & Weltman (1947), it was found that party preference correlations between mothers and sons were higher than any other combination (.94) with that between fathers and daughters next highest.\textsuperscript{13} The correlation between mothers and daughters was also high (.91) but the correlation between fathers and sons was the lowest observed (.80), lower even than that between fathers and mothers (.87).

In a 1954 study Maccoby and her associates\textsuperscript{14} presented additional evidence to cast doubt upon the model of male political dominance within the family. They found that when there was a lack of party preference consensus, the offspring was somewhat more likely to choose the party of the mother, concluding that "there is no evidence of a traditional 'father dominance'."\textsuperscript{15} A Middleton & Putney study supported Maccoby's results by finding that both males and females are more likely to disagree with the political position of the father than that of the mother.\textsuperscript{16}

Previously unreported evidence in support of the findings of Middleton & Putney and Maccoby and associates is available. In a 1961 study of 612 high school seniors in six high schools in Illinois,\textsuperscript{17}

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\textsuperscript{10} The People's Choice.
\textsuperscript{11} T. Newcomb & G. Svehla, Intro-Family relationships in attitude, Sociometry 1 (1937) 180-205. These findings were replicated and reported in G. Murphy et al., Experimental Social Psychology (New York: Harper, 1937) 1004.
\textsuperscript{13} H. Remmers & N. Weltman, Attitude interrelationships of youth, their parents, & their teachers, Journal of Social Psychology 26 (1947) 61-68.
\textsuperscript{14} Youth & political change, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 103.
\textsuperscript{17} The data are from a larger study of 9,220 adolescents in ten selected high schools in Illinois. The larger report of this study, along with a detailed description of the design, may be found in J. Coleman, The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager & Its Impact on Education (New York: Free Press, 1962). The data presented above are from the third wave of the data collection effort, the only wave in which an attempt was made to gather data on political attitudes other than party preference, although this attempt was severely limited by space considerations in the questionnaire. For an explanation of the reasons for the inclusion of only six of the ten schools in the third wave
sixty-two adolescents reported that their mothers had voted for a different candidate than their father in the 1960 Presidential Election. Of these sixty-two adolescents who perceived a lack of political consensus in their family, seventy-six percent chose the candidate for themselves whom they perceived as their mother's choice.

Since the findings of both Newcomb & Svehla and Remmers & Weltman suggest the mother has more influence over the son than the father, and the father has more influence over the daughter, it is important that the adolescent's choice of a candidate in these non-consensual families be examined with the sex of the adolescent controlled. The results do not show cross-sex influence patterns between parent and child. Only four girls out of the thirty-two reporting a lack of voting consensus between their parents (12%) chose the party of their father, contrary to what would have been expected on the basis of the Newcomb & Svehla and the Remmers & Weltman findings. Boys in non-consensual families on the other hand were more likely than were girls to choose their father's candidate with thirty-seven percent out of thirty such boys agreeing with the father's choice, but still they were more apt to choose their mother's candidate than their father's (63%).


18 The data collected in the ten high schools allow a partial test of the stability of this result. A Questionnaire was administered to the parents of the adolescents which could have been completed under any one of three conditions: completed by father alone, completed by the mother alone, or completed by both working together. Thus if it is assumed that (1) when both parents filled out the questionnaire there was a consensus on their party preference response [there was no way they could easily indicate a lack of consensus]; (2) when only one parent filled out the questionnaire that it is only in this instance that a lack of party consensus may exist (although there will probably be consensus in the bulk of instances); and (3) that the incidence of families with a lack of consensus is no greater when the mother filled out the questionnaire alone than when the father did so, then the condition under which the questionnaire was completed can be used as a rough indicator of political consensus among the parents. Thus the reported party preferences of the family respondent under each condition can be compared with that of the adolescent under consensus and non-consensus conditions and the proportion of agreement with a particular parent calculated in the latter instance. It should be emphasized that this index differs from that used in the text in that it was based upon the adolescent's perception of his parent's party preferences whereas the present index is based upon a report of the parent(s) independent of these perceptions.

The trend of the results in the table is clear. (See footnote table on following page.) For both boys and girls, agreement is highest when the mother completed the questionnaire and is lowest when the father did so. Indeed agreement is higher when the mother completed the questionnaire than when both parents completed it together. The results are consistent with and lend support to the findings in the text.
A third important finding of the political socialization research is that the male is apparently less susceptible to influence on political attitudes within the family. In his review of the political socialization literature Hyman is led to assume "the male sex role permits greater independence and conceivably the attenuation of the parental influence on politics should be greater." 19

Among the evidence for this assumption he cites the following results: (1) a study of college graduates which showed the bulk of the defections from family voting patterns to be the result of sons' rather than daughters' disagreements with their parents' vote; 20 (2) daughters are more likely to resemble their parents in political attitude than are sons; 21 (3) women report themselves to be more likely to be influenced by relatives in their politics than do men who report business associates as the major source of such influence; 22 and (4) men direct political discussion toward co-workers while women direct such discussion toward family members. 23

Additional support for the contention that males are more independent of family influence in political attitudes than women is reported by Middleton & Putney. 24 They found from a study of students in sixteen colleges and universities that boys are more likely to deviate from the party preferences of their parents than are girls. Finally results from a study of high school students also indicate that adolescent girls are more likely than boys to express the same party preference as their parents. 25

