

A STUDY OF A SMALL TOWN HIGH SCHOOL AS
A SUBCULTURE

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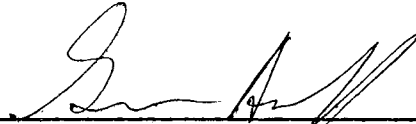
Master of Arts
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas
1964

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
May, 1971

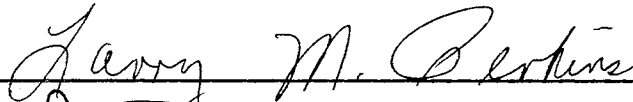
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PREFACE

A major task faced by every society is the socialization of its youth. For the most part, this task is the responsibility of adults. To insure the satisfactory introduction of youth into society's mode of life, certain institutions are established by which culture is transmitted to the younger generation. In our society, one of these institutions is the high school. Within the formal structure of the high school, adolescents are expected to develop requisite skills which will qualify them to eventually become participants in adult society. The formal structure of the school, however, is not adequate in supplying the incessant needs of adolescents. As a result, an informal structure evolves from the interaction of students in which certain basic social needs are met. This structure is identified as the high school subculture. Some of its aspects are the focus of this study.

Sociological theory does not contain precise indicators of what constitutes the adolescent subculture. The purpose of this research was to delineate and clarify some of the variables relating to the subculture of adolescence by studying adolescents who were enrolled in grades 7-12 in a small town high school. This study sought to analyze (1) the nature of the adolescent subculture, particularly as it differs from the larger adult culture; (2) the nature of the patterns of stratification within the school; and (3) the nature of peer group orientation of students.

I am indebted to numerous people who contributed in immeasurable ways to the successful completion of this study: Dr. Gene Acuff, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, gave freely of his time, not only to direct this thesis, but throughout my graduate program. His active interest, many appropriate suggestions, and scholarly advice are very greatly appreciated; Dr. Larry Perkins, Professor of Sociology, whose intellectual perspective contributed not only to this thesis, but also conveyed valuable insights into the whole discipline of sociology; Dr. Donald Allen, Professor of Sociology, who gave untiringly of his time to develop the computer program for the analysis of the data of this study. His suggestions relative to the overall development of this thesis were of inestimable value; Dr. LeRoy Fischer, Professor of History, for his comments and advice regarding this study. His scholarly and gentlemanly attributes bear their imprint on this author.

I wish to express special thanks to the administrators and teachers of the school which was the focus of this study for offering me the facilities in which to conduct the research and assisting me in collecting the data. Special thanks are also due the students for their cooperation and participation in this study. Mrs. Grayce Wynd deserves thanks for her advice and skillful typing of this manuscript.

Appreciation is expressed for the support of the National Science Foundation, Science Faculty Fellowship Number 60159, whose financial assistance facilitated the completion of this thesis.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest appreciation to my wife, Melba, for her considerate understanding, interest, and encouragement during the period of this study.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED VARIABLES OF HIGH SCHOOL SUBCULTURE

The high school is an institution established by adults, designed to inculcate in the adolescent the cultural characteristics of the society of which he is a member. The high school has become increasingly important as an agency through which society can transmit those cultural attributes which are considered important in eventually producing a person skilled in that culture. Within this institution, the adolescent refines such things as language, social graces, self-awareness, and status, as well as certain technical skills deemed important by society. He also develops his ability to identify with and relate to other people. Furthermore, the adolescent is able to participate in social relationships which are conducive to status enhancement, and can achieve a recognizable status among his peers quite independent of his parents.

By its very nature, the high school experience results in the establishment of reference group relations whose norms and values often are considerably divergent from the traditions of the older generation. The adolescent spends a substantial part of his waking hours segregated in an institution where contact with adults is very limited, but interpersonal relationships with adolescents his own age are heightened. These two factors, therefore, are operating simultaneously on the adolescent. While interaction with adults is reduced, at the same time,

interaction with peers becomes more extensive. In relation to this, Landis says:

The school, by virtue of the fact that it brings large numbers of adolescents and youths together into separate age-group situations, is the most important social institution in our society having to do with peer-group adjustments.¹

Structured relationships evolve from this active participation with peers which significantly affect the interests, attitudes, and activities of adolescents. The adolescent comes to rely more extensively on his peers rather than his parents and other adults for social rewards and the satisfaction of needs. Developing from this increased dependence on the peer group is a "... combination of factorable social situations ... forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual."² Many observers of youth behavior refer to this functioning unity as the adolescent subculture.

Characteristics of the Adolescent Subculture

A basic characteristic of a culture is that it promotes conformity to its norms by defining appropriate or required modes of thinking, acting, and believing. Previous research on the adolescent subculture indicates that the enforcement of conformity is also one of its basic features. Describing some of the distinctive features of the adolescent subculture, Smith says:

In a complex society, such as America, this conformity may be patterned by a subculture possessing its own norms.

Youth culture initiates and reinforces conformity by setting its members apart in appearance and behavior. Distinctive appearance is achieved through clothing, hair styles, and ornamentation; unique behavior is revealed in slang and social rituals. In these ways the members of youth culture are distinguished from adults and mutually identified.³

A distinctive feature of adolescents is their clothing styles and dress habits. While functioning to set them apart from adults, adolescent dress habits reveal strong patterns of conformity to the accepted modes of teen-age styles.

Girls' styles in the early 1940's reveal in various areas a virtual uniform for school wear ... Wool sweaters with pull-up sleeves, wool plaid skirts, white bobby-sox, and moccasins were most popular.

The boys' classroom uniform ... has remained relatively unchanged --patterned sloppiness involving rolled-up, worn blue jeans ... white sox, and moccasins or loafers.⁴

Another distinctive feature of the youth culture is the development of a language uniquely its own. While acting as a barrier to outsiders, adolescent language intensifies group identity through a distinctive pattern of communication. Such terms as "freak out," "trip," "scene," "schmo," "gross me out" have symbolic meaning which tend to exclude adults from participation in the subculture and act as a barrier to effective communication between adults and adolescents. Status is sometimes implied by the use of such terms as "wheels," "brains," "outcasts," "dopes."⁵

Technology is another feature of the adolescent subculture which has been described in part by previous research. Within the subculture, technology is composed of such things as cars, bicycles, motorcycles, and the telephone. Of special significance to the teen-ager, is the family car. Use of the car permits adolescent mobility and insures a degree of privacy and independence. It should be noted that parents maintain some measure of control over technology. This is particularly the case with the family car.

Parent-youth conflict is a feature of the adolescent subculture frequently mentioned by research. It develops over parental interference

into the affairs of teen-agers, often over disagreements about activity related to dating and use of the family car. Gottlieb and Ramsey suggest that "... it would appear from autobiographical data that the selection in dating is a most important aspect of the conflict in adolescents' relations with parents."⁶

Other distinctive features of the subculture include tastes regarding music and the arts in general, leisure activities, and a discernibly different set of value orientations. The values clustering around athletics in the school, grades, dating preferences and behavior, and the use of alcoholic beverages vary substantially from parental values relative to the same phenomena.

Adolescent behavior is not random or arbitrary. It is related to a set of principles specified by the subculture, and regulated and motivated by a system of norms which promotes conformity to the adolescent system.

Objectives of the Study

Despite the vast accumulation of material on adolescence, sociological theory does not contain precise indicators of what constitutes the adolescent subculture. Kandal, et al. indicate that for "... more than a generation, the concept of adolescent subculture has been surrounded by controversy which continues to grow, with little hope for an adequate resolution in the near future."⁷ The purpose of this research is to delineate and clarify some of the variables relating to the subculture of adolescence by studying adolescents who were enrolled in a small town high school. Generally, this includes an analysis of (1) the nature of the adolescent subculture, particularly as it differs

from the larger adult culture; (2) the nature of the patterns of stratification within the school; and (3) an analysis of peer group orientation of students.

Specifically, this study is concerned with describing how adolescents relate to the informal and social structure associated with the school. This involves an analysis of how adolescents spend their leisure time, how much time they devote to their studies outside the classroom, the amount of time they spend watching television, and the time dimension of dating involvement. To determine the value discrepancies and/or congruencies between students and parents, criteria of desirable status preferences will be contrasted and compared. Teen-age versus parental attitudes toward the use of alcoholic beverages and drugs will also be included in the analysis.

By using criteria considered to be relevant to status mobility, the status system of the adolescent subculture will be investigated. The manner in which adolescents are ranked is an important aspect of the subculture. Based on the assumption that some statuses are more visible than others, a comparison will be made between the visibility of athletes, scholars, and most popular students.

Adolescence has been described as a transitional period between childhood and adulthood. During this period the adolescent purportedly becomes more detached from his family of orientation and becomes increasingly more independent of parents.⁸ A criterion of adolescent independence is freedom from parental controls and restrictions. To provide an analysis of subcultural values revolving around parental restrictions on teen-age behavior, the relationship between adolescent and parental attitudes relative to parental control will be evaluated. Since

adolescent independence is progressive, becoming greater as the adolescent matures, attachment to the peer group logically becomes more pronounced as the teen-ager grows older. This assumption will be evaluated by comparing peer group orientation of the younger adolescents with the older adolescents.

The discrepancies existing between adolescents and adults have been euphemistically described as a "generation gap." This implies that adolescents fail to understand the value position of adults, and vice versa. To determine the extent of agreement between teen-agers and parents relative to adolescent attitudes toward adults, the relationship between adolescent perceptions of adults and what parents think adolescent perceptions of adults are will be examined. Finally, to describe the functional nature of athletics in the subculture, the relationship between parental and adolescent attitudes toward athletics in the school will be measured.

Theory

The research and generalizations of this study are formulated within the framework of structural-functional analysis. According to this theoretical approach, every society is a totality composed of inter-related and interdependent institutions.⁹ Society is conceived as a " ... system of institutions related to and reacting upon one another."¹⁰ The different components of society should be seen in relation to their functional contribution to the whole. These institutional components may function to fulfill or act as barriers to impede the fulfillment of the perceived requirements of society. Where structural barriers arise

to obstruct the function of a component part, alternative institutions (i.e., functional alternatives) emerge to carry out the same or a similar function.

Functional analysis is predicated on the principle of homeostasis --the maintenance of stable conditions within a structure. Smith says:

... interrelated social institutions work toward the maintenance of relatively stable social conditions, and where a formal institution is ineffectual, informal institutions arise to contribute to the stability of the society. In an analysis of youth culture, one must be cognizant of the series of interrelated institutions bound together by the activities of their numbers.¹¹

In any social structure, the consequences of some functions are socially approved and intended. Other functional consequences are not anticipated and often are not socially approved. Merton distinguishes between these two types of functions. The former, he labeled manifest functions, which are those consequences for society, or any of its segments, that are intended and recognized by members of the system. The latter are latent functions which are consequences that are " ... neither intended nor recognized."¹²

Within this structural-functional theoretical framework, the manifest function of the high school is to transmit those values and norms revolving around the more formal educational activities approved by society. The ultimate goal of the educational system is to produce intelligent youth who are capable of becoming participating members of adult society. The latent functions of the high school frequently have the unintended effect of diverting student interests away from the intellectual aspects of the system and into such activities as athletics and the formation of cliques who channel energy away from the pursuit of scholarly activities.

From the structural-functional theoretical framework and from previous research on the adolescent subculture, the following hypotheses were formulated:

H₁) Parents will advocate significantly more parental control over the behavior of teen-agers than will adolescents in grades 7-12.

H₂) The greater the frequency of discussions between parents and adolescents, the greater will be the effects of parental influence over teen-agers.

H₃) Parents with favorable attitudes toward the teen-ager will advocate less overt parental control over adolescents than those parents with less favorable attitudes toward the teen-ager.

H₄) Adolescents in grades 10-12 will be significantly more peer oriented than adolescents in grades 7-9.

H₅) Adolescents in grades 7-12 will have a more negative view of adults than their parents will indicate they will have.

H₆) Adolescent males in grades 7-12 will place a significantly greater emphasis on athletics than will parents.

H₇) Adolescent males in grades 10-12 will place a significantly greater emphasis on athletics than will adolescent males in grades 7-9.

Definitions Accepted

In order to minimize semantic problems of the study, the following definitions were accepted.

Culture

... the patterns of learned behavior and the products of behavior shared by the members of a society and transmitted among them.¹³

Subculture

(1) A distinctive, shared conception of common membership in a group or social category, (2) further distinctive differences in shared meanings between this group and the larger supraculture, and (3) some significant distinctive language that helps to set off the subculture from the supraculture.¹⁴

Adolescence

Sociologically, adolescence is the period in the life of a person when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him (male or female) as a child and does not accord to him full adult status. ... It is not marked by a specific point in time such as puberty, since its form, content, duration, and period in the life cycle are differently determined by various cultures and societies. Sociologically, the important thing about the adolescent years is the way people regard the maturing individual.¹⁵

Society

... a collection of people with a common identification who are sufficiently organized to carry out the conditions necessary to living harmoniously together.¹⁶

Social system

... the network of relationships among people which grows out of their adherence to a given culture and/or subculture, from which they derive the prescriptions for their behavior and, of course, their interrelationships.¹⁷

Attitude

... a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner.¹⁸

Value

Values ... have to do with modes of conduct and end-states of existence. ... a value is a single belief that transcendentally guides actions and judgments across specific objects and situations, and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate end-states of existence.¹⁹

Summary

As a social institution, the high school functions to transmit to adolescents those skills which adults consider essential in producing a person with the potential to become a participating member of adult society. Within the structure of the school, the adolescent interacts with reference groups whose values often are divergent from the traditional values of his family. As a result of increased participation in social relationships with those his own age, the adolescent establishes close identity with his peers and achieves a recognizable status apart from his parents. Developing from the increased dependence on the peer group are structural relationships which serve to integrate the teenager into the adolescent subculture.

The objective of this research is to (1) examine the nature of the adolescent subculture, especially as it varies from adult culture; (2) analyze the patterns of stratification within the school; and (3) investigate peer orientation of the students. These objectives are reflected in the formulation of the hypotheses, and will be guided by the theoretical approach of structural-functional analysis.

FOOTNOTES

¹Paul H. Landis, Adolescence and Youth: The Process of Maturing (New York, 1952), p. 315.

²Milton M. Gordon, "The Concept of the Sub-Culture and Its Application," Social Forces, 26 (1947), p. 41.

³Ernest A. Smith, American Youth Culture (Glenco, Ill., 1962), p. 11.

⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁵Ibid., p. 15.

⁶David Gottlieb and Charles E. Ramsey, The American Adolescent (Homewood, Ill., 1964), p. 101.

⁷D. B. Kandal, G. S. Lesser, G. C. Roberts, and R. Weiss, "The Concept of Adolescent Subculture," in Richard F. Purnell (ed.), Adolescents and the American High School (New York, 1970), p. 194.

⁸James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Glenco, Ill., 1961); Dan W. Dodson, "Social Aspects of Child Development," in Richard F. Purnell (ed.), Adolescents and the American High School (New York, 1970), p. 173.

⁹Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enl. ed. (New York, 1968), pp. 73-138.

¹⁰Ely Chinoy, Society: An Introduction to Sociology, 2nd ed. (New York, 1962), p. 93.

¹¹Smith, p. 227.

¹²Merton, p. 117.

¹³Everett M. Rogers, Social Change in Rural Society (New York, 1950), pp. 38-39.

¹⁴Jack D. Douglas, Youth in Turmoil (Chevy Chase, Maryland, 1970), p. 21.

¹⁵August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York, 1949), p. 7.

¹⁶ Alvin L. Bertrand, Basic Sociology: An Introduction to Theory and Method (New York, 1967), p. 23.

¹⁷ John F. Cuber, Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles, 6th ed. (New York, 1968), p. 84.

¹⁸ Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change (San Francisco, 1969), p. 112.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Adolescent Subculture as a Concept

The concept of adolescent subculture has its origin with Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa (1928)¹ and Waller's The Sociology of Teaching (1932)². A decade after Waller's work, the concept received further impetus when Parsons (1942) wrote of the existence of a distinct youth culture.³

Mead probably was the first to articulate the notion of an adolescent culture with her stress upon the view that cultural factors rather than physiological maturation account for some of the distinctive behavior of adolescents.⁴ She spent nine months in Samoa studying the behavioral characteristics of adolescent girls between the ages of 9 and 20. She describes the family structure, the village structure, and the patterns of interpersonal relationships--especially adolescent heterosexual relationships which apparently begin at puberty.

Mead points out that the differences in human behavior from society to society are due, not to differences in physiological make-up, but to different cultural practices and traditions.⁵ By comparing the complexity of American cultural patterns with the seemingly casual simplicity of Samoan cultural patterns, she accounts for attitudinal and overt

behavioral differences of adolescents of both societies.⁶ While adolescents in American society face different and sometimes conflicting group pressures, which promote double standards of behavior, the Samoan adolescent is a member of (and, consequently, a product of) a homogenous group where tradition is a prevalent feature of daily living. The implications for behavioral differences between the two contrasting cultures are readily apparent--and this is the thrust of her argument--because cultural differences, not differences in the nature of man, account for differences in human behavior.

A few years after the publication of Mead's book, Willard Waller, in describing the school as a social system, also spoke of an adolescent culture when he suggested that the school is a cohesive system comprised of a teacher subculture and a distinct youth culture. His views concerning the latter are clearly indicated in the following statement:

...the world of the school is a social world. Those human beings who live together in the school, though deeply severed in one sense, nevertheless spin a tangled web of interrelationships; that web and the people in it make up the social world of school. It is not a wide world, but, for those who know it, it is a world compact with meaning. It is a unique world.⁷

Since the school is a system comprised of interacting personalities, it contains traditions, complex patterns of personal relationships, folkways, mores, a moral code based on them, and a system of sanctions to enforce the codes. "All these things," he says, "make up a world that is different from the world of adults."⁸ Yet the culture of the school is a curious mixture of youth practices and adult traditions which have become mingled to form a separate entity all its own.

Tradition, according to Waller, can be divided into three types: (1) tradition which originates from outside the school; (2) tradition

which originates in part from outside the school and in part within the school; and (3) tradition which originates almost exclusively within the school.

Tradition of the first type has certain deterministic qualities. In our society, for example, it is axiomatic that the young are taught by the old and not the old by the young. Tradition of this type determines what is taught, who shall teach it, and in what manner it will be taught.⁹

Tradition of the second type is represented by the teachers in the system. They bring to the school the culture of the larger society but are also influenced by the indigenous culture of the school. The basic function of tradition of this type has to do with teacher morality which regulates the teacher's relationships with his students and with other personnel in the system. It also serves the additional function of establishing and maintaining social distance between teacher and students.

Tradition of the last type is indigenous to the system. It is student tradition. Its distinctive characteristics are: (1) subordinate status of the student; (2) social distance between student and teacher is a part of the student code as well as a part of the teacher code; and (3) as students become members of older adolescent groups, they tend to repudiate the folkways of the younger groups.¹⁰

Waller viewed conflict between student and teacher and between student cliques as inherent in the nature of the system. In any system, conflict which continues unchecked tends to be disruptive. Therefore, it must be resolved. In the school, athletics perform this function. When selected representatives (athletes) of the school engage the common

competitor (athletes from other schools), athletics promote conflict resolution by solidifying disparate units through building up school spirit, encouraging school loyalty, and unifying teachers and students.¹¹ In other words, athletics serve the functional requisite of promoting the goal of conflict resolution by which the system is kept in a state of equilibrium.

Writing in 1942, Parsons characterized youth culture as being comprised of adolescent males who utilize athletics as an avenue to achieve limited goals and adolescent girls who achieve popularity and prestige through glamour and sexual attractiveness.¹² In contrast to the larger culture which emphasizes adult responsibility, youth culture is described by Parsons as being irresponsible, displaying a "...strong tendency to repudiate interest in adult things and to feel at least a certain recalcitrance to the pressure of adult expectations and discipline."¹³ Furthermore, adolescence is depicted by Parsons as a period of considerable strain and insecurity. Consequently, there are indications that youth culture is a "...product of tensions in the relationships of younger people and adults."¹⁴

In a later volume, Parsons says that the youth culture is "...one of the hallmarks of the American educational system." He argues that the school functions to promote differentiation between the students. In the elementary grades, focus is on the level of capacity of the students to achieve. In the high school, differentiation is on the basis of qualitative types of achievement. His views are clearly elaborated in the following statement:

In approaching the question of the types of capacity differentiated, it should be kept in mind that the secondary school is the principal springboard from which lower-status persons

will enter the labor force, whereas those achieving higher status will continue their formal education in college.... Hence for the lower-status pupils the important line of differentiation should be the one which will lead into broadly different categories of jobs; for the higher-status pupils the differentiation will lead to broadly different roles in college.¹⁵

After the initial introduction of the adolescent subculture concept, considerable research has explored many related sub-topics. Of specific concern to this research are three basic issues: (1) whether or not adolescent subcultures actually exist as separate and distinguishable entities; (2) if they do exist, what is their origin and general nature; and (3) to what extent do they influence adolescent behavior. The literature review first focuses on issues relevant to the first question--whether or not adolescent subcultures actually exist. Second, the literature review focuses on the latter two questions.

Existence of an Adolescent Subculture

Although there seems to be a general acceptance of the existence of adolescent subcultures by students of adolescent behavior, this agreement is by no means unanimous. Some research lends support to those who confirm the existence of adolescent subcultures, while other research fails to confirm the reality of the subculture.

One of the most intensive in-depth analyses of high school subcultures was completed by James Coleman in Adolescent Society.¹⁶ Coleman's work was an empirical study of ten high schools in Illinois, selected to represent a wide range of types of communities. These ranged from small rural town schools with an enrollment of 150 students to those of Chicago and its suburbs with a student population of up to 1,950.¹⁷

Coleman's work clearly demonstrates the existence of a distinctive adolescent society, with an accompanying distinctive subculture and status system. He found that although the status of adolescents was partly ascribed by sources outside the school, status among boys within the school was related primarily to athletic ability. For girls positional prestige was related to such things as social success with the opposite sex, personal attractiveness, being a leader in extracurricular activities, and academic superiority.¹⁸

The value system of the schools was described by Coleman as encompassing four criteria: (1) good grades; (2) family background variables; (3) membership in the leading crowd; and (4) athletic centered activities.

According to Coleman, value and interest priorities of the adolescent subculture tend to divert the focus of attention away from the academic goals of the schools. The basic aim of the school is to promote academic interests. However, the value and status system, with appropriate rewards, are structured around athletics and other extracurricular activities. Scholarship assumes a position of secondary importance in the prestige hierarchy. For example, when boys were asked what they would most like to be remembered in school for, 31 per cent said brilliant student, 44 per cent said athletic star, and 25 per cent said most popular.¹⁹ Even the elites, who came from higher socioeconomic backgrounds, placed paramount emphasis on athletics, selecting the brilliant student category less frequently than did the various student bodies as a whole.

Major features of the high school subculture described by Coleman include: (1) a search for status and popularity; (2) cars, sports, and

athletic ability for boys; (3) beauty, glamour, and personal attractiveness for girls; (4) both sexes regarded dating and extracurricular activities as very important, with the elites conferring even greater importance on these than other students; (5) perceived brilliance and good grades apparently bring few if any tangible rewards from adolescent groups.

Coleman's analysis is posited in functional terms. He suggests, for example, that the importance of student values and interests clustering around athletics rests in the functions they perform for the high school society. They bring credit and honor not only to the individuals who participate, but to the school as a whole. Rewards are given accordingly. "Those students who play an important role in enhancing the cohesion of the collective by bringing credit to it are rewarded with prestige; in this way, motivation is built into the social structure."²⁰

Smith's American Youth Culture also offers strong support for the existence of a distinctive adolescent subculture.²¹ He does not report empirical research of his own, but summarizes numerous studies pertaining to youth culture which have accumulated over the past two decades. Within the framework of structural-functional analysis, he focuses on the development of group norms which are in opposition to those held by adults, the subgroups of adolescents (such as cliques, crowds, and gangs), and the dating and courtship patterns of youth.

The basic function of the youth subculture is the socialization of its members. This is accomplished through a series of informal institutions, such as the clique, crowd, dating, and going steady. Norms transmitted by these socialization agencies function to promote solidarity and often take precedence over family and other adult norms.²²

Secrecy and the concealment of behavior are other functions of the adolescent subculture. According to Smith, institutional practices develop which enshroud the activities of youth from adult observation, and hence from adult supervision and control. This process implies "...a degree of withdrawal of association and confidences from adults, and consequent obstacles to communication between youth and adults."²³

Gottlieb and Ramsey also support the adolescent subculture concept.²⁴ They suggest, however, that the existence of an adolescent subculture should not depend on the degrees or types of differences found between adolescents and adults. The important question for them, in contrast to Smith's analysis, is not deviation from the normative adult structure, but rather how "...involvement in and commitment to the peer group influence the behavior and beliefs of the participant."²⁵

Gottlieb and Ramsey report the results of a poll conducted among some twenty social scientists relative to their views concerning the existence of an adolescent subculture. Responses to the poll indicated a general acceptance of the adolescent subculture concept by these professionals. There were, however, some dissenters who indicated their dissent was primarily a matter of semantics--how, for example, is adolescent subculture operationally defined.

In an article published in 1961, Jessie Bernard unquestionably allied herself with the proponents of an adolescent subculture and provided an explanation for its existence. "Teen-age culture," she said, "is a product of affluence: we can afford to keep a large population in school through high school."²⁷ She presents an array of statistics which confirm the fact that teen-agers constitute a vast consumer market. For example, they spend billions of dollars annually on such

material items as clothes, cosmetics, records, cars, books, and magazines.²⁸

This teen-age leisure class has had an important influence on mass media. Advertisers create desires by such devices as flattery and cajoling without adhering to traditional adult methods designed to restrict and discipline teen-age behavior. Therefore, "...the things bought are determined by what the child wants rather than by what the parents want for him."²⁹

In Educating the Expert Society, Burton Clark refers to three subcultures operating within the framework of the high school: (1) the fun subculture; (2) the academic subculture; and (3) the delinquent subculture.³⁰

The fun subculture, according to Clark, revolves around such things as athletic events, school dances and parties, the annual selection of a school queen, clubs, sororities, fraternities, and building school spirit. This subculture is functional in a number of ways for the students, the school staff, and administrative officials. For the students, the social activities of the school offer experiences which help to prepare them for college social life. For the staff, some parts of the fun subculture function as a means of control by providing outlets through which adolescent energies can be channeled or by acting as substitutes for proscribed activities. For administrative officials, the fun subculture serves as a vehicle for public relations with the community by allowing and encouraging community participation in certain extracurricular activities.³¹

The academic subculture is centered around the more formal aspects of the learning process. Students in this category are identified as

the more serious types and are primarily concerned with the acquisition of knowledge and intellectual pursuits.³² The value structure, especially of the larger high schools, permits those who are scholarly inclined to group together. Within this group, those who excel academically are rewarded with top prestige.³³

The delinquent subculture is one of open hostility toward institutionalized authority and an active rejection of societal values. For this group the school is not relevant for conferring future status. They are considered to be the "incorrigibles" and/or the "unteachables." "They are in school but not of it; their function there is to disrupt and the function of the school is custodial."³⁴

The above literature supports the existence of an adolescent subculture. Convincing evidence is presented to support the affirmative position. But there are those who dissent from this view. They present the other side of the controversial issue.

Among those who reject the notion of the existence of a distinctive adolescent subculture are Frederick Elkin and William Westley.³⁵ In their article, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," Elkin and Westley based their rejection on analysis of data collected from adolescents who lived in a suburban community of Montreal, Canada. Twenty teen-agers from professional and business families--predominately middle class--were interviewed. Following a preliminary interview with parents and child together, each adolescent was interviewed two or more times.³⁶

Their data reflect the continuity of socialization from parent to child rather than discontinuity as reported by some of the advocates of adolescent subcultures. Adolescents, Elkin and Westley suggest, maintain close rapport with their parents, and have values similar to theirs.

They concluded, therefore, that the current concept of adolescent culture has a mythical character.³⁷

Bealer and Willits also reject the idea of a youth subculture.³⁸ Based on data from Minnesota and Pennsylvania studies, their research failed to produce evidence of adolescent rejection of parental values and parent-youth conflict--phenomena which are manifestations of the discrepancies that exist between adolescent and adult cultures.

For both boys and girls, Bealer and Willits' data revealed many more favorable than unfavorable attitudes toward their parents.³⁹ As the student becomes increasingly more involved in academic and school related activities, there usually is a corresponding physical withdrawal from the family and a high degree of exposure to peer group influence. But rather than leading to a rejection of parental values and norms, the evidence indicates that increased involvement is positively related to agreement with parental attitudes.⁴⁰ The true test of normative enforcement, then, is not physical presence of an authority figure, but the internalization of norms by the individual. Bealer and Willits suggest, therefore, that value congruence is prevalent between adults and adolescents, not incongruence.⁴¹

David Epperson also challenges the conclusion that adolescents have a distinct subculture.⁴² He points out that certain biases in Coleman's questionnaire may have led to invalid conclusions. For example, in one of his questions Coleman equated "breaking with a friend" with "disapproval of parents." Epperson suggests that besides important emotional differences between "breaking" and "disapproval," there is considerable difference in frequency of occurrence.⁴³

From a study he conducted among high school students, Epperson

found that 80 per cent of the students said that parents' rather than friends' disapproval would make them feel most unhappy.⁴⁴ (This contrasts with Coleman's finding of 53 per cent.) Guided by the assumption that if there is a distinct adolescent subculture there should be sharp differences between adolescents and pre-adolescents, Epperson also interviewed children in the elementary grades in order to establish a basis for comparison. He found that adolescents appear to be more rather than less concerned about parental reactions than pre-adolescents. Thus, there is no basis for saying that adolescents are more estranged from adult culture than are younger children.⁴⁵

Epperson also casts doubt on Coleman's conclusion that adolescent boys, to a significant degree, do not want to follow their father's occupation. His data showed that a large percentage of boys did in fact select a different occupation than their fathers'. However, it is just as plausible, he says, to interpret the results as due to aspirations for upward mobility which the students have internalized from their parents, or to changes in the occupational structure, as it is to say that there is a negative reaction on the part of adolescent boys toward their fathers' occupation.⁴⁶

Bennett Berger also challenges Coleman's conclusion that an adolescent subculture exists.⁴⁷ In order to support the subculture concept, Berger insists, it is necessary to demonstrate that the subgroup's normative system distinctly deviates from the norms of the larger group. Coleman's data do not show this distinction, he says. Rather, "... almost all the values and interests of adolescents revealed by Coleman's data seem to be derivative from and shared by the great majority of their parents."⁴⁸ Student values which cluster around the world of

music and entertainers, around athletics, around prestige and popularity, appear to be merely reflections of parental values which, relatively speaking, cluster around and support the same phenomena.⁴⁹

Two polar extremes relative to the existence of an adolescent subculture have been presented. On one end of the continuum are those who unequivocally support the notion of adolescent subcultures; on the other end are those who clearly dissent from this view. However, as with most controversial issues, there are those who are not content with passively accepting either one side of the debate or the other. They actively lend their efforts in an attempt to present a more balanced view.

Among the latter are Jahoda and Warren, who suggest that the "...entire controversy seems to us to be about a pseudo-problem rather than about a real issue."⁵⁰ "Subculture is not a 'thing' whose absence or presence can be verified; it is a concept that may lead to fruitful research, and does not exclude other conceptual guides."⁵¹

Similarly, Smith and Kline say:

The present debate concerning the existence of an adolescent subsociety appears destined for a fate similar to that of the heredity and environment controversy: the emphatic but over-simplified "yes" and "no" answers give way to more subdued complex questions. Adolescents share some values uniquely with other adolescents on the national scale; some values are shared uniquely with specific reference groups; and some values are shared with a broader adult cultural fabric of which they represent bright old strands. For some research questions, phrased at varying conceptual levels (e.g., economic, sociological, or psychological), the use of the concept "sub-culture" may permit examination of certain discontinuities or continuous aspects; for other questions the concept will not be of help.⁵²

Origin of Adolescent Subcultures

Another controversial issue which continues to pervade the literature revolves around why adolescent subcultures come into being and how their continuity is sustained. One theme relating to this issue stresses the speed and complexity of modern social change. This purportedly undermines traditional parental authority and results in the establishment of an adolescent normative structure which guides the behavior of youth. Others stress the notion that adolescents form contracultures through which the standards and pressures of adult society are repudiated. Still others emphasize that adolescent society is predominantly a reflection of adult society--it is not in opposition to the standards of adult society but is integrated with them.

Writing in 1940, Kingsley Davis noted that rapid change in industrial societies has created disparate relations between the generations.⁵³ Because of rapid social change, the child is reared in a social environment different from that of the parents, and acquires different cultural norms. Because the parent is a product of his social experiences, he cannot change his modes of thinking, and attempts to transmit them to his child. But since the child is a product of a different milieu, having acquired different normative standards, the parent is considered by the child to be old-fashioned. The child, as viewed by the parent, is rebellious, and conflict is the ultimate result.

Variations in the rate of socialization is another potential source of conflict, according to Davis.⁵⁴ For older people, socialization takes place at a reduced rate, while for younger people it is

accelerated. Because of the differential rates, adolescents and adults encounter different socializing experiences. For the more mature person, these experiences lead to adult realism, which tends to be pragmatic. For the young, they result in utopian idealism.⁵⁵ The ideological foundations of these two polarities--realism and idealism--are not conducive to harmonious relations between the generations. They result in opposing views about the nature of societal problems as well as incompatible solutions to the problems.

These differences, therefore, tend to create differential status positions between young and old. The adolescent is as an outsider looking in. From this perspective he critically evaluates established institutions such as property, marriage, and profession. Finding that adult institutions frequently act as restricting forces on his behavior, the adolescent either fails to perceive that established patterns will satisfy his needs or feels "...resentful that the old have in them a vested interest from which he is excluded."⁵⁶

Extending Davis' theme, Yinger maintains that the values of most subcultures do in fact conflict to some degree with the larger culture. The values of some subsocieties, however, are the inverse of (and opposed to) the values of the larger society. When this is the case, he suggests the term "contraculture" to identify those subgroups whose normative system stresses conflict with the values of the larger society as a central issue.⁵⁷

Albert Cohen seems to have advocated much the same notion when he wrote his account of the emergence of delinquent subcultures in working class areas of large cities.⁵⁸ Cohen defines a delinquent subculture as "...a way of life that has somehow become traditional among certain

groups in American society. These groups are the boy's gangs that flourish most conspicuously in the delinquency neighborhoods of our larger American cities."⁵⁹ The delinquent subculture revolves around behavior which is nonutilitarian, malicious, and negativistic. That is, the normative values of the larger society are inverted by the delinquent subculture and overt behavior is motivated by interests other than rational utilitarian gain.⁶⁰

Smith maintains that discontinuity between youth and adults is caused by conflict of competing authorities.⁶¹ "Parent-youth conflict," he says, "is inherent in the American socialization process, since youth must break away from parental authority in order to become adults."⁶² The first break in this parental authority structure comes about when the child exploits the differences in parental values, pitting one parent against the other.

A further challenge to parental authority comes about when the adolescent enters high school. There he encounters ideas, values, and behavior which run counter to (and sometimes as substitutes for) familial norms and behavior. For example, the cluster of values that revolve around competition in the school appeal only to segments of the adolescent's personality--academic and athletic competition, for instance. Within the family, however, the total personality of the person, rather than segments, is considered, merely because he is a member of the family, not because of perceived or expected achievements.

Stouffer also suggests that the peer group is frequently a source of conflict. This, indeed, is the case when peer values are in conflict with parental values. When this happens, the child is faced with the situation "...such that conformity to the norms of one is

incompatible with conformity to the norms of the other."⁶⁴ The resultant effect is the creation of tensions and strains which ultimately lead to conflict between competing authorities.

Several investigators disagree with the conflict hypothesis. They indicate that the adolescent subculture serves only limited functions for its constituents, such as establishing dress habits, dating patterns, and organizing certain social activities. Beyond these, the adolescent culture is integrated with adult values and standards.