Most of the above-mentioned studies have implicitly assumed that the family in its role as a socializing agent has reached a consensus on party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions Under Which Parents' Questionnaire Was Completed</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Father Alone</td>
<td>64 (406)</td>
<td>63 (386)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mother Alone</td>
<td>72 (730)</td>
<td>74 (805)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Both Parents</td>
<td>68 (687)</td>
<td>69 (671)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 M. Benney et al, How People Vote (London: Routledge, 1956) 108. This result is supported by Berelson et al, op. cit. 24 Political expression of adolescent rebellion. 25 Levin, op. cit.
preference. That is to say, the findings are usually based upon either a comparison of the respondent’s party preference with the respondent’s forced report of his family’s (or only his father’s) party preference, or when the respondent was allowed to report a separate preference for each of his parents, his own preference was compared with each separately but reported in aggregate rates by each parent. Thus few attempts have been made either to partial out the relative influence of the parents in the process of party preference transmission, or to differentiate the child’s susceptibility to each of the parent’s influence by the sex of the child. Hence there has been little exploration of the nature of the differential political influence, within the family, of the same sex and different sex parent-child dyads. Moreover the possibility of inter-sibling political influence has been completely neglected.

Because the male dominance model implies that political roles in the family are differentiated, lack of attention to the processes of party preference transmission under non-consensual conditions is rather surprising. This oversight could not have been the result of an inability to find such non-consensual families, for Lazarsfeld and his associates reported that one husband-wife pair out of every twenty-two did not agree on the choice of candidate, and in the study reported here, based on a non-random and non-representative sample, nearly one out of every ten adolescents perceived their

26 Excerpting Maccoby et al, op. cit.
27 See for example Berelson et al, op. cit. and Allport, op. cit.
28 Campbell et al, op. cit.
29 The People’s Choice.

parents as voting for different candidates from each other in the 1960 Presidential Election.

This is not to suggest that such analysis has never been attempted. Certainly the Maccoby study examined the transmission of party preference in non-consensual families. Nonetheless it does seem to be true that no research (including that reported here) has deliberately set out to explore the differences in the process of political socialization between consensual and non-consensual families. The implication of this situation is important, for so long as correlations on party preference are presented only between child and parents or between child and father, and child and mother separately, the relative influence of each parent in the consensual family as well as in the non-consensual family remains unknown. Hence understanding of the dynamic aspects of political socialization within the family is impeded.

The current status of the model of male political dominance within the family does little to help the situation. What seems curious is that when patterns contrary to the male dominance model have been discovered, researchers seem almost embarrassed by their results. They pay them little attention, dismissing the results with a line or two and make no serious attempt to explain the findings. The impact of the male dominance model as much as the failure to examine non-consensual families has probably retarded the rate at which our understanding of the process of intra-family political socialization has proceeded.

30 Maccoby et al, op. cit.
From these themes—the influence of the family in the development of political attitudes and the sex role differentiation in the transmission and reception of such influence ambiguous though the validity of the male dominance model may be—a problem emerges for empirical investigation: in the context of the transmission of political influence within the family, which of the parents takes the dominant role or is the most effective in eliciting the response the parent desires in the offspring?

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

There seems to be no doubt that students of political socialization have tended to over simplify the intra-familial patterns of influence on political attitudes. As indicated earlier the major shortcoming has been the failure to challenge the assumption of political consensus between parents. This assumption has contributed to the further failure to examine closely the notion of male political dominance, a failure which appears related to the over simplification of the intra-familial influence processes with respect to political socialization.

It is clear, given the present body of knowledge in the area, that the model of male dominance in political matters within the family must be revised. Evidence has been presented to show that adolescents when faced with a choice between the party preferences of their mother and father are more likely to choose the mother's preference. This result is in direct contradiction to the male dominance model.

Thus it seems that future research efforts in the role of the family in political socialization must reconcile the findings supporting the male dominance model with those in opposition to it; and secondly, it must examine more closely the process of political socialization within the family at the level of interpersonal and intra-personal processes. The conditions under which the model of male dominance holds or does not hold must be determined. Moreover the assumption that male dominance is or is not operating when political agreement between father and offspring is or is not observed must be avoided. Instead such dominance must be examined from the point of view of the principles guiding the family’s socialization practices. Agreement on party preference or other political attitudes may not be the primary goal for which the father exerts influence. Such consensus may be of secondary importance to a primary goal that the child be interested in politics or show evidence of the intellectual maturity necessary to develop independently his political attitudes. For example Kohn argues that “class differences in parent-child relationships are a product of differences in parental values (with middle class parents' values centering on self direction and working class parents' values on conformity to external proscriptions.”31 If this is true, then the middle class father may encourage independent determination and reward political disloyalty of offspring under certain circumstances. Hence he may still be "dominant" although such dominance may not be discovered by observing political agreement with his children. Moreover Kohn

links the source of these values affecting socialization practices to the "conditions of life," associated with position in the stratification system, and especially with occupational conditions. Hence the study of the role of the family in the political socialization of the adolescent must account for these structural factors. Finally the intervening effects of the nature and kind of the parent-child relationship, the sex role, the degree and kind of child rebelliousness, the salience of politics for both parents and offspring must be accounted for in future research efforts.
JOHN F. NEWMAN & MARTIN L. LEVIN

PATTERNS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN ADOLESCENTS & THEIR PARENTS ON ADOLESCENT RULES

THE BASIC MODEL for this study was based on the concept that values and attitudes acquired in one social setting will carry over into other social settings. As such, given an opportunity to formalize certain standards of conduct, there is possibility of agreement or lack of agreement with respect to certain issues among individuals whose peer group experiences may vary. Using a subsample of 1,150 responses from Coleman’s THE ADOLESCENT SOCIETY parent-adolescent responses to a question concerning the rules which parents and adolescents may or may not have were analyzed. It was shown that rules designated as courtship-related or non-courtship-related varied according to the sex of the adolescent and the parent who filled out the questionnaire. It was suggested that the perception of rules for adolescents within a family context may be influenced by peer group expectations.

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INTRODUCTION

Wide attention during the 1960's was focused upon James S. Coleman's (1961) affirmation of the presence and existence of a distinct adolescent subculture in an industrial society. The existence of a subculture implies that its members assimilate the ideas, attitudes and values which the subculture represents. Although Coleman ties his concept of the adolescent subculture to the broad processes of social change in an industrial society, he makes the point that the adolescent lives in a "world apart" from adults and that there is a lack of effective communication and shared values between child and parent:

The sharp contrast of these values with those expressed by the students again exhibits the divergence of the parental values and those of the adolescent subculture. To be sure, these values may not be those they express day by day to their children. (Coleman 1961: 32).

Coleman's study is not unique in its treatment of the problem of subcultures in relation to adolescents. Barnard (1961), Bettelheim (1963), Gottlieb & Ramsey (1964: 184), Rogoff (1967), Sebald (1968) and Gottlieb & Reeves (1963) have indicated some of the problems of communication between the adult and youth, and the different value systems of each group as they reflect general cultural conditions and life experiences.

An investigation of these communication differentials is examined in this paper. Specifically, the pattern of agreement between adolescents and their parents on familial rules governing courtship and non-courtship behavior are analyzed. The general approach of the analysis is developed as follows:

Bowerman & Elder (1964) suggested that the adolescent tends to view the parent of the same sex as the dominant parental figure. Similarly, David Lynn (1959) has concluded that with increasing age the male becomes more closely identified with the masculine role and that females tend to identify with their mother's role. If these findings are valid, it suggests (as does, among others, Baber 1953) that there is greater communication between parents and children of the same sex. It follows then that the father-son combinations, for example, should generally be closer in agreement involving sex-role performance than father-daughter combinations.

Moreover, Gottlieb & Ramsey (1964) and Parsons (1942) have pointed to the differential regulation of the adolescent by parents according to the sex of the adolescent and the type of the regulation or rule. In general, girls tend to be more regulated by rules than boys with many of these rules concerned with regulating contact with the opposite sex.

Three significant variables which would therefore be relevant to the study of agreement between parents and adolescents are: (1) sex of the parent, (2) sex of the adolescent, and (3) type of rules and regulations.

The data for this paper were made available by James S. Coleman from his study reported in THE ADOLESCENT SOCIETY. The data were taken from the five schools located in small rural towns and communities. Farmdale, Marketville, Elmtown, Maple...
Grove and Green Junction are the pseudonyms used by Coleman. The school sizes ranged from 150 in Farmdale (approximate population of 1,000) to 500 in Green Junction (approximate population of 5,000) at the time of the study.

The information available permits matching of a parent's response to a particular question concerning adolescent rules with his offspring's response to the same question. Approximately 1,150 matched parent-adolescent combinations were obtained in the five schools.

Specifically, this study will make comparisons with respect to certain rules listed in the following question asked of both adolescents and their parents:

Below is a list of items on which some parents have rules for their teenage children, while others don't. Check each item that your parents have definite rules for:

1. Time for being in at night on weekends.
2. Amount of dating.
3. Against doing steady.
4. Time spent watching TV.
5. Time spent on homework.
6. Against going around with certain girls (boys).
7. Against going out with certain boys (girls).
8. Eating dinner with the family.
9. No rules for any of the above items.

In addition to the data on the rules and the sex of the adolescent, information was also available as to which parent filled out the parents' questionnaire: father, mother, or both parents together. With the available information then, there are six possible parent-adolescent combinations: father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter, both-son, both-daughter. These parent-adolescent combinations were then cross-tabulated with the courtship and non-courtship rules.

Utilizing parent and child responses to the same question, a 2x2 table was constructed which yielded information on the agreement or disagreement on the presence or absence of rules. Where there is a congruence of responses between parent and child, the situation is termed an agreement situation; where there is no congruence between the parent and child the situation is termed a non-agreement or disagreement situation.

As a measure of agreement we simply took the number of times there was congruence between parents and adolescents and divided that number by the total number of parent-adolescent combinations, summed separately for courtship-related and non-courtship-related rules. The resulting figure was then designated as the proportion agreeing. Thus, the proportion agreeing could be expressed in three forms:

1. Total agreement on both the presence and absence of rules. (Figure 1: Cells 1 & 4)
2. Agreement on the presence of rules. (Figure 1: Cell 1)
3. Agreement on the absence of
## RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Summing over all of the adolescent rules for the total number of parent-adolescent combinations (9,920), our initial results revealed that there was sixty-five percent agreement. Furthermore, the percentage for agreement on the presence of rules was seventeen percent and the agreement on the absence of rules was forty-eight percent. However, as shown in Table 1, the proportion agreeing differs markedly when the rules are designated as courtship or non-courtship-related. There is slightly less argument (64%) for total agreement for courtship-related as opposed to non-courtship-related (67%) rules. However, the proportion agreeing on the presence of courtship rules is twelve percent higher than for non-courtship-related rules. The pattern is reversed for agreement on the absence of rules with non-courtship rules having fifty-seven percent agreement and courtship rules having forty-two percent agreement.