In his work, Elmtown's Youth, Hollingshead takes this latter position.⁶⁵ His analysis included 390 high school students, 345 adolescents who had dropped out of school, and 535 families of these adolescents. In this study, he explored the concept of adolescent behavior in the school with the theory that the social behavior of high school students appears to be functionally related to the positions their families occupy in the social structure of the community.⁶⁶ Unlike Coleman's study of Illinois schools, where he found status closely related to athletic ability, Hollingshead found that status of students was more related to the social class characteristics of their parents than to athletic ability.⁶⁷

Hollingshead identified five social class groups in Elmtown, and demonstrated the relationship between the social class position of the families of adolescents and various kinds of social participation by the high school student in relation to his school and community. For example, over two-thirds of the students whose parents were in the two highest classes attended high school dances regularly, while about the same proportion in the two lower classes attended rarely or not at all. No members of class V were on the student council. Class IV was clearly

under-represented on the council, and the three higher classes were over-represented.⁶⁸

On the basis of statistical analysis of his data, Hollingshead suggests that "...there is a functional relationship between the class position of an adolescent's family and his social behavior in the community."⁶⁹ Therefore, the class position of the adolescent provides him not only with ways of acting and definitions of actions, but sets the stage upon which his actions take place. Finally, Hollingshead concluded that adjustment to the middle-class values of the school is crucial for the adolescent. If he can satisfactorily conform to the middle-class values of the school, he tends to make a successful adjustment to the school milieu. If he is unable, he probably will leave school.⁷⁰

In a companion study to Hollingshead's, Havighurst and Taba concluded that the degree of conformity to school expectations determines the character reputation of the adolescent. Their study also emphasizes the importance of conforming to expectations as crucial to the adolescent's adjustment in school.⁷¹

Bernard Rosen, dealing with the conflicting influence of the family and the peer group on the attitude of adolescents, comes to a different conclusion. Studying a sample of Jewish youth in relation to their observance or nonobservance of certain religious practices, Rosen's data indicated that the peer group exerted a greater influence on the choice of the adolescent than did the parents.⁷²

On the basis of research conducted in Georgia high schools, Brittain suggests that peer-conformity varies as a function of the type of choice to be made by the adolescent. In those areas of behavior

where parents were perceived to be more competent (such as job preferences), adolescents preferred parents over peers. Where the peer group was considered more competent (such as supplying status and identity needs), adolescents chose peers over parents. This suggests that the "...general social orientation of adolescents is of a dual character."⁷³

Effects of Subculture on Intellectual Activities

Adolescence has been broadly and generally defined as the period during which a person is in the process of making the transition from childhood to adulthood. During this transitional phase, the adolescent progressively abandons his dependence on parental controls and becomes increasingly dependent on the peer group for support and guidance.⁷⁴ His contemporaries thus serve as behavioral models in his quest for autonomy. Commenting on the pervasive influence of peers, Coleman says of the adolescent:

He is "cut off" from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age... Our society has within its midst a set of small teen-age societies which focus teen-age interests and attitudes on things far removed from adult responsibilities and which may develop standards that lead away from those goals established by the larger society.⁷⁵

In this chapter on literature review, we have previously discussed the influence of the adolescent peer group in such areas of behavior as conformity to group norms, certain motivational influences, parent-peer cross-pressures and conflict. There remains, however, an area of specific interest relevant to our discussion of adolescent peer group influence--the influence of peers on the academic performance and educational aspirations of adolescents.

Peer Group Effects on Academic Performance

A number of studies indicate that peer-group influence has adverse effects on the educational goals of the school. Coleman observes that the adolescent value system, with its social rewards, focuses on athletics rather than academic performance. This results, he says, in the athlete being more visible than the scholar. The former brings glory to the school and generates internal cohesion, while the latter goes largely unnoticed.⁷⁶ The system has meaningful sanctions to impose, and participants direct the flow of their energies into activities which maximize the rewards they will receive from the system.⁷⁷

Tannenbaum also notes in one of his studies that "Nonstudiousness was rated significantly higher than studiousness."⁷⁸ The conforming pressures of his peers, he says, encourages the brilliant student to perform at a mediocre level or forces him to deliberately conceal his intellectual superiority.⁷⁹

Similarly, Smith indicates that "...cliques set up norms contrary to those of the school. These are generally deterrents to academic achievement, diverting interests into athletics and social activities."⁸⁰

In much the same vein, Boocock states that the peer group has tremendous influence upon the student's "...attitudes toward and behavior in school. ...this powerful influence seems often to work at variance with the learning-achievement goals of the school."⁸¹

Effects upon College Aspirations

McDill and Coleman, in studying family background variables and peer group influence on college plans of adolescents, report that in

the freshman year of high school family background is a more important source of variation in college plans than the peer group. But by the senior year, the peer group has more influence on college plans than family background, with the increase in influence becoming greater for boys than for girls.⁸² They conclude that the "...socializing effects of the high school status system can to a certain extent counteract or neutralize those of family background by either increasing or decreasing college desires."⁸³

Simpson also has shown that the perceived characteristics of an individual's peers influence his aspirations independently of the effects of his socio-economic status or the influence of his parents.⁸⁴

Presenting their analysis within the general framework of balance theory, Alexander and Campbell found that college aspirations of high school seniors were positively affected by college plans of a best friend.⁸⁵ Using data they collected from 1,410 male seniors in 30 high schools, Alexander and Campbell classified the students into one of five status categories based on the levels of parental educational attainment.⁸⁶ From their analysis, they found that at a given status level, a student is more likely to plan to go to college if his best friend does rather than does not plan to go to college. The relationship is stronger when the friendship choice is reciprocated.⁸⁷

In his study, Alan Wilson also found that high school peer groups have important effects on college aspirations of adolescents.⁸⁸ Wilson's sample consisted of students from thirteen high schools in the San Francisco metropolitan area. Classifying the schools into upper white collar, lower white collar, and industrial, he found considerable variation between the schools in the proportion of students aspiring to

a college education. For example, 80 per cent of the students in the upper white collar schools, 57 per cent in the lower white collar schools, and 38 per cent in the industrial schools wanted to go to college.⁸⁹ In addition, within each school he found that the effect of the high school on college aspirations was greater than family influence.⁹⁰

Boyle's research in seventy western Canadian high schools yielded results similar to that of Wilson's.⁹¹ Classifying the high schools according to population composition and size of community in which they were located, and controlling for family background, Boyle found that high status schools had more effect on the student's college aspirations than medium and low status schools. Considering the possibility that high status schools are more successful than medium and low status schools in developing the scholastic abilities of students, Boyle controlled on this factor and concluded that it only partially explains the differential aspirations of the students. This suggests that peer groups in each class of schools have substantial effect on whether or not students aspire to college education.⁹²

But once again, counter-findings are offered. From data collected from 442 male respondents in Michigan high schools, Haller and Butterworth computed correlations on level of educational aspirations of the students with social class status of parents, general intelligence of peer-pair members, and parental desire for high-level social achievement for the adolescents.⁹³ On the basis of their computations, they rejected the hypothesis that peers influence the levels of educational aspirations of adolescents.

Ralph Turner's findings closely parallel those of Haller and

Butterworth.⁹⁴ Utilizing data obtained from ten high schools in the Los Angeles area, Turner constructed an ambition index that combined educational, occupational, and material aspirations. Using this ambition index, he carried out a partial correlation analysis which showed the family to be slightly more important than the high school in determining ambition. He states, therefore, that his analysis "belies an effective youth conspiracy against academic excellence."⁹⁵

Summary

Most investigators of youth culture agree that adolescent subcultures exist as separate and distinguishable entities. In general, works which have focused on the subculture have emphasized either the discontinuities which exist between adults and adolescents or the influence of the adult culture on youth. Those which have focused on discontinuities have stressed adolescent resistance to the norms and values of the larger culture, especially resistance promoted by peer groups. Those which have focused on adult influence have depicted adolescent society to be primarily a reflection of the normative structure of the larger culture.

A number of researchers have emphasized the functional nature of the youth culture for adolescents. For many adolescents, the peer group becomes the dominant reference group which regulates their interests, activities, and aspirations to a considerable degree. It provides support in an ambiguous situation and offers a framework for the development and crystallization of a self-identity. The peer group also functions as a frame of reference for adolescents in their quest for emancipation from the family.

Considerable research has focused on influence of the peer group on educational aspirations of adolescents. Some investigators emphasize a high correlation between the socio-economic background of the child and educational aspirations. Much of the recent research, however, has challenged this view. These investigators suggest that peer group influence is a more important source of variation in educational aspirations than is socio-economic background.

A minority of researchers suggest that adolescent subcultures are a myth. Adolescents, they suggest, maintain close relationships with their parents, and form patterns of continuity rather than discontinuity in socialization. Conflict and tensions among adolescents should be viewed as problems of adjustment, not as distinctive characteristics of youth. Therefore, searches for youth subcultural patterns are meaningless.

FOOTNOTES

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- ⁴ cf., D. B. Kandall, et al., "The Concept of Adolescent Subculture," in Richard F. Purnell (ed.), Adolescents and the American High School (New York, 1970), 194.
- ⁵ Mead, p. 4.
- ⁶ Ibid., pp. 195-233.
- ⁷ Waller, p. v.
- ⁸ Ibid., p. 103.
- ⁹ Ibid., p. 108.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 109-111.
- ¹¹ Ibid., p. 115.
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- ¹³ Ibid., 607.
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⁸⁰Ernest Smith, p. 79.

⁸¹Sarane S. Boocock, "Toward a Sociology of Learning," Sociology of Education, 39 (1966), pp. 27-28.

⁸²Edward L. McDill and James S. Coleman, "Family and Peer Influence in College Plans of High School Students," Sociology of Education, 38 (1965), pp. 115-116.

⁸³Ibid., p. 117.

⁸⁴Richard L. Simpson, "Parental Influence, Anticipatory Socialization and Social Mobility," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 517-522; Richard L. Simpson, "What is the Importance of Peer Group Status at the High School Level?" High School Journal (1959), pp. 291-294.

⁸⁵C. Norman Alexander and Ernest Q. Campbell, "Peer Influences on Adolescent Educational Aspirations and Attainments," American Sociological Review, 29 (1964), pp. 568-575.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 570.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 575.

⁸⁸Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 836-845.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 839.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 840.

⁹¹Richard P. Boyle, "The Effect of the High School on Students' Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology, 71 (1966), pp. 623-639.

⁹²Ibid., p. 639.

⁹³A. O. Haller and C. E. Butterworth, "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspirations," Social Forces, 38 (1960), pp. 289-293.

⁹⁴Ralph H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco, 1964).

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 58.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Robert Merton has defined methodology as "... the logic of scientific procedure."¹ This definition suggests a method of studying the empirical world, which includes several steps from the formulation of an hypothesis to the collection, validation, and classification of data. These procedures involve the union of the fundamentals of science with theoretical concepts and analytical techniques to investigate empirical data. The result of this union is an organized body of research designed to examine the systematic interrelationships of facts.

Research Setting

Data for this study were obtained from students (and their parents) enrolled in grades 7-12 in a small town high school located in Payne County in North Central Oklahoma. The town was established in the early 1900's, and its population has tended to fluctuate in size from that time until about 1950 when some stability was achieved.

Population Growth Patterns

In the decade following 1910, in a period of relatively rapid growth, a peak population of 2,601 persons was attained in 1920 (see

Table I. This decade was a period of considerable activity revolving around the oil industry in the area. Since the 1920's, the population declined steadily, as shown in Table I, until 1960, when the first increase in four decades was recorded. This suggests that perhaps a degree of stability in the population has been accomplished.

TABLE I
RECORDED POPULATIONS OF SMALL TOWN, OKLAHOMA
1910-1960^a

Year	Population	Percent Increase or Decrease
1910	685	
1920	2,609	279
1930	1,734	-33
1940	1,407	-13
1950	1,359	-3
1960	1,369	0.7

^aU. S. Census, 1910-1960

The 1970 U. S. Census data were not available at the time of this writing.

Population Characteristics

The 1960 Census lists the population characteristics of the research community as shown in Table II. The population was predominately white. There were no Negroes in the community, and six members of the total population were classified as "other." These six compose two of the 520 households. On the average, there were 2.6 members per

household. This probably reflects the fact that the community has an aging population. Of the total population, 20 per cent were 65 years of age or older. Children, therefore, tend to be concentrated in the households of the younger adult age groups where family size is greater than the computed average for the total population.

In relation to marital status, there were 146 people over 14 years of age who were single, 712 who were married, and 175 widowed or divorced. With the exception of the 35 to 44 years age group, females outnumbered males at all age group levels. For all age groups combined, the sex ratio was 89 males per hundred females.

TABLE II

CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION--SMALL TOWN, OKLAHOMA, 1960^a

Population Characteristics	Individuals	Households	Male	Female
Racial Origin:				
White:	1,363	518		
Black	0	0		
Other	6	2		
TOTAL	1,369	520		
Marital Status: (14 years or older):				
Single			91	55
Married			356	356
Widowed or Divorced			40	135
TOTAL			487	546
Age Group:				
Under 5 years			44	64
5 to 14 years			126	128
15 to 24 years			71	82
25 to 34 years			71	75
35 to 44 years			78	67
45 to 54 years			60	82
55 to 64 years			72	82
65 and older			121	146
TOTAL			643	726

^aU. S. Census, 1960

Formal Education of Parents

Among those parents who responded to the questionnaire, the level of formal education ranges from the eighth grade or less to post graduate or professional training after college. As the data in Table III indicate, parents tend to be concentrated from the lower end to the middle of the educational scale. Husbands tend to have more formal education than wives. While more husbands than wives are on the lower end of the educational scale, 28 per cent of the husbands as compared with only 16 per cent of the wives have some college training or higher. Although 22 per cent and 46 per cent of the husbands and wives, respectively, are high school graduates, only 7 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively, are college graduates.

TABLE III

LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION OF PARENTS WHO RESPONDED TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE*

Education	Husband	Wife
Eighth grade or less	32.5	10.4
Some high school, but did not finish	17.9	28.1
High school graduate	22.0	45.9
Some college, but did not finish	19.5	12.5
College graduate	7.3	3.1
Post graduate or professional training after college	0.8	0.0
Did not attend college, but did attend business or trade school	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0 (123)	100.0 (96)

* Five fathers and 32 mothers did not respond to the question. They were not included in the table.

Family Income

Family income is given in Table IV. Eighteen per cent have an annual income of less than \$4,000. Over half (52%) earn less than \$8,000 annually, while one-fifth (23%) have annual earnings of \$11,000 or over.

TABLE IV
ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME*

Income	Per cent
Less than \$1,000	0.8
\$1,000 - \$1,999	4.0
2,000 - \$3,999	13.5
\$4,000 - \$5,999	19.0
\$6,000 - \$7,999	15.1
\$8,000 - \$10,999	24.6
\$11,000 - \$15,000	21.4
Over \$15,000	1.6
TOTAL	100.0 (126)

* Two parents did not respond to the question and are not included in the table

Student Attributes

When the research instrument was administered, the population of the school in grades 7-12 totaled 291 students. Of this total, 259 completed the questionnaire, for a response rate of 89 per cent. Among these, 122 were boys and 137 were girls (sex ratio 89.1). In Table V, the number of students enrolled in each class is given.

TABLE V
 NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN GRADES 7-12 WHO RESPONDED
 TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Grade	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Boys	23	24	16	22	17	20	122
Girls	<u>19</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>137</u>
TOTAL	42	48	44	48	36	41	259

When the students were dichotomized by grade level into younger (grades 7-9) and older (grades 10-12) adolescents, the data in Table V show that 134 were enrolled in grades 7-9; 125 were enrolled in grades 10-12. In terms of sex differentiation, there were 64 boys and 70 girls in the lower grades, while 58 boys and 67 girls were in the upper grades. The sex ratio for the lower grades was 91.4; for the upper grades, it was 86.6. The sex ratio among both groups is about equal to the sex ratio of the community as a whole in 1960 which, as stated previously, was 89.

Questionnaire

Student Questionnaire

The method of obtaining the data for this study involved administering questionnaires to the students. Most of the items included in the questionnaire were Likert type items with a few open-ended questions. In constructing the instrument, the questions were kept simple.

in order to make them readily intelligible to the younger students as well as to the older ones. The questions were designed to obtain data for two major purposes: (1) data that were particularly relevant to a descriptive analysis of the adolescent subculture; and (2) data for comparison of adolescents and their parents relative to selected attitudinal positions.

A preliminary draft of the questionnaire was pre-tested using a school of comparable size, structure, and geographical location as the one which is the focus of this study. The pre-test instrument was administered to a group of thirty students, ranging from the 7th to the 12th grades. As a result of the pre-test, several items were deleted from the questionnaire in order to reduce the amount of time required to complete the questions to a more appropriate length. The word structure of some questions was revised to make them more intelligible to the students.

The revised instrument was administered personally by the researcher, according to a prearranged time schedule, to those students who were included in the study. They were collectively seated in an auditorium for the specific purpose of filling out the questionnaire. A number of students were absent on this occasion, and a second effort was made on another date to include those who missed the initial administration of the instrument.

Parental Questionnaire

The parental questionnaire was designed to obtain information which could be used to compare the attitudinal position of parents with their adolescent children relative to a number of topics. The names and

addresses of parents were obtained from the school records, which also listed the names of their children who were enrolled in school. Thus it was possible to match each parent with his adolescent child in the analysis.

A total of 181 sets of parents were listed on school records. On the average, there were 1.4 children in grades 7-12 per each set of parents.

Initial contact was made with the parents by mailing a questionnaire, a self-addressed and stamped envelope, and a cover letter explaining the general purpose of the research (see Appendix D). Two weeks later, a second letter and questionnaire were mailed to those who did not respond, asking for their cooperation in the project (see Appendix F). After a period of three weeks had elapsed, a third mailing (see Appendix G) was made to those who failed to reply to either of the former requests, with very limited results. A total of 128 parents responded to the combined mailings, for a response rate of 71 per cent.

On both the student and parental questionnaires, the questions were designed to obtain information on such things as education, occupation, and income of parents, parental perceptions of teen-agers, and how well parents get along with and understand their adolescent children. To make attitudinal comparisons, questions were included dealing with attitudes relative to parental control and restrictions on adolescent behavior, perceptions of adults, use of alcoholic beverages and drugs, and attitudes relative to athletics, dating, and work. Items were also included which dealt with amount of time spent watching television, types of parental rules made to govern adolescent behavior, and how decisions are made between parents and teen-agers.

Use of the Data

Descriptive Analysis and Techniques

A substantial part of the data obtained from both the students and parents will be used to describe the general nature of the adolescent subculture. For statistical purposes, percents will be the principal mode of analysis of the descriptive data. Percents are summary measures and are appropriate for data where the number of cases is large enough to maintain stability.² They facilitate comparison of unequal frequencies by standardizing each to a base of 100. Blalock suggests that:

... in using percentages we are standardizing for size by calculating the number of individuals that would be in a given category if the total number of cases were 100 and if the proportion in each category remained unchanged.³

Therefore, the comparison of relative frequencies is expedited when percentages are computed. In the analysis, percentage comparisons will be made between adolescents and their parents as well as between students at the various grade levels in order to evaluate within group attitudes relative to a variety of topics.

Hypotheses

In an attempt to assess the nature of the adolescent subculture, it will be necessary to evaluate the relationship between a number of variables. These include the relationship between grade status (7-9 and 10-12) of students and value congruence with parents, the relationship between selected attitudes of students and those of their parents, and a comparison of students at different levels relative to the nature and function of selected activities and events in the school environment.

The relationship between the variables will be measured and interpreted in testing the hypotheses given in Chapter I. For testing the significance of the hypotheses, the value of the test required to reject the null hypothesis was assigned the .05 level. Correlations will be computed to determine the amount of association between the variables.

To evaluate the differences between the variables, the "t" test and the chi square test of significance will be used. The "t" test is a statistical model designed to determine whether two groups, as represented by their means, are significantly different. In determining the significance of mean differences between groups, the "t" model takes into account the mean difference between the groups, group variation, and the size of the sample.⁴

The magnitude of the difference between group means is crucial in determining the size of the "t" value. If the mean difference is small, "t" will be small. Generally, the larger the mean differences between groups, the larger will be the value of "t." This depends, however, upon the variability of the groups. If the variances of the groups are large and the mean differences small, there is likely to be considerable overlap between the two distributions. But with smaller variances, the overlap between the two distributions tends to be reduced, indicating a greater probability that real differences exist between the means of the groups.