Presented in Table 2 is the total proportion agreeing for the two types of rules for each parent-adolescent combination. For courtship rules the proportion agreeing is higher for any parent-son combination than for any parent-daughter combination. The pattern is reversed for non-courtship rules, although the percentage differences between the respective parent-son and parent-daughter combinations is not as great as it was for courtship rules. However, for both types of rules, the greatest percentage differences by sex of the adolescent was when both parents completed the questionnaire.

While the foregoing tables show the total patterns of agreement, Tables 3 and 4 present more detailed information. The following results were obtained:

### Adolescent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent</th>
<th>Yes (Rule Present)</th>
<th>No (Rule Not Present)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Agreement On Presence Of Rules</td>
<td>2 Non-Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Non-Agreement</td>
<td>4 Agreement On Absence Of Rules</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figure 1: Cell 4)
TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT ON THE PRESENCE & ABSENCE OF RULES BY TYPE OF RULE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agreement On Presence (1)</th>
<th>Agreement On Absence (2)</th>
<th>Total Agreement (1 + 2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Courtship Related</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>64% (5524)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Courtship Related</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>67% (4396)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of Combinations = 9920

* We had initially screened the data to exclude adolescents for whom no parent questionnaire was completed. However, in a few instances for each rule, either the parent of the adolescent gave no response. This means that the denominator for the proportion agreeing is not equal to the number of rules times the number of parent-adolescent combinations.

TABLE 2

TOTAL PROPORTION AGREEING FOR COURTSHIP-RELATED & NON-COURTSHIP-RELATED RULES BY PARENT-adolescent COMBINATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combination</th>
<th>Courtship-Related</th>
<th>Non-Courtship-Related</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both-Son</td>
<td>68% (1124)*</td>
<td>62% (898)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both-Daughter</td>
<td>59% (901)</td>
<td>69% (710)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-Son</td>
<td>67% (443)</td>
<td>66% (794)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-Daughter</td>
<td>60% (406)</td>
<td>68% (324)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Son</td>
<td>67% (1256)</td>
<td>66% (1007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Daughter</td>
<td>62% (1394)</td>
<td>70% (1106)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Number in parentheses indicates total number of combinations upon which the table percentage was based.
2 For non-courtship rules and the agreement on the presence of rules, the proportion agreeing varies only slightly between any two parent-adolescent combinations (Table 3).

3 For courtship rules and the agreement on the absence of rules, any parent-son combination has a higher proportion agreeing than any parent-daughter combination (Table 4).

4 For non-courtship rules and the agreement on the absence of rules, any parent-son combination has a lower proportion agreeing that the respective parent-daughter combination (Table 4).

Relevant literature indicates that there are three important structural groups that need to be taken into account for the study of parental and child values: the family; the adolescent peer group; the adult peer group. Davis (1964), Hollingshead (1949), Jones (1949), Parsons (1964), Ramsey (1967), and Remmers & Radler (1957) emphasize the interaction which occurs among the three groups. The adult finds himself as a member of an adult peer group, as well as the family grouping, and the adolescent finds himself as a member of the adolescent peer group and the family. Occasionally we find an adolescent a member of an adult group, such as youth members of a YMCA Board, or an adult as a member of some youth group, such as a high school teacher as a counselor to one of the school clubs, but these appear to be the exception rather than the rule. We may, therefore, conceive of situations in which the influence of peer group values are brought to bear in other interaction groups such as the family. The diagram in Figure 2 should further elucidate the situation.

The major assumption for the analysis of the results in that the rules which parents say that they make for their children and rules which the adolescents say that they have, can be explained by assumed adult and adolescent peer group values as they impinge on the family. Furthermore, if we view the nuclear family unit as a "type of group peculiarly structured around age-sex differences (Parsons & Bales 1955:313), then a partial explanation for the results may be forthcoming.

The parent by virtue of the responsibility encumbered in the "raising a family" does so on the basis of certain peer group values. As mentioned previously, the daughter is usually subjected to more rules than the son, and that these rules are found most prominently in the area of dating behavior. For the daughter at least the "visibility" of norms is high for both parents and daughter with the result that their position in relationship to rules may be well defined.

However, it may be that parental peer group norms and adolescent peer group norms dictate that a son should have less regulation than a daughter; but the situation may be ambiguous as to what kinds of rules a son should have, or if he should have any at all. Consequently, the rules that parents say that they have for their son in terms of dating behavior may not be explicit, with the consequence of there being less agreement concerning rules.

Specifically, the argument is that daughters and parents are more aware of the expectations of closer supervision with
### TABLE 3
PROPORTION AGREEING ON THE PRESENCE OF RULES
BY TYPE OF RULE & PARENT-ADOLESCENT COMBINATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combination</th>
<th>Courtship-Related</th>
<th>Non-Courtship-Related</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both-Son</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both-Daughter</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-Son</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-Daughter</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Son</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Daughter</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4
PROPORTION AGREEING ON THE ABSENCE OF RULES
BY TYPE OF RULE & PARENT-ADOLESCENT COMBINATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combination</th>
<th>Courtship-Related</th>
<th>Non-Courtship-Related</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both-Son</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both-Daughter</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-Son</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-Daughter</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Son</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Daughter</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 For courtship rules and the agreement on the presence of rules, any parent-daughter combination has a higher proportion agreeing than any parent-son combination (Table 3).
respect to courtship-related rules while sons are not. We would expect, therefore, that in terms of the proportion agreeing that daughters would have a higher percentage than sons (Result 1: Page 7).

Thus far the discussion has been limited to the agreement on the presence of courtship-related rules. With respect to agreement on the absence of courtship rules our findings are in the opposite direction from agreement on the presence of rules, i.e. agreement is higher for any parent-son combination than for any parent-daughter combination.

Now rules or at least the agreement of their presence is a fairly definite commitment; the acknowledgment of the existence of rules is therefore an explicit affirmation. However, for the condition in which there is agreement on the absence of rules the situation may be more ambiguous. The argument is that the absence of rules involves a highly implicit situation. If there is doubt about a rule, then there may be a tendency on the part of both parents and their children to acknowledge their absence. This may be particularly true in families in which permissive child-rearing practices are used. Such a tendency may be responsible for the relatively high proportions appearing in Table 4.

Furthermore, differences between sons and daughters with respect to agreement on the absence of courtship-related rules is large as shown in Table 4. While these differences in proportion are not independent of the proportions in Table 3, we suggest the following: assuming that sons are less regulated by their parents than daughters with respect to courtship-related rules and
that the absence of such rules for sons is more explicit than for daughters, then it may be, as our findings indicate, that there will be greater agreement with respect to sons than for daughters. In other words, the peer group norms and values of both parents and their children may mean that the absence of courtship rules for sons is both expected and affirmed to a significantly greater extent than for daughters.

We turn now to a brief discussion of the proportion agreeing on the presence and absence of non-courtship-related rules (Results 2 & 4: Page 7). The relatively slight differences between parent-son and parent-daughter combinations in the proportion agreeing on the presence of non-courtship-related rules suggests that such rules, once they are made, are explicitly recognized by both parents and their children; this may be due in part to the fact that the content area of these rules suggests that such rules may be applied relatively early in the life of the child, while the courtship related rules may be applied somewhat later. Thus, the expectations for sons and daughters in terms of the amount of time spent on homework or eating dinner with the family may, through a longer period of reinforcement, reduce variations in terms of parent-adolescent agreement.

Our results also indicate that although the proportion agreeing on the absence of non-courtship rules is relatively high, as previously shown in Table 4, there are differences of eight, four, and six percent between the respective parent-son and parent-daughter combinations. While these differences are not substantial, they do suggest that expectations of parents and daughters, in the absence of formalized rules for non-courtship related behavior, are more congruent than for sons.

SUMMARY

The basic model for this study is based on the concept that values and attitudes acquired in one social setting will "carry over" into another social setting. As such, given an opportunity to formalize certain standards of conduct, there is possibility of agreement or lack of agreement with respect to certain issues among individuals whose peer group experiences may vary. Analyzing parent-adolescent responses to a question concerning the rules which parents and adolescents may or may not have, we have sought to demonstrate that the rules perceived by both parent and adolescent within a family context will vary with the expectations of peer group influences; these values and attitudes acquired may function in both a normative manner as a source of values and in a comparative manner as a basis of comparison with other groups and individuals (Cf. Merton 1957: 283).

The results of the study seem to indicate that different patterns of answers to specific questions on adolescent rules will be evident according to the type of question which is asked and who answers the question within the family unit. These results, therefore, may be consistent with the point that "youth shifts over time, from social control by adults to a growing influence by peers, and then once again, to a concern with the attitudes, values, and expectations of the adult worlds" (Gottlieb & Ramsey 1964: 184). Since adolescence is a time in which the youth is subject to perhaps maximum control by his peers, then the possibility of disagreement concerning
the presence or absence of parental rules is perhaps also at a maximum.

Although this paper was limited to a few variables, there are several areas of research which may make profitable use of the analysis technique which we employed. For example, since there may be social class variations in the types and kinds of parental rules (Cf. Jenkins 1966), our technique may be particularly appropriate.

If the results are valid, then it would seem further research could more adequately systematize conditions and situations and place the findings within a broader theoretical framework.

The present study, it is hoped, will be beneficial in the study of adolescent behavior and parental influences. Specifically, the conflict observed between parents and children, which has been demonstrated in previous studies, would need to be re-examined with respect to the areas of supposed conflict or agreement. We might find that under certain situations agreement between parent and child might be extremely low. Such a re-examination might resolve the current debate on the existence of an adolescent subculture, if we can discern the conditions under which we would expect adolescent values to be in contrast or in agreement with their parents.

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THE NOTION of Adjustment in sociological usage is very imprecise and in the main not terribly useful because it means too many things to too many people. Adjustment may mean anything from "being without anxiety" to "getting along well with others." It is possible to "adjust" or to function in a prison, a concentration camp, a mental hospital, or a high school. But functioning in that sense does not mean that one is committed to the institution in any positively affective way, nor does it mean that one is committed to a legitimate role in the institution as those roles are defined by institutional power holders. Simple functioning as an index of adjustment will not do, although some students, teachers and administrators would settle for such a definition. If however we alter our notion of adjustment to take into account the structure and function of the high school as a complex organization and the self-perceived needs of the student within that system, we may begin to understand adjustment from another perspective.