The size of the sample is also an important consideration when using the "t" model. In relation to sample size and use of the "t" test, Popham says:

The size of the sample, of course, is an extremely important determinant of the significance of the difference between means, for with increased sample size, means tend to become more stable representations of group performance. The larger

the sample, the greater confidence one can place in a relatively minor difference between the means. Whereas with an extremely small sample, one should be reluctant to place much confidence in even large difference between two means.⁵

Although the data of this study do not meet all the assumptions necessary for application of the "t" test, it was felt that this statistic is as reliable as any nonparametric method in preventing a type I error. Hsu and Feldt indicate that the use of correlated data for the "t" test eliminates disturbances from such things as heterogeneity of variance and unequal sample size, making the test appropriate for the type of data used in this study.⁶

The chi square test is used to determine the difference between the distribution of observed frequencies in a sample and the chance or expected frequencies. If the differences between the observed and expected frequencies are sufficiently large, the chi square statistic indicates that the differences are greater than could be attributed to chance variation. In this case, the null hypotheses of no differences would not be tenable.⁷

Summary

An empirical investigation of the behavioral activities of man requires dependence upon the accumulated procedures of scientific endeavors. These procedures include combining the fundamentals of science with theoretical formulations and specific analytical techniques into a body of organized research to empirically evaluate the phenomena of interest. The procedures used in this study to investigate the adolescent subculture were described in this chapter. These

include a description of the research setting, the methods of obtaining the data, and the statistical techniques to be employed.

The research setting was a small town high school whose population in grades 7-9 totaled 291 students. Data were obtained from students and their parents by using a questionnaire composed primarily of Likert type and open-ended questions. The specific statistical techniques to be employed to evaluate the data and test the hypotheses are percentages, the "t" test, and the chi square statistic. Hypotheses will be tested at the .05 level of statistical significance.

FOOTNOTES

¹Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enl. ed. (New York, 1968), p. 141.

²Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York, 1960), p. 28. Blalock says that when percentages are computed, the number of cases on which the percentage is based should be 50 or more.

³Ibid., p. 27.

⁴W. James Popham, Educational Statistics (New York, 1967), pp. 131-134.

⁵Ibid., p. 134.

⁶Tse-Chi Hsu and Leonard S. Feldt, "The Effect of Limitations on the Number of Criteria Score Values on the Significance Level of the F-Test," American Educational Research Journal, 6 (1969), pp. 515-527. Although Hsu and Feldt were primarily concerned with the F-test, their remarks also apply to the t-test, since t is the square root of F when the F ratio has one degree of freedom associated with its numerator.

⁷Blalock, pp. 212-221.

CHAPTER IV

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ADOLESCENT SUBCULTURE

In Social Theory and Social Structure, Merton distinguishes between two major elements of social and cultural structures. The first is composed of culturally defined goals and interests which are legitimate objectives for men to pursue. The second regulates and controls the acceptable modes or means for the pursuit of goals and interests.¹ Any social structure purportedly contains these two elements. But the specific ways in which goals and interests are defined and achieved vary from one social structure to another. In the adolescent subculture, goals and interests and their achievement differ from those in the larger culture. The major purpose of this chapter is twofold: (1) to indicate some of these differences by comparing certain aspects of the adolescent subculture with the larger parental culture; and (2) to describe the general interests, activities, and values of adolescents.

The General Interests and Activities of Adolescents

Knowing how leisure² time is utilized by youth is significant to an understanding of the nature of the adolescent subculture. Coleman suggests that "Because adolescents live so much in a world of their own, adults remain uninformed about the way teen-agers spend their time...."³

Incorporated in the study were several questions which were designed to illustrate the patterns of adolescent activities and interests. Students were asked: "What is your favorite way of spending your leisure time?" Responses are presented in Table VI.

Coleman's response categories,⁴ with some modifications, were used to construct Table VI. With the exception of deleting the term "musical instruments" in category seven, and inserting "stamp collecting," the first eight of Coleman's categories were accepted without change. But rather than using his last five categories, a single category--category nine--was used, in which several appropriate activities were classified under "indoor individual activities." This classification of leisure activities seemed to be more appropriate for the data of this study. The "no responses" to the question and those responses which were too frivolous to code in one of the major categories were not included in the analysis. Since the question came near the end of the questionnaire, most of the "no responses" were the slower students who did not finish answering the questions.

Table VI indicates that, with the exception of boys in grades 7-9 (who spend more time in unorganized outdoor activities than other students), adolescents in this study spend the greater proportion of their leisure time in indoor individual activities and being with the group--riding around, going uptown, etc. Although girls in the various grades spend about equal time in these activities, they devote more time to them than do boys. Among boys of both groups, indoor individual activities are about equally popular, but younger boys spend slightly more time than older boys in being with the group.

Dating or being with the opposite sex does not constitute a large

TABLE VI

LEISURE ACTIVITIES OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN GRADES 7-12*

Grade	Boys		Girls	
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12
1 - Organized outdoor sports-- football, basketball, tennis, etc.	5.7	8.6	7.7	0.0
2 - Unorganized outdoor activities--hunting, fishing, swimming, boating, etc.	24.5	13.8	13.9	15.5
3 - Being with the group--riding around, going uptown, etc.	24.5	20.7	30.8	26.2
4 - Attending movies and spectator events-- athletic games, etc.	5.7	5.2	1.5	0.0
5 - Dating or being out with the opposite sex	9.4	17.2	4.6	15.4
6 - Going dancing	0.0	0.0	6.2	3.1
7 - Hobby--working on cars, bicycles, radio, stamp collecting, etc.	3.8	8.6	1.5	4.6
8 - Indoor group activities--bowling, playing cards, etc.	3.8	3.5	0.0	0.0
9 - Indoor individual activities--watching TV, listening to radio, reading, sewing, etc.	<u>22.6</u>	<u>22.4</u>	<u>33.8</u>	<u>35.2</u>
Total	100.0 (53)	100.0 (58)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (65)

*Those who did not respond to the question were not included in the analysis. These included:
Boys 7-9 (11); Girls 7-9 (5); Girls 10-12 (2).

proportion of leisure time of the adolescents in this study. But, as could be logically predicted, time spent in this activity increases substantially for both sexes from the 7th to the 12 grade, with more emphasis placed on this type behavior by boys than by girls. Indoor group activities, hobbies, attending movies, spectator events, etc., and dancing are not popular leisure activities with either sex. Girls dance occasionally in their leisure time, but boys do not. This suggests that sex-role behavior in the adolescent subculture permits girls to dance with each other on occasion, but boys are restrained from doing so.

Somewhat surprising is the lack of interest shown by boys in organized outdoor sports. Numerous studies⁵ have documented the fact that the frequency of participation in organized sports by adolescent boys is high. This apparent lack of interest shown by boys in this study may be explained by the relationship between the schools and sports. Organized sports are directly related to the school curriculum and boys spend part of their actual school time participating in these activities, considering workouts during practice (whether formally organized or not) as a part of school related functions rather than leisure pursuits. Therefore, defining leisure time as time free from school, work, and home responsibilities, the adolescent is not likely to choose an activity for leisure time that is related to these.

Responses to the question "How much time do you spend studying and doing homework outside school?" offer additional insight into how adolescents spend their time. As indicated in Table VII, students in this study do not devote much time to their studies outside the classroom.

Eighty-eight per cent and 56 per cent of the boys and girls, respectively, in grades 7-9, and 85 per cent and 84 per cent of the

TABLE VII
 TIME BOYS AND GIRLS IN GRADES 7-12 SPEND STUDYING AND
 DOING HOMEWORK OUTSIDE SCHOOL*

Grade	Boys		Girls	
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12
None, or almost none	22.8	42.0	4.4	19.4
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ hr/day	19.1	21.1	7.3	4.5
About $\frac{1}{2}$ hr/day	12.1	14.1	8.7	14.9
About 1 hr/day	34.8	10.5	36.2	44.8
About 2 hr/day	3.2	3.5	15.9	6.0
About 3 hr/day	6.4	3.5	14.5	7.4
Four or more hr/day	<u>1.6</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>13.0</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	100.0 (63)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (67)

*Those who did not respond were not included in the analysis.
 These included: Boys 7-9 (1); Boys 10-12 (1); Girls 7-9 (1).

boys and girls, respectively, in grades 10-12 spend one hour or less a day studying outside the classroom. A considerable proportion of the students devote even less time to study outside school. Just over one-half (54%) of the younger boys and about three-fourths (77%) of the older boys devote one-half hour or less a day to their studies outside the classroom, compared with one-fifth (20%) of the younger girls and about two-fifths (39%) of the older girls.

With the exception of girls in grades 7-9, only a small minority of the students devote two hours or more to study and homework outside the school. In this group are 11 per cent of the boys and 43 per cent of the girls in the lower grades, and 12 per cent and 16 per cent of the boys and girls, respectively, in the upper grades.

In terms of sex differentiation and time spent studying, girls,

especially the younger girls, devote more time to this activity than boys. While only 22 per cent and 45 per cent of the boys in the upper and lower grades, respectively, spend one or more hours a day studying, 61 per cent of the older girls and 79 per cent of the younger girls devote a comparable amount of time to study and homework outside the classroom. Of those who spend three or more hours a day studying, girls in grades 7-9 outnumber the rest of the students combined. And when the sexes are combined by grade level, almost three times as many boys (32%) as girls (12%) spend no time studying outside the school.

The trends in relation to outside study time seem apparent. Younger students spend more time studying than older students. Girls spend more time studying than boys. In this respect, the younger students more than the older students, and girls more than boys, reflect the educational goals of the school--encouraging the student to devote as much time as possible to those activities which stimulate intellectual curiosity.

The differential study rates can probably be accounted for in terms of two influences impinging on the adolescent. First, that part of the school subculture which is oriented toward academics⁶ appears to have more influence on younger students than older ones, and on girls more than boys. (See Tables X and XI for the differential influence of the teacher on the students, Table XII for differing emphasis on brilliant student image, and Table XX, item 4, where high grades and being on the honor roll are differentially evaluated by the students.) This influence generated within the system (and supported by adult sources outside the system) undoubtedly encourages these students to pursue academically oriented objectives. Allocating time to studies is a means of achieving these goals.

The second factor which helps account for the differences in time devoted to study involve the structure of dependent relationships between adolescents and their parents. In our society, especially in rural areas and small towns, parental authority has traditionally been more restrictive for girls than for boys, and more restrictive for younger than for older adolescents. Since the socialization process results in progressive independence from parents, older adolescents are undoubtedly less restricted than younger adolescents, and boys somewhat less restricted than girls. Therefore, older adolescents of both sexes, and boys more than girls, are permitted greater freedom to be away from home, they can be away more frequently, and for longer periods of time. As a result, younger adolescents spend more time at home and have fewer outside interests to occupy their time. As a consequence, more time in which to study is available to them.

The data in Table VIII further illustrate how the students spend their time. The students were asked how much time they devote to watching television on weekdays, including weekday evenings. In order to compare parental viewing patterns with those of their children, parents were asked a similar question. Analysis of the responses indicates that adolescents apparently spend considerably more time watching television than they do studying outside the classroom. Eighty-three per cent and 72 per cent of the boys in grades 7-9 and 10-12, respectively, spend two or more hours a day watching television. A comparable amount of time is devoted to television by 85 per cent and 74 per cent of the younger and older girls, respectively.

Seventy-one per cent of the younger boys and 54 per cent of the older boys spend three or more hours a day viewing television, compared

TABLE VIII

TIME BOYS AND GIRLS IN GRADES 7-12 AND THEIR PARENTS SPEND WATCHING TELEVISION*

Grade	Boys		Girls		Parents
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12	
None, or almost none	1.6	8.8	4.4	6.1	26.6
About ½ hr/day	1.6	7.0	0.0	3.0	53.1
About 1 hr/day	9.5	1.8	5.9	10.6	5.5
About 1½ hr/day	4.8	10.5	4.4	6.1	11.7
About 2 hr/day	11.1	17.5	5.9	19.7	2.3
About 3 hr/day	22.2	29.8	22.1	25.7	0.8
Four or more hr/day	<u>49.2</u>	<u>24.6</u>	<u>57.3</u>	<u>28.8</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	100.0 (63)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (66)	100.0 (128)

*Those who failed to respond were not included in the analysis. These included: Boys 7-9 (1); Boys 10-12 (1); Girls 7-9 (2); Girls 10-12 (1).

with 79 per cent of the younger and 56 per cent of the older girls. Only a minority of students devote one hour or less a day to television. In this category are 13 per cent and 18 per cent of the boys in the lower and upper grades, respectively, compared with 10 per cent of the girls in the lower grades and 20 per cent in the upper grades. Most parents (85%) spend one hour or less a day viewing television. Apparently, they do not greatly influence the time dimension viewing habits of their children.

The younger students are more avid television viewers than the older students. Forty-nine per cent and 57 per cent of the boys and girls, respectively, in grades 7-9 devote four or more hours a day to television, while 25 per cent of the boys and 29 per cent of the girls in the upper grades spend a comparable amount of time in the same activity. No parent indicated he spent four hours or more a day viewing television.

The differential viewing patterns between younger and older adolescents may again be explained (at least in part) in terms of differing degrees of dependent relationships to parents. The younger students spend more time at home than older students, which makes more time available to them to watch television.

Dating is another important interest and activity of the adolescent, occupying more of the older adolescents' time than the younger. In Table IX, the data relative to the time dimension of dating involvement is presented. Responses indicate that well over half of those students in grades 7-9 do not yet date, and those who do, date infrequently. But with the passing of time, the degree of involvement with the opposite sex within the institution of dating increases substantially.

TABLE IX
 DATING FREQUENCY FOR BOYS AND GIRLS IN GRADES 7-12*

Grade	Boys		Girls	
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12
Do not date	60.3	19.0	70.0	16.4
About once a month	3.2	24.1	14.2	22.4
About once every two or three weeks	11.1	13.8	2.9	6.0
About once a week	17.4	19.0	2.9	14.9
About twice a week	1.6	10.3	10.0	13.4
About three or four times a week	0.0	6.9	0.0	10.5
More than four times a week	<u>6.4</u>	<u>6.9</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>16.4</u>
Total	100.0 (63)	100.0 (58)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (67)

* Not included in the analysis is one male student in grade seven who did not respond to the question.

For boys and girls in grades 7-9, 60 per cent and 70 per cent, respectively, do not date, compared with 19 per cent and 16 per cent for boys and girls, respectively, in grades 10-12. Among those in the lower grades who date, boys seem to date somewhat more frequently than girls. Thirty-two per cent of the boys and 20 per cent of the girls date once a week or less, while 8 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively, date two or more times a week, with 6 per cent of the boys and none of the girls dating more than four times a week.

In the upper grades, boys appear to date somewhat less frequently than do girls. Although 3 out of 5 boys date once a week or less, compared with 2 out of 5 girls, only 1 out of 5 boys, as compared with 2 out of 5 girls, date two or more times a week. Of those

who date more than four times a week, girls outnumber boys more than 2 to 1--16 per cent of the girls compared with 7 per cent of the boys. The greater frequency of dating by the girls is probably indicative of the culturally accepted notion that girls are more mature than boys at the junior and senior year of high school, and are permitted to date older boys who are members of the college culture or in the work force.

In the preceding paragraphs, the utilization of time by adolescents outside the formal organization of the school has been described. The most popular leisure time activities for adolescents in this study are indoor individual activities and being with the group. Girls devote more time to these activities than do boys. Such things as organized outdoor sports, dancing, and indoor group activities are not popular leisure activities of the adolescents. Although girls spend more time studying than do boys, a majority of the students at all grade levels devote one hour or less a day to their studies outside the classroom. Well over half of the boys spend one-half hour or less a day studying outside normal school hours. Most of the students spend considerably more time watching television than they do studying outside the classroom. About one-half of the younger students watch television four or more hours a day, compared with one-fourth of the older students. In the area of dating behavior, a majority of the younger adolescents do not yet date. But among those who do, boys date slightly more frequently than do girls. Among the older adolescents, however, girls date more frequently than do boys.

Values and Attitudes in the Adolescent Subculture

Another dimension of the adolescent subculture is brought into

focus by comparing values and attitudes expressed by the adolescents with those expressed by their parents. For purposes of comparison, the adolescents were asked to respond to the question: "If you could be any one of these things you wanted, which one would you want to be?" And the parents were asked: "If your child could be any one of these things he or she wanted, which one would you want him or her to be?" Tables X and XI show the responses to the alternatives for boys and girls, respectively, and compares them with parental responses.

TABLE X

IN TERMS OF SELECTED PROFESSIONS, COMPARISON OF WHAT BOYS MOST WANT TO BE WITH WHAT PARENTS MOST WANT THEM TO BE*

Grade	Boys		Parents
	7-9	10-12	
Jet pilot	28.8	38.9	11.5
Nationally famous athlete	35.6	29.6	11.5
Missionary	6.8	3.7	29.5
Space scientist	23.7	20.4	16.4
School teacher	<u>5.1</u>	<u>7.4</u>	<u>31.1</u>
Total	100.0 (59)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (61)

*Those who did not respond to the question were not included in the analysis. These were: Boys 7-9 (5); Boys 10-12 (4); Parents (5).

The data in Table X clearly indicate a distinction between the values held by adolescent boys and those held by their parents. For one-third (36%) of the boys in grades 7-9, the nationally famous athlete

is most attractive, followed closely by the jet pilot (29%). Among their counterparts in grades 10-12, the jet pilot occupies the most prestigious position (39%), with the nationally famous athlete a relatively close second (30%). For both groups of boys, the space scientist runs a poor third, and only a small minority of boys most want to be a missionary or school teacher. In contrast, well over half (61%) of the parents indicated they want their sons to be either a missionary or school teacher, with a minority (22%) wanting their sons to be a famous athlete or jet pilot.

The desire of the majority of adolescent boys to be a famous athlete or jet pilot apparently reflects the attractiveness of adolescents to heroes of the mass media. The parents, on the other hand, reflect the normative value structure of adult society by selecting the achieved status image of the teacher and the social and religious service of the missionary.

Responding to the same question but with different alternatives, the data in Table XI indicate that the airline stewardess status is most popular with the girls, with slightly more of the older girls (36%) choosing this status than did younger girls (31%). For the younger girls, the second most favored status is that of school teacher, for the older girls it is the glamorous model. Thirty-two per cent of the younger girls want to be either an actress, artist, or nurse, but only 21 per cent of the older girls selected these positions. The parents again selected those statuses for their children which reflect the traditional values of achievement and service--the teacher (42%) and the nurse (37%). The stewardess and model statuses are relatively insignificant for parents, being selected by only 9 per cent of them.

TABLE XI

IN TERMS OF SELECTED PROFESSIONS, COMPARISON OF WHAT GIRLS MOST WANT TO BE WITH WHAT PARENTS MOST WANT THEM TO BE*

Grade	7-9	10-12	Parents
Actress or artist	16.2	9.0	11.9
Nurse	16.2	11.9	37.3
Model	16.2	31.3	1.7
Airline stewardess	30.8	35.9	6.8
School teacher	<u>20.6</u>	<u>11.9</u>	<u>42.3</u>
Total	100.0 (68)	100.0 (67)	100.0 (59)

*Those who did not respond to the question were not included in the analysis. These were: Girls 7-9 (2); Parents (3).

The data in Table XI indicate that girls in the lower grades most closely reflect parental values than do girls in the upper grades. In all response categories (with the exception of "actress or artist" category), the younger girls are more closely aligned with parental values than older girls. However, value consensus is much greater among younger and older girls than among parents and younger girls.

A comparison of Tables X and XI indicates that girls are more oriented toward parental values than boys, placing greater emphasis on the traditional values revolving around achieved status and social service. This suggests that the influence of the adolescent subculture is more pervasive for boys than for girls, providing support for them in their quest to become autonomous.

Responses to questions dealing with scholarship, athletics, leadership, and popularity give additional data for value comparisons. The

students were asked: "If you could be remembered here at school for one of the four things below, which one would you want to be?" The parents were asked: "If your teen-ager could be outstanding in high school in one of the four things listed below, which one would you want it to be?"

Analysis of the responses which are recorded in Table XII again reveals substantial value differences between adolescents themselves and adolescents and their parents. Boys at both grade levels want most to be remembered as an athletic star, with the boys in grades 7-9 emphasizing this status more than boys in the higher grades. The brilliant student image is rated second most important by both groups of boys, and is about equally desired among them. However, only 5 per cent of the older boys rate it below athletic star. Younger boys want to be remembered as most popular slightly more than older boys. But the older boys prefer to be remembered as a leader in activities substantially more than younger boys.

Girls want to be remembered most as brilliant students, with 10 per cent more of the younger girls than older girls desiring this image. This result, along with that shown in Table VII, where it was found that younger girls spend considerable more time studying than other students, suggests that the school has been more successful in transmitting its educational ideals to the younger girls than to the other students.

For both groups of girls, being most popular is a poor second to brilliant student, although older girls prefer this image somewhat more than younger girls. They also prefer to be remembered as a leader in activities more than the younger ones, but the two groups about equally

TABLE XII

STATUSES STUDENTS MOST WANT TO BE REMEMBERED FOR IN SCHOOL COMPARED WITH STATUSES
PARENTS MOST WANT THEM TO BE REMEMBERED FOR*

Grade	Boys		Girls		Parents
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12	
Brilliant student	29.0	28.6	49.4	38.8	71.6
Athletic star	42.0	33.9	15.9	14.9	2.4
Leader in activities	3.2	16.1	13.0	17.9	24.4
Most popular	<u>25.8</u>	<u>21.4</u>	<u>21.7</u>	<u>28.4</u>	<u>1.6</u>
Total	100.0 (62)	100.00 (56)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (67)	100.0 (127)

*Not included in the analysis are those who failed to respond to the question. These included:
Boys 7-9 (2); Boys 10-12 (2); Parents (1).

prefer the athletic star status.

Again, Table XII shows more value congruence between the students at all levels than between parents and students. Girls, however, appear to be closer to the value position of parents than boys. Parents reflect the traditionally expressed goals of the American high school. That is, the manifest function is to produce a scholarly student who possesses leadership potential. Just slightly less than three-fourths of the parents want their child to be remembered as a brilliant student, with about one-fourth preferring their child to be remembered as a leader. The athletic star and most popular statuses are virtually insignificant for the parents.

Further value differences between adolescents and parents are noted by comparing responses to questions which deal with dating preferences. The students were asked what type of student they most preferred to date, and the parents responded to a similar question, indicating the type of student they prefer as a date for their child. The data presented in Table XIII show that boys prefer pretty girls, and girls prefer handsome boys, with about equal consensus among boys of both groups. Boys place considerably more emphasis on looks than do girls. Among girls, the younger students prefer looks more than do the older students. The star athlete does not rank high as a preferred date. Best student fares only slightly better, while the best dressed is preferred by only a small minority of students.

A substantial majority of parents prefer the best student as a date for their child. The star athlete and best looking are about equally preferred by parents, but lag far behind the best student. It is apparent, therefore, that in the area of dating preference, adolescents

prefer beauty and good looks, and parents prefer the best student category.

TABLE XIII
TYPE OF STUDENT PREFERRED AS A DATE*

Grade	Boys		Girls		Parents
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12	
Star athlete	5.1	0.0	10.6	16.9	10.9
Best student	10.2	10.7	18.2	26.2	75.8
Best looking	84.7	83.9	66.6	52.3	9.4
Best dressed	<u>0.0</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>3.9</u>
Total	100.0 (59)	100.0 (56)	100.00 (66)	100.0 (65)	100.0(121)

*Those who did not respond to the question were not included in the analysis. These were: Boys 7-9 (5); Boys 10-12 (2); Girls 7-9 (4); Girls 10-12 (2); Parents (7).

The value incongruities between adolescents and their parents, relative to type of student selected for a date, reflect some of the underlying discontinuities between the adolescent subculture and the larger adult culture. In the case of dating preference, adolescents make their selection on the basis of physical appearance (best looking), whereas the parents base their selection on academic performance (best student). When the choice between the two achieved statuses of star athlete and best student was made, parents chose that status (best student) which is more congruent with the traditional value structure of adult society. Among those students who selected the achieved status of best student, there is a noticeable trend toward emphasizing this status as the

students progress from the 7th to the 12th grades. Within the sphere of heterosexual interaction, this trend may indicate a tendency for adolescents to become more oriented toward the value position of adults as they become more mature.

The use of alcohol and drugs by adolescents has been hotly debated for a number of years. Questions relating to adolescent use of alcoholic beverages and drugs were included in the study to compare adolescent and adult attitudes relative to the use of these.

The data recorded in Table XIV deal with attitudes about drinking beer. Responses indicate that the younger students look with more disfavor on its use than do older students. Girls disapprove of its use more than do boys. In fact, with the exception of boys in grades 10-12, a majority of the students at all grade levels disapprove of adolescents drinking beer. Almost three times (45%) as many boys in grades 7-9 as in grades 10-12 (16%) disapprove, while about 8 per cent more of the younger than older girls disapprove. Of those who approve, the older students of both sexes outnumber the younger ones about 2 to 1. More of the younger students than older ones are in the undecided category, indicating a tendency to move from this neutral position in the later high school years. Apparently a large proportion of these move to the approval position, rather than the disapproval position, since a substantially larger percentage of older than younger students favor the use of beer.

There is considerable variation between parental and adolescent attitudes concerning the use of beer by teen-agers. Ninety-two per cent of the parents disapprove of its use by teen-agers, with a majority (71%) of those strongly disapproving. Six per cent are undecided, and 2 per cent approve.

TABLE XIV

A COMPARISON OF ADOLESCENT AND PARENTAL ATTITUDES RELATIVE TO DRINKING BEER*

Grade	Boys		Girls		Parents
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12	
Strongly agree	18.8	34.5	2.9	4.6	0.0
Agree	12.5	30.9	12.9	30.3	2.4
Undecided	23.4	18.2	24.2	13.6	5.5
Disagree	17.2	5.5	20.0	31.8	21.3
Strongly disagree	<u>28.1</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>40.0</u>	<u>19.7</u>	<u>70.8</u>
Total	100.0 (64)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (66)	100.0 (127)

*Those who did not respond to the question were not included in the analysis. These included:
Boys 10-12 (3); Girls 10-12 (1); Parents (1).

A pattern similar to that described above is visible in Table XV, which indicates the responses pertaining to the consumption of liquor by adolescents. The data again show that, with the exception of older boys, a substantial majority of students disapprove, with a majority of those strongly disapproving. Girls view it with more disfavor than do boys. And considerably more of the younger students than older disapprove of its use. Of those who favor its use, boys in grades 10-12 outnumber (51%) the rest of the students combined (40%). Again, more of the younger students than older are undecided about the use of liquor by adolescents.

Almost all parents (98%) disapprove of adolescent consumption of liquor, with a large majority (81%) strongly disapproving. Quite obviously, parental disapproval is substantially greater than the disapproval of their children.

Attitudes concerning the use of addictive drugs are presented in Table XVI. The table reveals that almost all students at each grade level, along with their parents, disapprove of the use of addictive drugs. Most of them strongly disapprove. The percentages indicate about equal disfavor between students and parents, with the parents somewhat more intensely disapproving.

Analysis of the data in the latter three tables suggest that as the adolescents progress from the 7th to the 12th grades, they tend to become more tolerant in their attitudes toward the use of alcohol. But attitudes toward the use of drugs appear to remain fairly stable over time. Therefore, based on the reasonable assumption that attitudes and values influence and guide overt behavior, the data indicate that alcohol, although favored by a minority of students, is an integral

TABLE XY

A COMPARISON OF ADOLESCENT AND PARENTAL ATTITUDES RELATIVE TO DRINKING LIQUOR*

Grade	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12	Parents
Strongly agree	4.7	24.6	1.5	4.5	0.0
Agree	12.5	26.4	4.4	13.4	1.6
Undecided	23.4	15.8	11.8	9.0	0.0
Disagree	25.0	21.1	38.2	38.8	17.3
Strongly disagree	<u>34.4</u>	<u>12.1</u>	<u>44.1</u>	<u>34.3</u>	<u>81.1</u>
Total	100.0 (64)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (67)	100.0 (127)

*Those who did not respond to the question were not included in the analysis. These included:
Boys 10-12 (1); Girls 7-9 (2); Parents (1).

TABLE XVI

A COMPARISON OF ADOLESCENT AND PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE USE OF DRUGS BY TEEN-AGERS*

Grade	Boys		Girls		Parents
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12	
Strongly agree	3.1	3.5	0.0	1.5	0.0
Agree	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Undecided	0.0	3.5	2.9	1.5	0.8
Disagree	14.1	15.8	10.0	10.4	1.6
Strongly disagree	<u>82.8</u>	<u>75.4</u>	<u>87.1</u>	<u>86.6</u>	<u>97.6</u>
Total	100.0 (64)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (67)	100.0 (126)

*Those who failed to answer the question were not included in the analysis. These included:
Boys 10-12 (1); Parents (2).

part of the adolescent subculture. Drugs, on the other hand, are not pervasive in the subculture.

Additional value comparisons were obtained from responses to questions which pertained to attitudes relative to work. The respondents were asked to rank from 1 to 5 in descending order of importance five items which pertained to work on a job. The five items and the average rank for each are given in Table XVII. (See Appendix A for the frequencies and percentages.) Although all respondents rate having a steady job between 2 and 3, there is some variation between ranks. For both groups of boys and for the girls in grades 10-12, the security of a steady job is most important, and opportunities for advancement least important. For girls in grades 7-9 and for parents, the enjoyment of the work itself is most important. But they do not agree on the item which is least important. For the girls, like the other students, opportunities for advancement is least important, while a high salary is least important for parents.

Variation in the rank order of the items is greater between the younger students than between the older. For example, the students in grades 7-9 do not agree on the rank order of having a steady job, enjoyment of the work, and friendly people to work with. They do agree on the rank order of opportunities for advancement and a high salary. The older students, on the other hand, rate each item in the same rank order, although the computed average for each item varies between them.

Although there appears to be some overlap between the subculture of the school and the parental culture in the area of attitudes toward work, there clearly are some distinct differences. For boys and girls in grades 7-9, the average rank for having a steady job is considerably

lower than the average rank for parents for the same item. For item 2 --opportunities for a rapid rise--the differences in average rank are greater between parents and girls of both grade groups than between parents and boys of both grade groups. The average ranks of item 3 are substantially lower for students at all grade levels than for parents. Similar differences between students and parents can be observed for the last two items in the table.

TABLE XVII

AVERAGE RANK OF FIVE ITEMS RELATING TO ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK*

Grade 7-9		Grade 10-12		Parents
Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
		<u>Having a Steady Job</u>		
2.56	2.52	2.35	2.20	2.15
		<u>Opportunities for a Rapid Rise</u>		
3.90	4.14	3.89	4.26	3.91
		<u>Enjoyment of the Work</u>		
2.71	2.48	2.67	2.28	1.78
		<u>Friendly People to Work With</u>		
2.67	2.58	3.04	2.52	2.98
		<u>A High Salary</u>		
3.15	3.27	3.13	3.74	4.09

*Rank 1 is high; 5 is low.

In this section of the present chapter, selected items were used to describe value congruities and incongruities between the adolescents and between the adolescents and their parents. It was shown that although younger students are closer to the value position of their parents than older students, value congruence is substantially greater

between adolescents at the various levels than between parents and younger students. This suggests that younger adolescents have internalized the values transmitted to them by the adult culture, but as they become increasingly involved in the adolescent subculture, its influence causes a shift away from the traditional values maintained by the larger adult culture.

In this way, the effects of the adolescent subculture helps to account for change in the value structure of a society. As each succeeding generation moves out of the high school subculture, some of its values are retained by its former members and are transmitted by them to various segments of the larger society. As a result of the process of diffusion, the adolescent subculture is a factor which contributes to change over given periods of time.

Peer Group Involvement

A very significant aspect of the adolescent subculture is the extent of peer group involvement. Numerous studies have dealt with the phenomenon of peer influence on adolescents, illustrating that teenagers often agree with and abide by the norms of peers in contradiction to those of their parents. Chinoy sums up the pervasive influence of the peer group:

In contrast with the family, which is typically more authoritarian...and more likely to transmit traditional values, the peer group usually offers a more egalitarian experience, although it too may on occasion become rigidly authoritarian in its demands upon its members. Within the peer group there are often opportunities to explore topics tabooed in relations with adults, and to secure support from others as young people seek to break away from parental constraints and establish an independent identity.⁷

As youth go through the adolescent transitional phase, seeking a separate identity, they ostensibly become progressively more independent of parents and more oriented toward peers. If this is the case, adolescents should become increasingly involved with peers as they progress through high school. Responses to question 35 on the student questionnaire permit the comparison of parent-peer orientation of the adolescents at various grade levels. They were asked which one of three alternatives --parents' disapproval, favorite teachers' disapproval, or friends' disapproval--would be hardest for them to take.

Responses presented in Table XVIII indicate that students at all grade levels are more oriented to parents than to peers. This result contrasts sharply with Coleman's analysis, where he found about an "... even split between friend and parent."⁸ The discrepancy between the two findings probably is explained by the fact that the present study involves only a small town school located in a community where rural values continue to predominate and parental authority is not likely to be widely challenged by adolescents. Coleman's study, on the other hand, included some large suburban schools where urban values were dominant, and traditional authority more likely to be questioned by teen-agers.⁹

The data in Table XVIII show that older adolescents are more concerned about parental disapproval than are the younger ones. One out of two of the boys and girls (56% and 53%, respectively) in grades 7-9 indicate that parents' disapproval would be hardest to take, whereas about three out of five (62%) of the boys and three out of four (75%) of the girls in grades 10-12 indicate this alternative would be the most difficult to take. This finding supports Epperson's study of adolescents and preadolescents in which he found that adolescents are not more

estranged from parents than preadolescents, as one might expect, since the socialization process results in progressive independence from parents as the adolescent grows toward maturity.

TABLE XVIII
TYPE OF DISAPPROVAL MOST DIFFICULT FOR STUDENTS TO TAKE

Grade	Boys		Girls	
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12
Parents' disapproval	56.3	62.1	52.9	74.6
Teachers' disapproval	15.6	5.2	10.0	6.0
Friends' disapproval	<u>28.1</u>	<u>32.7</u>	<u>37.1</u>	<u>19.4</u>
Total	100.0 (64)	100.0 (58)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (67)

Boys at all levels and girls in grades 7-9 are more concerned about friends' disapproval than are girls in grades 10-12. The latter, however, are more concerned than are the three former groups about parental disapproval. Younger adolescents are more teacher oriented than are the older ones. Or, stated in another way, teachers seem to have more influence on the younger than on the older adolescents. Conspicuously, it is the teachers' disapproval which becomes progressively least hard to take as the students move from the 7th to the 12th grades. Apparently, a large majority of those in the lower grades who consider the teachers' disapproval the most difficult to take become more oriented to parents than to peers as they progress through school.

Peer Group Status System

Status systems exist in all known societies and sub-societies. Within these, certain statuses are accorded the most prestigious positions. The adolescent subculture is no exception. It also has a hierarchical status structure. And within this structure, the leading crowd ranks very high. Since Coleman, Smith, Turner, and others discuss the relevance of the leading crowd in the various schools included in their studies,¹⁰ it was assumed that a leading crowd existed in the school which is the focus of this study. Responses to a question dealing with the leading group seem to substantiate this assumption. Based on the supposition that the leading crowd ranks very high in the prestige structure of the school, and that the students are motivated to join the leading group, the students were asked to indicate what it takes to become a member of the leading crowd.

In Table XIX, the responses are listed in nine major categories. The categories are those which were mentioned by at least five of the respondents. The miscellaneous category includes such responses as: "I don't know what it takes." "Who cares?" "Have no desire to get in with that crowd." "Nothing." etc. From the data in Table XIX, it is apparent that personality and good grades are perceived as the most important requisites for gaining admittance to the leading crowd. For boys in grades 7-9, personality and good grades are equally important, as they are for boys in grades 10-12. For girls, however, personality is considerably more important than are good grades, with the younger girls emphasizing it substantially more than do the older girls. The emphasis placed on personality by adolescents and its function in the subculture are explained by Coleman:

TABLE XIX
WHAT IT TAKES TO GET INTO THE LEADING CROWD*

Grade	Boys		Girls	
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12
Good grades	26.5	24.5	18.6	20.6
Personality	26.5	24.5	59.3	38.1
Dating, good looks	4.1	3.8	1.7	1.6
Drinking with the crowd	8.2	13.2	3.4	11.1
Good athlete	16.3	1.9	1.7	3.2
From right family	4.1	3.8	1.7	1.6
Nice car and money	4.1	3.8	1.7	9.5
Go along with the crowd	8.2	7.6	6.8	1.6
Micellaneous--don't know, don't care, etc.	<u>2.0</u>	<u>16.9</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>12.7</u>
Total	100.0 (49)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (59)	100.0(63)

*Those who did not respond to the question were not included in the analysis. These included: Boys 7-9 (15); Boys 10-12 (5); Girls 7-9 (11); Girls 10-12 (4).