If we begin with Cohen's (1965) notion that the individual is engaged in an ongoing process of finding, building, testing and validating a concept of self, and add Stryker's (1964) notion that the self is composed of situated identities or roles which vary in salience to the overall conception of self, we have a start. The question that needs to be next raised is: To what extent does the high school constrain the possibilities for identity formation seen as an ongoing social psychological process? What are identity possibilities within high school contexts? Let us also add the following assertions: (1) the individual needs a conception of self, separate and distinct from other selves; (2) the individual prefers that self be invested with positive affect; and (3) the individual needs to minimize anxiety about the self.
If the self actualization then is substituted for Adjustment, we might ask: To what extent does the school make such actualization possible? That is, does the school permit the individual to try on and cast off, grope tentatively and ultimately build a self based upon a variety of roles composing the self, each of which is rewarding and salient to the holistic self?

If I read current literature correctly the answer to that question is "No." That is not simply true of schools with lower class students. It is equally true of schools with white middle class students. Friedenberg (1963) especially, but others as well, has noted the restrictions in varieties of opportunities for being and becoming that are presented in most high schools. The data on adolescent subcultures (including my own recent work) indicate that legitimate roles to play and from which selves are built are fairly restricted within the schools and that peer groups are equally restricting. Roles can be assumed for any number of reasons, but built into role assumptions are the problematics of (a) rewards for role playing versus costs, (b) skills, and (c) the availability of the roles or the openness of the system. If the schools provide the options of "scholar," "athlete," and "socialite" exclusively, and the values of teachers, administrators and students generally legitimate only these roles, then there is some good probability that many students will be able to self-actualize from these choices. It is equally likely however that many students will find the costs of such role playing too high, lack the skills for them, or find the structure of opportunities for playing them closed. Then what are such students to do for a stable, positive and reinforced conception of self?

The options must be either marginal to or totally outside the school as a social system. Perhaps the delinquents, radicals and bohemians of Matza & Sykes' (1961) analysis are appropriate alternative role categories. Subterranean values emerge in order to solve the identity problem, and given those three deviant youth traditions as possessing identity potentials outside the school structure they are likely to become more popular as the school structure becomes more restrictive. Which of these traditions may be chosen is again a function of cost, skill and availability. Perhaps class and personality correlates of choice exist as well. But there is one more option too often overlooked.

The biologically based notion of Sturm und Drang (a kind of storm and stress of bio-psychological origins) may be re-examined usefully. If one discounts the storm and stress due to biological changes in adolescence (which is not unreasonable since people grow slowly into their bodies), one is not magically and overnight presented with pubic and facial hair. It is nevertheless quite true that the period of adolescence is culturally and legitimately defined as a time of storm and stress. Such a definition is presented as much to adolescents as to adults through various media. I am suggesting here therefore that one option for the adolescent in the struggle for identity is the one that permits him legitimately to be confused, upset, moody, unpredictable and a thorn in the sides of parents, peers and teachers. Following this line then, it is possible that an alternative definition of self as "mixed-up" can be added to the list of delinquents, radicals and
bohemians; or "mixed-up" can be a self definition that is role expressive for the other roles. In any case it is clear that these options for self actualization do exist, and they are problem solving options, not problems per se. In that sense I mean that solutions to the identity struggle are available outside the school context and are likely to be sought out, learned and adopted fully when the identity options within the schools are narrowly delimited. These extra-institutional identities are quite adjustive in the identity solution sense.

Nevertheless it is likely that those with the power to legitimate roles and statuses are not going to reward behavior stemming from such subterranean values. That does not mean that they will not inadvertently reinforce the behavior that they wish to extinguish. They may indeed do this by permitting the adolescents to define them as a negative reference group or as aggressors. In that sense they are reinforcers and even necessary to the maintenance of the 'deviant' identity.

The school administrators, teachers and students who insist upon narrow gates to within-school legitimate identities may respond to the deviants in a variety of ways. But in the main, punitive responses are likely to reinforce the deviant identities. Moreover there are very real consequences for the school organization itself when it must come to terms with non-legitimate styles among its clients.

The best model to use in understanding the consequences for the school may be Gouldner's discussion of managerial succession in Patterns Of Industrial Bureaucracy (1954). In that book (as in most schools) it is noted that as violations of rules occur in a punishment centered bureaucracy (and let us assume schools are punishment centered rather than either mock or participatory bureaucracies) these violations are met with (a) renewed efforts at rule enforcement and (b) the proliferation of new rules. Both of these are responses to two things: first, they drain energies away from the education function of the school and secondly, they confirm the deviant's view that the system is designed to exclude him. Beyond that however, the system can become repressive for both students and teachers. Marginal students may be driven to opt for the deviant life style while the deviants themselves may become better organized to find techniques of subversion for sabotaging the system. And as this occurs, one again may reasonably expect more energy put into rule enforcement and rule elaboration until education becomes secondary to organizational maintenance.

In sum then, the consequences of narrowed legitimate opportunities for identity formation within the school lead to the development and elaboration of non-legitimate (from the point of view of the school) identity potentials as solutions to the problem of need for self actualization. And it is also the case that where negative sanctions are brought to bear upon the deviants, the adjustive balance (in functional terms) of the school itself may be upset.