The importance of having a good personality...in these adolescent cultures is something that adults often fail to realize. Adults often forget how "person-oriented" children are; they have not yet moved into the world of cold impersonality in which many adults live. This is probably due to their limited range of contacts. In the world of grade school, a boy or girl can respond to his classmates as persons, with a sincerity that becomes impossible as one's range of contacts grows. One of the major transitions for some children comes, in fact, as they enter high school and find that they move from classroom to classroom and have different classmates in each class.¹¹

Although being a good athlete is not considered to be an important attribute in becoming a member of the leading crowd, boys in grades 7-9 (16%) emphasize it more than do the other students combined (7%). Thirteen per cent and 11 per cent of the older boys and girls, respectively,

indicate that drinking with the crowd is important, as compared with 8 per cent of the younger boys and 3 per cent of the younger girls.

Although these students indicate they perceive drinking as a criterion for being accepted by the leading crowd, more likely this is behavior in which they participate after joining the group. Dating, good looks, coming from the right family, and having a nice car and money are not perceived as important attributes in gaining access to the leading crowd.

In the status system of the school, good grades, personality, and being a good athlete can be considered as achieved criteria. Coming from the right family and having a nice car and money can be accepted as ascribed criteria. Using these as mobility criteria, the data in Table XIX clearly show achieved characteristics to be more predominant than ascribed characteristics in gaining access to the leading crowd. This suggests that upward mobility in the adolescent subculture is more dependent on achieved than ascribed characteristics. The younger students perceive upward mobility within the status system to be more dependent on achieved characteristics than do the older students. And more girls than boys indicate that achieved criteria are major determinants of upward mobility.

To further identify elements of the adolescent status system, the respondents were asked to rank seven items in descending order of importance in terms of what it takes to become important and looked up to by other students. The average ranks for the seven items are given in Table XX. (See Appendix B for the percentages.) The average ranks tend to verify that such things as coming from the right family, having a nice car and money, and being an athletic star are not the things that make a person important and highly respected in the subculture.

Of the seven items, being honest is the most important criterion for girls at all levels. Boys, however, are divided in their emphasis on the item they deem most important. Being an athletic star is perceived as the most important by the younger boys, but older boys rank being a leader in activities highest.

TABLE XX

AVERAGE RANK OF SEVEN ITEMS BY STUDENTS ON WHAT IT TAKES TO BECOME IMPORTANT*

	Grade 7-9		Grade 10-12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
		<u>Coming from the Right Family</u>		
4.19		3.63	4.60	4.34
		<u>Leader in Activities</u>		
3.97		4.08	3.43	3.62
		<u>Having a Nice Car</u>		
5.02		6.02	4.79	5.48
		<u>High Grades, Honor Roll</u>		
4.02		2.95	4.09	3.94
		<u>Being an Athletic Star</u>		
3.17		4.44	3.62	4.08
		<u>Being in the Leading Crowd</u>		
3.95		4.22	3.62	3.55
		<u>Being Honest</u>		
3.44		2.56	3.74	2.85

*Rank 1 is high; 7 is low.

Having a nice car is not an important status determining criterion; of all the items, it is ranked lowest by students at all grade levels. Although it is ranked low by all students, boys consider the car to be

more important than do girls, probably because of a feeling of independence the car offers while on a date or riding around with friends.

Closely related to the idea of what criteria are considered to be necessary in determining importance and respect in the group, is the question of what characteristics determine popularity in the group. To examine this aspect of peer involvement and compare it with parental attitudes relative to the same phenomena, the respondents were asked to indicate those attributes they considered to be important in order to be popular in the group. From a list of eleven categories, they were asked to check as many as applied. Coleman's Categories¹² were used, with slight modifications which seemed to apply more aptly to the data of this study. (The modifications consisted of adding categories 6, 10, and 11, and resulted from the pre-test of the questionnaire.)

The data recorded in Table XXI indicate that boys perceive stirring up a little excitement to be the most important attribute in determining popularity in the group, with older boys emphasizing it more than do the younger ones. The younger girls and parents consider a good reputation as the most important attribute, while being honest occupies the most important position among older girls.

Having a good reputation is perceived as being considerably more important in determining popularity by girls and parents than by boys. Again, this probably reflects the culturally sanctioned notion that parental authority should act as a restraining force for girls somewhat more than for boys and for a longer period of time. It also probably reflects the traditional double standard of behavior between the sexes. In the realm of sexual conduct, our society imposes stronger negative sanctions on permissive behavior of girls than of boys. Frequently,

TABLE XXI

ATTRIBUTES PERCEIVED AS IMPORTANT IN ORDER TO BE POPULAR IN THE GROUP*

Grade	Boys		Girls		Parents
	7-9	10-12	7-9	10-12	
Be a good dancer	14.1	15.5	11.4	20.9	32.0
Have sharp clothes	25.0	24.1	21.4	10.5	18.0
Have a good reputation	32.8	31.0	71.4	70.2	79.7
Stirring up a little excitement	51.6	65.5	28.6	53.7	15.6
Have money	39.1	34.5	14.3	16.4	16.4
Smoking	25.0	27.6	7.1	10.5	4.7
Know how to dress properly	29.7	39.7	47.1	44.8	58.6
Know what is going on in the world of popular singers and movie stars	21.9	8.6	17.1	17.9	24.2
Know about cars	29.7	48.3	2.9	9.0	32.8
Being honest	46.9	37.9	68.6	76.1	72.7
Drinking	21.9	39.7	2.9	13.4	3.1
	N=64	N=58	N=70	N=67	N=128

*Only those alternatives to the question which were checked by each respondent are included in the analysis.

the imposition of these sanctions causes embarrassment and degradation, sometimes resulting in traumatic experiences for the person against whom the sanctions are directed. Therefore, to insure their continued popularity as a desirable date and to maintain their standing in the larger society, as well as in the subsociety, girls find it expedient to protect their reputation.

Having money, sharp clothes, smoking, knowing about cars, are more important for boys than for girls, while knowing how to dress properly and being a good dancer are perceived as being more important for girls and parents. Drinking, although perceived as being important by very few parents and girls, is deemed important by about one-fifth of the younger boys and two-fifths of the older ones. This discrepancy between boys and their parents may be indicative of a function of the peer group which Smith considers to be of great importance in the adolescent subculture. He suggests that the peer group functions to conceal the behavior of its members from observation (and, hence, control) by parents and other authority figures.¹³

The degree of involvement with peers within the subculture of the school is intense for most adolescents. The peer group functions to supply adolescent needs which the adult culture is unable to supply. Among his peers, the adolescent has a recognized status, and the social rewards he receives from his peers are commensurate with his status. The adolescent's position within the system is not ascribed; it is largely achieved. He strives to become important and popular in the group, being motivated by such things as a pleasing personality, grades, good reputation (for girls), and being honest with his fellow students. Another dimension of the stratification system may be brought into focus

by looking at the visibility of selected statuses within the subculture.

Visibility of Athletes, Scholars, and Most Popular Students

Within the subculture, the manner in which adolescents are classified and ranked is an important part of the structure of the system. Certain statuses are more visible than others. Three of the more conspicuously visible statuses are the athlete, scholar, and the popular student. To determine the visibility of students who occupy these status positions, the students were asked to list by name those students whom they perceived to be the most outstanding in each of the three categories. The data are presented in Table XXII.¹⁴

Of the total number of boys in the school, 5 per cent were identified as either best athlete, scholar, or most popular. Three per cent of those were identified as athletes, 2 per cent as scholars, and 4 per cent as most popular. Only a small minority (0.8%) were identified as both an athlete and scholar, but a larger percentage (3%) were classified by classmates as both an athlete and most popular. It seems apparent, therefore, that although athletic ability does not contribute to scholarship, it does contribute to popularity. Scholarship, on the other hand, apparently does not contribute to being popular, since only one percent of the students were identified both as scholars and most popular. Of those boys who were classified in only one status, 0.8 per cent were athletes only, 0.4 per cent were scholars only, and one per cent most popular only.

Among those who were classified as athlete, three stand out as dominant--C, D, and E. Two of them--D and E--were also recognized both as scholars and most popular, but C was given only additional

recognition as being most popular. In the scholar category, one student (A) is very predominant. He also is visible as most popular, but not conspicuously so, and was chosen as best athlete by only one classmate. Student F stands out as the most popular person, but he is not identified as either an athlete or scholar.

TABLE XXII

VISIBILITY OF MALE SCHOLARS, ATHLETES, AND MOST POPULAR MALE STUDENTS*

Student	<u>Scholar</u> Per cent	<u>Athlete</u> Per cent	<u>Popular</u> Per cent
A	56.7	0.4	3.1
B	17.0	0.0	1.1
C	0.8	22.0	3.9
D	5.0	18.5	5.0
E	3.1	16.6	5.0
F	1.5	1.1	20.8
G	0.0	1.1	8.5
H	0.0	0.0	7.3
I	0.4	5.4	6.6
J	0.4	4.6	6.6
K	0.0	2.7	5.8
L	0.0	3.5	1.1
M	0.0	1.9	1.9

*Only those students who were listed at least five times by their classmates in one or more of the categories are included in the table. The proportions were computed by dividing the total number of responses each boy received by the total number of students (259).

In Table XXIII, girls are classified into two categories--scholar

and most popular. Of all the girls in the school, about 3 per cent were identified as either a scholar or most popular. Of those, just over 2 per cent are visible as scholars, and between 1 and 2 per cent are visible as most popular students. Slightly over 1 per cent were identified both as a scholar and most popular. One per cent were recognized as scholars only, and 0.4 per cent as popular only.¹⁵

TABLE XXIII

VISIBILITY OF FEMALE SCHOLARS AND MOST POPULAR FEMALE STUDENTS*

Student	<u>Scholar</u> Per cent	<u>Popular</u> Per cent
A	39.4	6.9
B	4.2	43.6
C	24.7	0.4
D	2.3	14.7
E	0.0	4.6
F	2.7	0.0
G	2.3	0.4

*Only those girls who were listed at least five times by their classmates in one or more of the categories are included in the table. The proportions were computed by dividing the total number of responses each girl received by the total number of students (259).

A comparison of the two tables indicates that being a male is a factor in determining visibility in the adolescent subculture. Although the total number of girls (137) exceeded the total number of boys (122) in the study, twice as many boys as girls were identified in one or more

of the categories. Maleness is also a determinant of popularity. Whereas 4 per cent of the males were identified as most popular, less than 2 per cent of the females were classified in this category. In fact, the only area in which girls are recognized as dominant is in scholarship. These factors indicate that, in the adolescent subculture, the male is dominant. And based on theories of stratification,¹⁶ this suggests that males have greater access than females to the more prestigious rewards of the system, and to the most desirable services and offices of the school.

Summary

Dimensions of the adolescent subculture described in this chapter included an analysis of how adolescents utilize their time, the value structure of the adolescent subculture, peer group involvement, and several dimensions of the status structure.

In many ways, the subculture exists as an entity in its own right. Yet, it is supported and influenced by the larger adult culture. Its boundaries are not clearly defined, and as a result there is substantial overlap between the subculture and the adult culture. Its normative structure in many respects reflects the normative structure of the larger culture, suggesting that considerable input into the system comes from the adult culture. The adolescents are sensitive to the disapproval of their parents, suggesting strong parental influence. In such things as being honest and having a good reputation, the adolescents (especially the girls) are close to the value position of their parents.

Yet, there are some distinct differences between the two. The most

conspicuous discontinuities are in the areas of desired academic and intellectual achievement. The parents emphasize those aspects of education--good grades and the development of leadership potential--which they believe will prepare their children for eventual participation in adult society. The adolescents, however, tend to emphasize interests and activities which lie outside the academic sphere of the school.

Energy generated within the system is expended in a variety of ways. Some of it is channeled into achieving the academic goals of the school. This is indicated by the amount of time some students devote to their studies and their emphasis on good grades. Some energy, however, is expended on such things as athletics, dating, and group related interaction which tend to divert energy away from the educational goals of the school. And achievements in these areas of adolescent behavior are often rewarded with prestige, respect, and approval, which serve as motivating factors to encourage continued involvement in these non-academic interests and activities.

FOOTNOTES

¹Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (rev. and enl. ed.; New York, 1968), pp. 186-187.

²Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines leisure as "Freedom afforded by exemption from occupation or business; time free from employment. Time free from engagement; hence, convenience; ease."

³James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Blenco, Ill., 1961) p. 12.

⁴Ibid., p. 13.

⁵Ibid., pp. 34-43; Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), p. 607; David Gottlieb and Charles Ramsey, The American Adolescent (Homewood, Ill., 1964), pp. 39-40.

⁶Burton, R. Clark, Educating the Expert Society (San Francisco, 1962), p. 258.

⁷Ely Chinoy, Society: An Introduction to Socioblogy (New York, 1967), p. 76.

⁸Coleman, p. 9.

⁹Ibid., p. 138. Coleman says: "The greatest regard for parents' demands is in the smallest school, Farmdale, the least regard is in Executive Heights, one of the two largest."

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 5, 98-99; Ernest A. Smith, American Youth Culture (Glenco, Ill., 1962), pp. 107-114; Ralph H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco, 1964), p. 110.

¹¹Coleman, p. 37.

¹²Ibid., p. 118.

¹³Smith, p. 2.

¹⁴Proportions discussed in the text were computed as follows: total number of students listed-13; athletes-8; scholars-4; popular-11; athlete and scholar-2; athlete and popular-7; scholar and popular-3; athlete only-2; scholar only-1; popular only-3. Each of these was divided by the total number of students (259) to obtain the proportions.

¹⁵Proportions discussed in the text were computed as follows: total number of girls listed-7; scholars-7; popular-4; scholar and popular-3; scholar only-3; popular only-1. Each of these was divided by the total number of students (259) to obtain the proportions.

¹⁶Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification (New York, 1965), pp. 28-30.

CHAPTER V

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

Comparison of Adolescents and Parents Relative to the Amount of Control Exercised by Parents over Teen-Agers

Gottlieb and Ramsey suggest that "...the operational criteria used to identify and establish the existence of the subculture should involve observed differences in values and behavior between adolescents and adults."¹ The purpose of this chapter is to test the hypotheses stated in Chapter I which were designed to depict the expected differences between adolescents and parents.

Several works on parent-adolescent relationships cited in Chapter I emphasized the theme of conflict. Among these are Coleman, Davis, Sheriff and Sheriff, and Ernest Smith, who emphasized that parent-youth conflicts frequently stem from adolescent resistance to parental control.² Referring to parent-youth relationships, Thomas Smith says:

"The evidence makes it clear that both substantial conflict and substantial parental influence exist. What seems to be needed now is more thorough specification of the conditions governing levels of parent-adolescent conflict or of parental influence upon adolescents."³

Hypothesis One is concerned with the comparative views of parents and their adolescent children concerning the degree of parental control. This hypothesis states that parents will advocate significantly more parental control over the behavior of teen-agers than will adolescents

in grades 7-12.

The questionnaires included five questions to test this hypothesis. The questions were similar for students and parents, and ranged from such topics as spending money without parental interference to being away from home at night without conferring with parents about plans for the evening. Responses to each question ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. From these, a total score was computed for each respondent, ranging from 5 to 25. A low score represents a desire for strong parental control; a high score indicates a desire for less parental control.

Each adolescent was matched with his parent. Those who could not be matched were not included in the analysis. A "t" test was computed for students in grades 7-9 who were matched with their parents, and for the older students in grades 10-12 who were matched with their parents. (Tables XXIV and XXV.)

TABLE XXIV

ADOLESCENTS IN GRADES 7-9 COMPARED WITH THEIR PARENTS RELATIVE TO THE AMOUNT OF CONTROL EXERCISED BY PARENTS OVER ADOLESCENTS

Pairs	\bar{X}_s	\bar{X}_p	\bar{X}_D	S_D	t	p (1 tail)
51	12.7	8.1	4.5	4.7	6.83	.001

Using a directional test, "t" is significant beyond the .001 level. This indicates that parents of the younger adolescents advocate more

parental control over the behavior of teen-agers than do their adolescent children. The data suggest that adolescents between the ages of 13 and 15 inclusive want more freedom from parental restraints than parents are willing to give in such activities as spending money without interference from parents, time to be home at night, whom they should date, and where they can and cannot go.

In Table XXV, the data are presented relating to the differences in attitudes of adolescents in grades 10-12 and their parents concerning parental control over adolescents. Excluding those students and parents who could not be matched, 135 matched pairs were obtained for this test. Since there were only 128 parental respondents in the study, it is evident that some of the parents had more than one child in high school.

TABLE XXV

ADOLESCENTS IN GRADES 10-12 COMPARED WITH THEIR PARENTS RELATIVE TO THE AMOUNT OF CONTROL EXERCISED BY PARENTS OVER ADOLESCENTS

Pairs	\bar{X}_s	\bar{X}_p	\bar{X}_D	S_D	t	p (1 tail)
135	14.7	8.9	5.9	5.1	13.44	.001

Parents of older adolescents also advocate significantly more parental control over the behavior of teen-agers than do their older adolescents. Since the "t" values in both tables are significant in the predicted direction, hypothesis One is confirmed.

To examine the amount of correlation between the attitudes of younger and older students and their parents; a correlation coefficient was computed from the "t" values in each table. To transform the "t" values to an "r" coefficient, the following formula was used:⁴

$$t = \sqrt{r^2(N-2)/(1-r^2)}$$

The resulting "r" value for younger adolescents and their parents from the data in Table XXIV is .698. This indicates a significant correlation between the attitudes of the younger adolescents and their parents and the amount of control exercised by parents over teen-agers.

A transformed "t" value was also computed from Table XXV where the older adolescents and their parents were compared. For this comparison, $r = .758$. This result indicates a slightly higher correlation between the attitudes of older adolescents and their parents relative to parental control than between younger boys and their parents.

The differences between the attitudes of the younger students and the attitudes of the older students (indicated by comparing the two r's) relative to the attitudinal position of parents may be attributed in part to the differences in the frequency of mutual discussions between parents and their younger adolescents and between parents and their older adolescents. Hypothesis Two states that the greater the frequency of discussions between parents and adolescents, the greater will be the effects of parental influence over teen-agers.

The differences in the frequency of discussions are given by student responses to the question: "Do your parents often discuss things with you?" One of four alternatives was selected for both father and mother, which ranged from "never" to "very often." Alternatives one and two indicate infrequent discussions; three and four indicate

frequent discussions. In the analysis, the responses pertaining to both parents were combined. The responses were then divided into a dichotomy of "infrequent" and "frequent" parental discussions with adolescents. Table XXVI contains the frequencies used in the analysis.

TABLE XXVI

FREQUENCY OF PARENTAL DISCUSSIONS WITH YOUNGER AND OLDER ADOLESCENTS

	Grade 7-9	Grade 10-12	Total
Frequent discussions	155	170	325
Infrequent discussions	<u>105</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>183</u>
Total	260	248	508

$$X^2 = 4.1366; df = 1; p < .05; C = .126$$

The students responded to the question in terms of both father and mother, which accounts for the cell frequencies being double those of a single "category" question. Eight students in grades 7-9 and two in grades 10-12 did not respond to the question. They were not included in the analysis.