PROSPECTS

As public educational systems are altered by changes in class, race and ethnicity of students whether by court order or not, they are likely to find that
approved styles for adolescents in traditional terms may lead to severe problems in system maintenance. It is perfectly obvious that the adaptive mechanisms of the students not bounded by bureaucracy are more flexible than the adaptive mechanisms of schools. Moreover, if there is a place for the notion of value-lag-in-time in this discussion, it must finally be noted that Schools of Education which fail to train future administrators and teachers in terms used in this discussion, but rather in terms of stable organizations and criteria of productivity per unit cost, add to the problem. To the extent that the prime institutional goal is institutional maintenance and not meeting the educational and psychic needs of students, it is the schools that will face the adjustment problem as seriously as will students.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


MUCH OF THE WORK on adolescents has not dealt systematically with the belief systems of this large aggregation in American society but has found its basic theoretical import and research impetus in socialization theory. A number of investigations have focused on areas such as: peer group influences and peer-parental conflict over role expectations, subcultural features of adolescence, and the general features of adolescent society (Coleman 1961; Gottlieb 1964). A wide array of expressions has been employed to characterize this phase of the life cycle: "vanishing adolescent," a stage of "growing up absurd," a social period of "coming of age in America." And adolescents as a collectivity have been considered as "among the last social groups in the world to be given the full 19th century colonial treatment (Friedenberg 1965: 4) Frequently the adolescent phase is thought of in maturational terms as ranging chronologically from the years twelve to twenty. More significantly however, are definitions which consider it as a dynamic socio-psychological process of continued socialization and redefinition characterized by self identification, behavioral, attitudinal and value transformations, emphasizing that the nature of adolescence varies with the environments in which youth "coming of age" find themselves (Hauser 1966; Miel & Kiester 1967; Pettigrew 1959).

However, there has not been enough meaningful research on the adults of tomorrow and the kinds of belief structures (Insko & Robinson 1967) they will bring to the future institutions and value systems of our society. The problem under investigation here represents a beginning attempt in the direction of discovering racial beliefs and an effort to tap some of the ingredients of America's major domestic problem: white racism. Basically the research area formulated for study deals with the question of how white adolescents

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perceive the place of the black American in our social structure.

Since the Kerner Commission report a number of publications have emerged focusing upon this phenomenon (Baratz 1969; Tomlinson 1968). This transition from a long historically rooted social science over-emphasis on prejudice (Proenza 1965) hopefully will provide for more systematic inquiry into the normative and structural consequences of the nature of a racist belief system (Pettigrew 1961). Since adolescence is a period of changing self conceptions and a questioning of the fundamental axioms on which American culture rests, the need for viewing interrelationships between such self image changes and world views or ideologies appears imperative for students of the family (King 1968).

Racism is defined as an ideology having explicit and implicit premises about the relationships, role expectations, status differentiations, and the psycho-social character structures of blacks and whites (Brink 1967; Goldman 1962; Hyman & Sheatsley 1964). It represents an historically prescribed and culturally legitimated body of doctrine and myth with concomitant symbolism. The latter components are manifestations of the dimension of extreme ethnocentricity relative to the assumption of the biological and intellectual racial superiority and purity of whites over blacks. As such it is a pervasive ideological network underlying the entire value and institutional fabric of American social structure. One comparatively comprehensive definition considers racism as:

... any set of beliefs that hold organic, genetically transmitted differences... between human groups as intrinsically associated with the presence or absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races (Van den Berghe 1967: 11, 23).

The present study (part of a much larger investigation) does not attempt to touch all facets of a racist ideology. It is simply oriented to ascertaining some of the beliefs of white adolescents in three areas: (1) beliefs about police treatment of blacks; (2) beliefs about the causes of the disadvantaged positions of blacks in jobs, housing and education; and (3) definitions of the role of whites in the maintenance of racially segregated neighborhoods. These three dimensions rank high on the list of problems encountered by black Americans.

Results are based on a relatively small number of white high school students (N=141) from a suburban community in the midwestern part of the United States and are compared with an adult sample (N=2500) from an earlier study of white beliefs about Negroes (Campbell & Schuman 1968). Data reported here deal with four of the many questions asked of adult respondents in the Campbell & Schuman study of fifteen major cities in America.*

The procedure involved administering a structured questionnaire en masse to

students of junior status in a middle class suburban school. The first section of the research instrument consisted of typical demographic items on ethnic background, religious affiliation, educational status of father, and so forth; while the second part was composed of a series of items dealing with beliefs about blacks and the white American's role relative to the treatment of blacks, and a racism scale. As indicated only four of the items in the second part of the instrument are discussed in this paper. Sixty-five males and seventy-six females comprised the subsample on which results are based. Forty-three of the group were Protestants and ninety-five Catholics. Ninety-three of those sampled were sixteen years of age, with forty-four age seventeen, three eighteen, and one male fifteen. More than one-half of the respondents came from families where the father had at least high school graduate status. Thus a degree of homogeneity was achieved on the social class variable with respect to the educational component. The four questions reported on are aimed at examining some perceptual and definitional dimensions of racism and are taken from the Campbell & Schuman study:

(1) On the average, Negroes in America have worse jobs, education and housing than white people. Do you think this is due mainly to Negroes having been discriminated against or mainly due to something about Negroes themselves?

(2) It is sometimes said that unnecessary roughness and disrespect by the police happen more to Negroes in American cities than to white people. Do you think this is definitely so, probably so, probably not so, or definitely not so?