Computation of the chi square statistic indicates that the differences in frequency of parental discussions with older adolescents are significantly greater than with younger adolescents. Since transformation of the "t" values in Tables XXIV and XXV to measures of correlation indicate a closer affinity of older students and parents than younger students and parents, frequency of discussions apparently has some influence toward adolescent acceptance of parental perspectives. Hypothesis Two is confirmed.

It was hypothesized that parents who differ in their views toward the teen-ager will differ in their attitudes concerning the amount of control parents should exert over their adolescent children. Hypothesis Three states that parents with favorable views toward the teen-ager will advocate less overt parental control over adolescents than those parents with less favorable attitudes toward the teen-ager.

To determine favorable and less favorable parental views toward teen-agers, a series of five questions of the strongly agree strongly disagree type were used. The parents were asked to respond to questions which dealt with such topics as the general conduct of teen-age behavior, their trustworthiness, their consideration for adults, and adolescent sexual morality. From these questions, a total score was computed for each parental respondent. These scores ranged from a possible low of 5 to a possible high of 25. A low score is indicative of a favorable attitude toward teen-agers; a high score indicates less favorable attitudes.

A composite score was determined by summing the total score of all parents, which was 1,943. This total was divided by the total number of parental respondents (128) to yield a mean of 15.2. The parents were assigned to either the favorable or less favorable category on the basis of this mean. Those whose total score for the five questions was below 15.2 were assigned to the favorable category; those with a total score above 15.2 were placed in the less favorable category. A total score for each parent was computed relative to attitudes concerning parental control over adolescents. The scores ranged from a possible low of 5 to a possible high of 25. A low score indicates attitudes for strong parental control; a high score represents attitudes for less parental control. The total score for those parents with favorable views was 603.

For those with less favorable views, the total score was 505.

TABLE XXVII

COMPARISON OF PARENTS WITH FAVORABLE ATTITUDES TOWARD TEEN-AGERS
WITH PARENTS WHOSE ATTITUDES ARE LESS FAVORABLE IN TERMS
OF THE AMOUNT OF PARENTAL CONTROL OVER ADOLESCENTS

	N	\bar{X}	s^2	t	p
Favorable views	66	9.14	8.14	2.10	.025
Less favorable views	62	8.14	5.48		

Hypothesis Three predicted that parents with favorable attitudes toward teen-agers would exercise less overt control over adolescents than parents with less favorable views. On the basis of the "t" test, hypothesis Three is confirmed at the .025 level of significance for a one-tailed test. This suggests that parents with favorable attitudes feel that teen-agers have internalized the norms necessary to discipline their overt behavior. Therefore, they do not need strong external controls exerted by parents to compel them to conform to parental expectations. Those parents with less favorable attitudes evidently rely more on parental interference into the affairs of teen-agers to control their behavior than upon the restraints of internalized norms.

Peer Group Orientation

Coleman, Chinoy, and others suggest that as the adolescent becomes

increasingly independent of parents, he becomes increasingly involved with the peer group.⁵ If this is the case, older adolescents should be more peer oriented than younger adolescents, since they ostensibly have obtained a greater degree of independence from parents than younger adolescents. Following this reasoning, Hypothesis Four states that adolescents in grades 10-12 will be significantly more peer oriented than adolescents in grades 7-9.

Each of the five questions used to test this hypothesis asked the student to make a decision which would involve him either with the peer group or with a non-peer function. The alternative responses to each question were assigned a numerical value. From these values, a total score for each student was obtained, ranging from a possible low of 5 to a possible high of 17. A low score represents non-peer orientation; a high score indicates orientation toward the peer group.

A composite score was then determined by computing the total score of all students, which was 2,774. This total was divided by the total number of students (259) to obtain a mean of 10.7. The students were assigned to either the high or low category on the basis of this mean. Those whose total score for the five questions was below 10.7 were placed in the low category; those with a total score above 10.7 were assigned to the high category. Since the total score for each student was an integer, those with a score of 10 and below were assigned to the low category. Those with a total score of 11 and above were placed in the high category. To evaluate this hypothesis, chi square was used rather than the "t" test. The "t" statistic seemed to be inappropriate for this test since the questions used to determine peer orientation differed in the amount of numerical weight they possessed.

TABLE XXVIII
PEER GROUP ORIENTATION OF STUDENTS IN GRADES 7-12

Peer orientation	7-9	10-12	Total
High	78	65	143
Low	<u>56</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>116</u>
Total	134	125	259

$\chi^2 = 1.0005; df = 1; p > .30; C = .087$

Chi square indicates that the differences in peer orientation between younger and older students are no greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. The null hypothesis is tenable. It is concluded that the older students are not more peer oriented than are the younger students. Although this conclusion does not agree with Coleman's and Chinoy's analyses, it does agree with a similar finding of Bealer and Willits, whose data were obtained from youth in rural communities, as were the data of this study. Bealer and Willits suggest that:

Participation in academic and extracurricular school activities usually means physical withdrawal from the family and high exposure to peer influence. However, this need not mean rejection of parental norms. [Studies have shown that] as youths increased their involvement in school functions, [agreement with] the family's attitudes went up, not down, as would be expected if physical withdrawal decreased the saliency of parental norms.⁶

Attitudinal Comparison of Adolescents and Parents Toward Adults

Davis argues (see Chapter II, footnote 53) that some of the discrepancies between parents and youth are caused by the differences in

the methods by which the two groups are socialized. Adults are influenced by adult institutions. Adolescents are influenced not only by adult institutions, but also by peer group values and norms. If peer values do not agree with parental values, a potential source for conflict exists.

As the data in Tables XXIV and XXV indicate, adolescents do not agree with their parents concerning the amount of restriction and control exerted by parents over teen-agers. The parents, having been socialized from youth by established adult institutions, undoubtedly reflect the prevailing cultural traditions of adult society. Adolescents, on the other hand, reflect some of the prevailing values of peers. If this assumption is correct, adolescent views toward adults should be different from parental perceptions relative to what they think adolescent attitudes of adults will be.

Hypothesis Five states that adolescents in grades 7-12 will have a more negative view of adults than their parents will indicate they will have. To evaluate this hypothesis, the respondents were asked to respond to five questions that ranged from such topics as "Do you often feel excluded from adult activities that may be helpful to you?" to "For the most part, adults are dishonest." Alternative choices (which were of the strongly agree strongly disagree type) to each question were assigned numerical values so that a total score could be obtained for each student and parent. The scores for the alternative choices ranged from 1 to 5 for each question. A total composite score for each respondent was obtained, which ranged from a possible low of 5 to a possible high of 25. A low score represents a favorable view toward adults; a high score depicts an unfavorable view. In the analysis,

each student was matched with his parent, and a "t" value was computed to evaluate the differences between them (Tables XXIX and XXX).

TABLE XXIX

PERCEPTION OF ADOLESCENTS IN GRADES 7-9 TOWARD ADULTS COMPARED WITH
WHAT PARENTS THINK ADOLESCENT PERCEPTION OF ADULTS WILL BE

Pairs	\bar{X}_s	\bar{X}_p	\bar{X}_D	S_D	t	p (1 tail)
51	11.1	13.5	-2.3	4.3	-3.80	.001

The differences between the younger adolescents and their parents are significant beyond the .001 level using a one-tailed test. This indicates that parents of the younger students fail to understand the attitudes of their children toward adults. The negative "t" value indicates that parents think their teen-agers have a more unfavorable view of adults than their children's responses indicate.

Hypothesis Five dealt also with a comparison of older adolescents and their parents relative to their views toward adults.

The differences between parents and their older adolescents concerning adolescent perception of adults are also significant. The negative "t" again suggests that parents think the older adolescents have more unfavorable views toward adults than is the case. Although the attitudes of students at all grade levels are significantly different from their parents, Hypothesis Five is not confirmed in the predicted direction.

TABLE XXX

PERCEPTION OF ADOLESCENTS IN GRADES 10-12 TOWARD ADULTS COMPARED WITH
WHAT PARENTS THINK ADOLESCENT PERCEPTION OF ADULTS WILL BE

Pairs	\bar{X}_s	\bar{X}_p	\bar{X}_D	S_D	t	p (1 tail)
135	10.9	14.4	-3.5	5.3	-7.64	.001

When the "t" value for younger students and their parents was transformed to a correlation value, $r = .4766$. For the older students and their parents, $r = .5521$. Again the correlation between the older adolescents and their parents is slightly higher than the correlation between younger adolescents and their parents. This suggests that parental failure to understand the younger adolescents' perception of adults is greater than their failure to understand the older adolescents' perception of adult society.

Comparison of Adolescent and Parental Attitudes Relative to the Emphasis Placed on Athletics in the High School

Several researchers have described the emphasis placed on athletic competition by adolescents.⁷ Characterizing the youth culture, Parsons says:

A second predominate characteristic on the male side lies in the prominence of athletics, which is an avenue of achievement and competition which stands in sharp contrast to the primary standards of adult achievement in professional and executive capacities.⁸

If, as Parsons suggests, the goal achievement nature of athletics in the adolescent subculture contrasts sharply with adult standards of goal

achievement, adolescents should place more emphasis on athletics than parents.

Hypothesis Six states that adolescent males will place a significantly greater emphasis on athletics in the high school than will parents. Responses to three questions (each treated separately in the analysis) give a basis for comparison of the students with their parents. In the analysis, the boys were compared with only those parents who had adolescent boys in the school.

The first question asked the students to choose from a list of four selected categories the one they would most like to be remembered for in school. The parents were asked to select from a similar list of categories the one they most wanted their teen-ager to be outstanding for in school. One of the four alternatives pertained to athletics. The other three choices pertained to non-athletic functions. The responses were dichotomized into two categories--athletic star and non-athletic functions (Table XXXI).

TABLE XXXI

WHAT ADOLESCENT MALES MOST WANT TO BE REMEMBERED FOR IN SCHOOL COMPARED WITH WHAT PARENTS MOST WANT THEM TO BE REMEMBERED FOR

	Adolescent Males	Parents	Total
Athletic star	35	2	37
Non-athletic functions	<u>46</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>108</u>
Total	81	64	145
$\chi^2 = 28.9332; df = 1; p < .001; C = .577$			

The differences between adolescent males and their parents are significant beyond the .001 level. Almost all parents, as well as a majority of boys, indicate a preference for non-athletic functions. On the other hand, a substantial minority of boys, compared with only two parents, indicate a preference for athletics. The preference of boys for athletics, therefore, is substantially greater than parental preference for athletic related functions.

A second question also serves as a basis for comparison of male adolescents with their parents relative to their attitudes toward athletics. They were asked to indicate their choice of one of three types of scholarships which would help defray the expenses of a college education. The alternatives were collapsed into two categories--athletic scholarship and non-athletic scholarship (Table XXXII).

TABLE XXXII

TYPE OF SCHOLARSHIP PREFERRED BY ADOLESCENT MALES COMPARED WITH
THE TYPE PREFERRED FOR THEM BY PARENTS

	Adolescent Males	Parents	Total
Athletic scholarship	33	4	37
Non-athletic scholarship	<u>59</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>118</u>
Total	92	63	155

$\chi^2 = 17.8159; df = 1; p < .001; C = .454$

The differences between adolescent boys and their parents concerning the type of scholarship preferred are significant beyond the .001

level. Although a majority of students indicate they prefer a non-athletic type of scholarship, almost all parents indicate a preference for a non-athletic related scholarship. This suggests that if a scholarship could be chosen, a majority of adolescents and parents would select a non-athletic type. But, on the basis of the significant chi-square, the adolescents would be more likely to choose an athletic scholarship than would their parents.

The final question used to compare the attitudes of parents and adolescent boys concerning athletics asked the students to choose from a list of selected professions which one they most wanted to be. Parents were asked to choose the profession they most wanted for their son. One of the responses to the question pertained to athletics as a profession. The remaining responses related to non-athletic professions. To evaluate attitudes toward athletics, the responses were placed in a dichotomy of "nationally famous athlete" and "non-athletic profession."

TABLE XXXIII

IN TERMS OF SELECTED PROFESSIONS, A COMPARISON OF WHAT MOST BOYS WANT TO BE WITH WHAT PARENTS MOST WANT THEM TO BE

	Adolescent Males	Parents	Total
Nationally famous athlete	27	7	34
Non-athlete profession	<u>27</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>78</u>
Total	54	58	112

$\chi^2 = 23.4939; df = 1; p < .001; C = .589$

The data in Table XXXVIII indicate that parental and adolescent attitudes concerning the type of profession desired are significantly different. The contingency coefficient of .589 suggests some association between the type of profession adolescent boys prefer and the type of profession preferred for them by parents.

From the data presented in the latter three tables, it is apparent that adolescents emphasize athletics significantly more than do their parents. Hypothesis Six is confirmed.

The importance of athletics in the high school may be explained in terms of its functional nature in the subculture. Gottlieb and Ramsey suggest that:

Athletic competition as well as other extracurricular activity serves the dual purpose of building school and community spirit. At the same time, it does much to keep the youth culture alive. Within the framework of these athletic and social activities youth are given an opportunity for further personal interaction.... The athletic events and the support they receive from peers as well as adults aid in convincing students that prestige within the school goes ... to the boy who can run with a football or shoot baskets or to the girl who is selected as cheerleader. The rewards for athletic achievement are visibility, publicity, and the wearing of a school letter. These rewards are more than a match for those given the outstanding student or the serious student citizen who in many schools is shown little public recognition.⁹

Athletic competition is emphasized, therefore, because it is functional for adolescents. The athlete receives acclaim from his peers for his athletic prowess. His rewards are immediate and tangible, visible to almost all members of the student body. Furthermore, because his athletic accomplishments are published by the mass media, he is given public recognition by the adult community. Athletic events, therefore, are relevant in the adolescent subculture because they bring prestige, honor, and recognition to the athlete.

Using the responses of the younger and older adolescent boys to the same three athletic related questions included in the analysis above, it is possible to obtain a comparison between younger and older boys concerning their views about athletics. As in the above analysis, the alternative choices to each question were dichotomized into athletic related activities and functions and non-athletic activities and functions. The data for each of the three questions are presented in the three tables below. The cell frequencies in the tables are not consistent with the cell frequencies in the three tables used above to compare parents and adolescents. In the above tables, only those male students whose parents responded to the questions were included in the analysis. In the following analysis, all adolescent males who responded to the questions are included in the evaluation.

TABLE XXXIV

WHAT ADOLESCENT MALES MOST WANT TO BE REMEMBERED FOR IN SCHOOL

Grade	7-9	10-12	Total
Athletic star	26	19	45
Non-athletic functions	<u>36</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>73</u>
Total	62	56	118

$$X^2 = 0.5764; df = 1; p > .50; C = .098$$

Two students from each group did not respond to the question and were not included in the analysis.

It was assumed that older boys were more active participants in

athletic competition than were younger boys. If this assumption were correct, the older boys, according to Gottlieb and Ramsey's reasoning, would be rewarded with visibility and prestige more than the younger boys. These rewards should motivate the older boys to emphasize athletics more than the younger boys. Hypothesis Seven is based on this assumption. This hypothesis states that adolescent males in grades 10-12 will place a significantly greater emphasis on athletics than will adolescent males in grades 7-9.

TABLE XXXV

TYPE OF SCHOLARSHIP PREFERRED BY ADOLESCENT MALES

Grade	7-9	10-12	Total
Athletic scholarship	21	24	45
Non-athletic scholarship	<u>40</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>73</u>
Total	61	57	118

$$\chi^2 = 0.5751; df = 1; p > .50; C = .098$$

Three boys in grades 7-9 and one in grades 10-12 did not respond to the question and were not included in the analysis.

Since none of the chi square computations in the three tables is significant, the differences in attitude toward athletics which exist between younger and older adolescent boys could be attributed to chance variations. The contingency coefficients indicate very low correlation between the grade level of adolescent boys and attitudes toward athletics. In fact, "C" approaches zero in Tables XXXIV and XXXV, and is

TABLE XXXVI

IN TERMS OF SELECTED PROFESSIONS, WHAT ADOLESCENT MALES MOST WANT TO BE

Grade	7-9	10-12	Total
Nationally famous athlete	21	16	37
Non-athletic profession	<u>38</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>76</u>
Total	59	54	113

$$X^2 = 0.6438; df = 1; p > .50; C = .106$$

Five boys in grades 7-9 and four in grades 10-12 did not respond to the question and were not included in the analysis.

only slightly higher in Table XXXVI. This result signifies almost no correlation between the variables of grade level of teen-age boys and preference for athletic and non-athletic functions. Apparently, athletic competition is as functional for the younger boys as for the older boys. Hypothesis Seven is not confirmed.

Summary

Discrepancies between adolescents and parents exist at many levels. In the area of parental restraints and control over the behavior of adolescents, parents and teen-agers differ significantly. Adolescents at all grade levels want more freedom from parental interference and control than the parents are apparently willing to give. Older adolescents, however, are more tolerant of parental interference in their personal affairs than are the younger adolescents. Differential frequencies of parental discussions with adolescent children are a factor

which seems to be associated with this discrepancy. Parental discussions are conducted more frequently with older adolescents than with the younger ones. The effects of these discussions appear to contribute to greater attitudinal congruence between older adolescents and their parents than between younger adolescents and their parents.

Parents who differ in their views toward teen-agers also differ in their views concerning the amount of parental control over adolescents. Those whose perceptions of the teen-ager are less favorable advocate more parental control than those with more favorable perceptions.

Parents also fail to understand adolescent perceptions of the adult world. Although parental perceptions of adolescent attitudes toward adults vary significantly from those held by adolescents, parents believe that the attitudes toward adults of their teen-agers are more negatively oriented than they actually are.

Adolescent boys also disagree with their parents on the relevance of athletics in the school. The functional nature of athletic events in the subculture probably accounts for the fact that adolescent boys place more emphasis on them than parents. For the boy, athletic competition serves as an avenue through which honor and recognition can be achieved. Therefore, athletics serve as an acceptable and approved means by which some of the desirable goals of the adolescent are attained.

FOOTNOTES

¹David Gottlieb and Charles Ramsey, The American Adolescent (Homewood, Ill., 1964), p. 30.

²James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Glenco, Ill., 1961); Kingsley Davis, "Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," American Sociological Review, 5 (August, 1940), pp. 523-535; Muzafer Sheriff and Carolyn Sheriff, Problems of Youth: Transition to Adulthood in a Changing World (Chicago, 1965); Ernest Smith, American Youth Culture (Glenco, Ill., 1962).

³Thomas E. Smith, "Foundations of Parental Influence upon Adolescents: An Application of Social Power Theory," American Sociological Review, 35 (October, 1970), p. 862.