(3) Which of these statements would you agree with: First, white people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to; or second, Negroes have a right to live wherever they can afford to just like white people; or third, Negroes have a right to live anywhere if they are of the "right kind."

(4) Do you favor or oppose laws to prevent discrimination in job hiring and promotion?

The following responses are designated as operational indicators of racist beliefs:

(1) Having the worse jobs, education and housing is due to something about Negroes themselves.

(2) Unnecessary roughness and disrespect for Negroes by police is: probably not so or definitely not so.

(3) White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods; or, Negroes have a right to live anywhere if they are the "right kind."

(4) Opposing laws to prevent discrimination in hiring and promoting Negroes or having a preference for whites.

Campbell & Schuman found that there is a tendency for the younger age groups to express a recognition of the role of discrimination in the disadvantaged positions black Americans have in employment, education and housing. They state that "the direction of the genera-
tional differences in our data strongly suggests that a long-term shift is occurring in the white population away from the traditional racial attitudes of an earlier time in this country." But they added a relevant qualification: "While this appears to be a significant movement, it cannot be said that a dramatic reversal of the pattern of racial attitudes has occurred even among the youngest age group." These data tend to confirm this assertion.

Table 1 shows a significant percentage difference between white adults and white adolescents' definitions of the role of discrimination blacks encounter in housing, employment and education. Despite most of the adolescents indicating that the problems of blacks in these areas are due to discrimination, a large percentage felt that such problems represent a combination of discrimination and "Negroes themselves." Since no probing was done, it can only be assumed that this indicates an assumption of the black American's own responsibility for his plight without recognizing the underlying causes of the status of blacks. Campbell & Schuman (1968) state that those whites "who placed some or all of the responsibility for the deficiencies of Negro life on Negroes themselves tended to think in terms of failures of motivation among Negroes." In their study a sizeable number spoke of the presumed laziness or unwillingness to take advantage of opportunities. It is felt from responses to other items in the present questionnaire that this

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White Adults</th>
<th>White Adolescents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly Due To Discrimination</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly Due To Negroes Themselves</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Mixture Of Both</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Campbell & Schuman, op. cit.
same interpretation may be applicable here.

Of their data Campbell & Schuman point out that only a very small percentage of their sample accepted without reservation the idea that blacks might be more subject to unnecessary abuse and disrespect from police than whites. Over one-half of their sample indicated that this was probably not so and definitely not so. In sharp contrast to the adults, data in Table 2 show that the white adolescents tended to feel that it is probably true that blacks are mistreated by police. More than half of the female adolescents stated that unnecessary abuse is either definitely so or probably so, although for both the male adults and adolescents forty percent stated that the notion of abuse is probably and definitely so. What is interesting to note are the percentage differences for those adolescents and adults indicating "don't know." This may represent an unwillingness to make a commitment without factual information. Table 3 shows that adolescents on the whole feel that black Americans have a right to live anywhere. More of the adults in the Campbell & Schuman study tended to think that whites have a right to keep blacks out than the adolescents in the present investigation. From data in Table 4 more than one-half of both groups tended to favor laws against

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT &amp; ADOLESCENT BELIEFS ABOUT POLICE BEHAVIOR TOWARD BLACKS BY SEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely So</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably So</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably Not So</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely Not So</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>b</sup> Campbell & Schuman, op. cit.
### TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT & ADOLESCENT DEFINITIONS OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION BY SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>White Adults</th>
<th></th>
<th>White Adolescents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Have A Right To Keep Negroes Out</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes Have A Right To Live Anywhere</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes Have A Right To Live Anywhere If They Are The &quot;Right Kind&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*C Campbell & Schuman, op. cit.

### TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULTS & ADOLESCENTS FAVORING & OPPOSING LAWS AGAINST JOB DISCRIMINATION BY SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preference</th>
<th>White Adults</th>
<th></th>
<th>White Adolescents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor Preference For Whites</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*d Campbell & Schuman, op. cit.*
discrimination. Table 4 shows that a substantial majority of both the adults and adolescents indicated that they were in favor of legislation to prevent discrimination against blacks in hiring and promotion. Yet for both samples, one respondent in five declared an opposition to such laws.

Despite increasing emphasis on the generation gap mystique, these two groups of white suburbanites tended to hold views only slightly at variance with each other. The most notable distinctions in beliefs are shown in Tables 1 and 3. White adolescents tended to recognize the role of discrimination in employment, housing and education more so than the adults. On the residential segregation item, more adolescents tended to feel that blacks should be able to live wherever they choose. Whether these differences represent long-term changes relative to altering the structure of racism will depend on future analyses of racist thinking. Our larger survey may point to further ideological differences between young whites and the prevailing belief systems of the parents’ generation.

With respect to this, Campbell & Schuman (1968) state that:

As these younger cohorts move through the life cycle, replacing their elders and being followed by generations with even larger proportions of college-exposed people, the potential for massive change in the traditional pattern of white racial attitudes in this country seems great. However, this is a projection based on simple assumptions of persistence and takes no account of events which may intervene to bring about unforeseeable alterations in the pace and even the direction of this change.

The measurement of racism may prove to be one of sociology’s most perplexing methodological problems. This is due to its multidimensional nature, conceptual ambiguity, reluctance to employ the term because of its value-laden and negative connotations and the emotions it evokes, and the fact that it is relatively new to social science analysis. Perhaps future studies will enable greater understanding of the changing racial consciousness of young white Americans.

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