⁴Murray R. Spiegel, Theory and Problems of Statistics (New York, 1961), pp. 246, 263-264. From this formula for t, the following formula for r was derived:

$$r = \sqrt{t^2 / (N - 2 + t^2)}$$

⁵Coleman, p. 138; Ely Chinoy, Society: An Introduction to Society (New York, 1967), p. 396.

⁶Robert C. Bealer and Fern K. Willits, "Rural Youth: A Case Study in the Rebelliousness of Adolescents," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 338 (1961), p. 65.

⁷James S. Coleman, "Athletics in High School," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 338 (1961), pp. 33-37; Gottlieb and Ramsey, pp. 39-40.

⁸Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), p. 607.

⁹Gottlieb and Ramsey, p. 40.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Purpose of Study

Sociological theory does not contain precise indicators of what constitutes the adolescent subculture. The purpose of this research was to delineate and clarify some of the variables relating to the subculture of adolescence by studying adolescents who were enrolled in a small town high school. This study sought to analyze (1) the nature of the adolescent subculture, particularly as it differs from the larger adult culture; (2) the nature of the patterns of stratification within the school; and (3) an analysis of peer group orientation of students.

Methods and Procedures

The data for this study were obtained from a population of high school students (and their parents) who were enrolled in grades 7-12 in a small town high school in Payne County, Oklahoma. The method of collecting the data involved the use of two different questionnaires: one for students and one for parents. The instruments were comprised primarily of structured items which were designed to obtain data for two major purposes: (1) data that were particularly relevant to a

descriptive analysis of the adolescent subculture; and (2) data for comparison of adolescents and their parents relative to selected attitudinal positions.

The student questionnaire was administered personally by the researcher according to a prearranged time schedule. From a total of 291 students in the high school population, 259 completed the questionnaire. The parental questionnaire was mailed to parents whose addresses were obtained from school records. From a total of 181 parents who had adolescent children enrolled in the high school, 128 responded to the initial mailing and two follow-up requests.

The hypotheses were formulated to reflect expected differences between the adolescents and their parents. The statistical treatment of the data consisted of percentage comparisons for the descriptive data, the chi square test of significance, and the Student "t" for mean differences. The contingency coefficient C was used to determine the degree of association between the variables on which the chi square test was used. For testing statistical significance, the confidence level for rejecting the null hypothesis was assigned the .05 level.

Summary of Results and Discussion

Summary of Descriptive Analysis

How adolescents utilize their time outside the formal organization of the school is important to understanding the nature of the adolescent subculture. For leisure activities, a greater proportion of adolescents spent their time in individual indoor activities - watching television, listening to the radio, reading, etc. - than in any other

single category of activities. Being with the group, however, was a close second, which indicates strong group ties even during leisure hours. Girls emphasized both types of activities somewhat more than did the boys. Such things as organized outdoor sports, going to the movies, dating, dancing, and spending time with one's favorite hobby were not emphasized as leisure activities.

The lack of emphasis on these activities may indicate that adolescents associate them with the formal structure of the school and do not consider them to be leisure activities. Organized sports and dating, for example, are closely connected to school activities and events and occupy a substantial part of the adolescent's time. But because they are closely supervised by school administrators and personnel, students may view them as part of the formal curriculum of the school and not as leisure activities.

Students spent considerably more time watching television than they did studying outside the classroom. Although girls devoted more time to their studies than did boys, well over half of the students at all grade levels spent one hour or less a day studying outside normal school hours. In fact, with the exception of girls in grades 7-9, 8 out of 10 students devoted one hour or less to their studies. A small minority studied three or more hours outside the classroom.

In comparison, three-fourths of the younger students and slightly over half of the older students watched television three or more hours a day. Only a small percentage of the students spent one hour or less per day viewing television. Eight out of 10 parents spent one hour or less a day watching television.

It is difficult to compare the amount of time adolescents watch

television with the amount of time they devote to their studies. A substantial part of each school day is devoted directly or indirectly to studies. During regular class periods, as well as regularly scheduled study periods, the student is directly involved with his studies. Frequently the student participates in extracurricular activities which, although not directly involved with studies, have indirect bearing on academic interests.

Nevertheless, the data of this study indicate that adolescents spend several hours each day viewing television. This finding is consistent with other studies. Schramm, et al., for example, suggest that from "... the time he is three to the time he is sixteen, the average American child spends as many hours watching television as he spends in school."¹ This heavy exposure to television undoubtedly has significant effects on the lives of children. Schramm, et al. suggest that television has both positive and negative effects.

[Negatively, television viewing] leads not toward human interaction, but rather toward withdrawal into private communion with the picture tube and the private life of fantasy. It is aimed less often at solving the problems of life than escaping from them. It is essentially a passive behavior -- something a child surrenders himself to, something that is done to and for him, something that he doesn't have to work for or think about or pay for.²

On the positive side, television meets special needs of children.

Physically, a child is maturing. Socially, he is in process of preparing and being prepared to take part in an adult society.... He is mastering the norms, the values, the customs of his society. He is acquainting himself with the more important laws and history of the culture, and the rituals which he will be expected to follow.... He can turn to television...to seek aid and enlightenment on his problems.³

Dating is also an important activity of teen-agers, of more concern for older than for the younger ones. A majority of the students

in grades 7-9 did not date, and those who did, dated infrequently. But as the adolescent grows older, the degree of involvement with the opposite sex increased substantially.

The rapid increase in dating may be attributed to several sources. First, the opposition of parents decreases and gives way to permissiveness and encouragement as the adolescent grows older. Second, the number of events and activities which socially require a dating partner increases as the adolescent matures. Third, the high school enrolls relatively large numbers of teen-agers which increases the scope of potential dating partners.

Physical appearance is an important attribute in determining the type of student preferred as a date. The data in Table XIII indicate that the best looking student ranks far above the best athlete, the best student, and the best dressed person as a preferred date. Gottlieb and Ramsey explain this emphasis on physical attributes when they suggest that:

Our society places a high value upon physical appearance. In the adult world as well as in high school the beautiful girl enjoys many advantages which logically have nothing to do with beauty... The orientation toward movies and television enhances the cultural values on physical appearance. Their [adolescents] relations with persons of the opposite sex, so important to them, may depend almost entirely upon their physical appearance.⁴

Another dimension of the adolescent subculture is brought into focus by comparing attitudes expressed by the adolescents with those expressed by their parents. In Tables X - XVII, adolescents and parents were compared relative to their attitudinal position concerning a variety of topics. Such topics include type of profession desired, use of alcoholic beverages, and attitudes toward work. Analysis indicates substantial differences between the two groups, as well as differences

between the younger and older adolescents.

Responses to questions dealing with desired profession, athletics, scholarship, leadership, popularity, and dating (Tables X - XIII), indicate that parents tended to select those things which are characteristic of traditional adult society. Adolescents, on the other hand, preferred those things which appeal to glamour, to physical attractiveness, to the hero cult. Such selected professions as school teacher, missionary, nursing, were considered by parents to be most desirable for their adolescent children. These professions reflect the traditional value structure of adult society which clusters around accepted methods of status achievement and social service.

Adolescents selected professions which are portrayed by the mass media as being exciting, adventuresome, and glamorous. For one-third (36%) of the boys in grades 7-9, the nationally famous athlete was most attractive, followed closely by the jet pilot (29%). Among their counterparts in grades 10-12, the jet pilot occupied the most prestigious position (39%), with the nationally famous athlete a relatively close second (30%). Among the girls, the airline stewardess status was most popular, with slightly more of the older girls (36%) selecting this status than did younger girls (31%). For the older girls, the second most favored status was that of glamorous model (31%); for the younger girls it was that of school teacher (21%).

When comparisons were made between parents and adolescents relative to desired status achieved in school and the type of student preferred for a date, a majority of parents selected the best student image in both cases. Students selected the athletic star and most popular as desirable statuses to achieve, and the best looking student as

a preferred date.

The data pertaining to the use of alcohol and drugs in Tables XIV - XVI show substantial discrepancies between the attitudes of adolescents and those of their parents. Almost all parents strongly disapproved of the use of alcohol and drugs by adolescents. With the exception of boys in grades 10-12, a majority of students also disapproved of their use. However, students were considerably more tolerant of their use than were parents, with the older students being more tolerant than were younger students.

Additional value comparisons were obtained from responses to questions dealing with attitudes toward work (see Table XVII). The data indicate that boys at all grade levels and girls in grades 10-12 ranked having a steady job as most important, and opportunities for advancement as least important. For girls in grades 7-9 and for parents, the enjoyment of the work itself was most important. For the younger girls, like the other students, opportunities for advancement was least important, while a high salary was least important for parents.

Although there was some overlap between the adolescent subculture and the parental culture in the area of attitudes toward work, there were some distinct differences. Students consistently ranked having a steady job and enjoyment of the work lower than parents, while having a high salary was consistently ranked higher by students than by parents. But there was considerable overlap between student and parental attitudes relative to opportunities for advancement and friendly people to work with.

The value incongruities between adolescents and their parents relative to desired profession, status achievement, dating preferences,

attitudes toward use of alcohol, and attitudes relative to work reflect some of the underlying discontinuities between the adolescent subculture and the larger adult culture. The adult culture seemed to be more traditionalistic oriented than did the adolescent subculture. In the case of dating preference, for example, adolescents based their selection on physical appearance (best looking), whereas parents based their preference on academic performance (best student). The differences reflected in these preferences suggest that parents value that status (best student) which possesses the potential for future benefits - an instance of deferred gratification. Adolescents, on the other hand, prefer that status (physical appearance) which has meaning primarily in terms of short range goals, indicating that deferred gratification is not as highly valued in the adolescent subculture as in the adult culture.

The values revolving around the use of alcohol and drugs were largely negative both in the adult culture and the subculture. However, adolescent values, especially among the older teen-agers, were more disposed to the use of alcohol than adult values, which suggests that it is a part of the adolescent subculture. The data in Tables XIX and XXI suggest that drinking probably is structured primarily around group activities, and is more functional for older students than for younger ones.

On the whole, younger students were closer than older students to the value position of their parents. However, value congruence was greater between adolescents at the various levels than between parents and younger students, suggesting an orientation away from parental values as the adolescent becomes more involved in the adolescent subculture.

Although there was an appreciable trend away from parental values as the adolescent matured, he remained more oriented to parents than to peers.

Adolescents were more concerned about parental disapproval than about friends' disapproval. Older students, however, were somewhat more sensitive about parental disapproval than were younger students, indicating that in some respects they were slightly more oriented to parents than the younger students. The differences in parental orientation between younger and older adolescents may be attributed in part to parental initiative and influence rather than to differences in peer group attachment and influence. While there were no significant differences in peer group orientation (and, theoretically, no difference in peer influence) between younger and older adolescents, the frequency of parental discussions with older adolescents was significantly greater than with younger ones (see Table XXVI). These discussions apparently had some effect in positively influencing the perceptions of older adolescents, and suggest a progressive rapprochement between them and their parents.

In the status structure of the subculture, upward mobility was determined more by achieved than by ascribed characteristics. This suggests that honor, respect, rewards, and approval were given on the basis of achievement rather than on the basis of ascription. The prestige positions were achieved, not "inherited." Mobility determinants were such things as good grades, personality, and being a good athlete.

In the subculture, good grades appeared to be dominant over athletics and popularity. Comparison of the three statuses of scholar, athlete, and most popular student (see Table XXII) indicated that the scholar was much more visible than either the athlete or popular student. This suggests that scholarship commands a position of prestige and respect in the subculture of the school.

Comparison of adolescent males and females in terms of scholarship and popularity indicated that being a male was a factor in determining visibility in the subculture. Although males constituted a numerical minority, they tended to occupy a position of dominance in the status structure of the subculture. Based on theories of stratification, this indicates that males have greater access than females to the more prestigious offices and rewards of the school.

Summary of Hypothesis Testing

Adolescence is a transitional period between childhood and adulthood. During this period adolescents achieve varying degrees of independence from parents. A criterion of independence is freedom from parental controls and restrictions. Parents and their adolescent children did not agree on the amount of control parents should exercise over teen-agers. The differences between them were significant, with the adolescents advocating less control than parents. The older adolescents more closely agreed with their parents than younger adolescents. As indicated previously, a condition contributing to this discrepancy between the students was the frequency of discussions between parents and their teen-agers. The frequency of parental discussion with older adolescents was significantly greater than with younger adolescents. The effects of these discussions apparently had some influence on the acceptance of parental perspectives by older adolescents.

Parents who had favorable views toward the teen-ager advocated less parental control than parents with less favorable views. This suggests that parents with favorable attitudes feel that adolescents have internalized the norms necessary to predispose them to conform to parental

expectations. Parents with less favorable attitudes apparently rely more on parental interference into the affairs of teen-agers to control their behavior than upon the restraints of internalized norms.

It was hypothesized that teen-agers would have a more negative view of adults than parents believe they would have. Although adolescent perceptions of adults were significantly different from what parents attributed to them, the predicted direction was not confirmed. Parents believed that adolescent attitudes toward adults were more negative than was indicated by the responses of the teen-agers. Nevertheless, discrepancies between adolescent and parental attitudes exist. Perhaps parents should reevaluate their views of the adolescent with respect to impressions of adults and become less pessimistic of their opinions.

Although there were no significant differences between younger and older adolescent boys relative to their emphasis on athletics in the school, the differences between parents and adolescent boys of both age groups were significant. A substantial majority of parents wanted their adolescent child to concentrate on non-athletic related functions and events rather than athletics.

The differential emphasis between parents and teen-agers may be explained in terms of the functional nature of athletics in the subculture. Participation in athletics is conducive to status enhancement. The rewards for athletic prowess are immediate, and are visible to the members of the student body as well as to the adult community. Athletic events, therefore, are relevant in the adolescent subculture because they bring prestige, honor, and recognition to the athlete.

Conclusions

Although this research has certain implications for the existence of an adolescent subculture, its major purpose was neither to "prove" or "disprove" its existence. Rather, the research was designed to analyze and describe, within the framework of the concept of adolescent subculture, some of the variables of youth culture appearing in the structure of a small town high school. The results may be compared with previous research to illustrate relative stability and/or changes which may be taking place in the subculture.

One area of comparison is in the realm of athletics. Coleman found heavy emphasis on athletics in his research in Illinois schools in the latter 1950's. In fact, much of his analysis focused on athletics and athletic related functions and events in the schools. In some respects, the findings of this present research relative to athletics tend to parallel those of Coleman. But on the whole, adolescents in this research placed considerably less emphasis on athletics than adolescents in Coleman's study. Although it is difficult to generalize on the two studies because of the differences in geographical region, size, and structure of the schools and communities, it may be noted that athletics apparently do not fulfill the same functional requirements in a homogeneous setting as in one characterized by heterogeneity.

As Coleman indicated, athletics serve as a method for status enhancement and act as an integrating force in a heterogeneous environment.⁵ Although there are indications in this study that athletic participation is conducive to status mobility, the functional nature of athletics as an integrating force seems to be less universal than

Coleman indicated. Stability in a more homogeneous environment apparently is maintained by factors other than athletics.

In terms of parent-peer orientation, Coleman found a slightly stronger trend toward peers than toward parents. In this study, however, the adolescents were more parent than peer oriented. Since peer orientation is the central mechanism by which the adolescent realizes autonomy from parents, this suggests that adolescents in this study are not detached from parents. The implications of this are significant. It implies that the importance of the peer group in the adolescent subculture may have been exaggerated, and the many complaints about the peer group acting as a source of strain and conflict between parents and their adolescent children may be largely unjustified in certain social contexts. Relative to the conflict dimension of parent-youth relationships, Turner says:

Frequently youth are depicted as uniting largely for defense against the demands of their parents and teachers, youth subsociety constituting a coalition in a "cold war" against adult authority and projected adult ambition. But we suggest that the ... youth-adult-tension is more a consequence of youth subculture than its cause.⁶

Orientation toward parents rather than the peer group also implies that the family remains as the primary source of influence on adolescents. Although the values of teen-agers depart substantially from those of their parents in many respects, the overall value structure of parents apparently remains functional for adolescents.

Parental orientation versus peer orientation also has implications for future research. When compared with Coleman's emphasis on strong peer attachments, it implies that the adolescent subculture is not a homogeneous entity existing within clearly identifiable boundaries. Rather, it is characterized by heterogeneity, varying with the size of

the school, the geographical location of the community in which the school is situated, and the value climate of the community. Future research could focus on these heterogeneous variables as they apply to the adolescent subculture.

Parsons depicted the youth culture as being largely irresponsible, impulsive, and antiadult.⁷ This research does not support that conclusion. While there are significant departures in attitudes between parents and adolescents, teen-agers in this study do not hold antiadult views. In fact, their perceptions of adults were not as negative as their parents expected them to be (see Tables XXIX and XXX). Moreover, the older adolescents appeared to be somewhat closer to parental attitudes than younger adolescents. These are hardly the attitudes of a belligerent, arrogant, or antiadult youth. Rather, they seem to be more the attitudes of a group who desires to become more like adults and are striving to achieve that goal.

The results of this study suggest that the adolescent subculture is distinguishable from the larger adult culture. Yet, in many ways its characteristics closely resemble those of the larger culture. Its structure in many respects reflects the structure of the adult culture, suggesting that its boundaries tend to overlap those of the adult culture. As a result, substantial input flows into the system from the larger culture. This input accounts for those value continuities which are present between the two systems.

Discontinuities between the two appear to revolve around differences in perceived functional requisites within the subculture. Parents emphasized such things as academic achievement, the development of leadership potential, and the moral attributes of honesty and having

a good reputation as being functionally important for the development of their children during the adolescent years. Although adolescents recognize the importance of these characteristics, they tend to perceive such things as athletics, popularity, physical appearance, and personality as being of greater functional consequence than those attributes emphasized by parents.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study are related primarily to a lack of representativeness of the data and the nature of the data collected.

1. Since this study focused on students enrolled in a small high school, the data are not representative of all types of high schools. To make the study representative, it would have been necessary to include high schools ranging across a broad spectrum of sizes, from small rural schools, to middle size schools, to schools located in suburban and large metropolitan communities. Therefore, the generalizations drawn from this study apply to the school on which this research focused and to schools of similar size and structure.

2. Many of the questions asked of the respondents dealt with attitudes and opinions. The element of subjectivity, therefore, may have motivated the responses resulting in the possible distortion of "reality." Furthermore, on the basis of responses to questions dealing with attitudes, inferences were made involving the analysis of modes of behavior and the structure of values.

3. Most of the questions were structured, which had the effect of precluding "verbalized" responses which could have aided the analysis.

4. A combined response rate of 82 per cent was received from parents and adolescents. If research funds had been available, a higher return rate may have been obtained by utilizing additional follow-up inquiries. Also, personal interviews could have been conducted which would have eliminated some of the bias inherent in structured, self-administered questionnaires.

5. In a study of this scope and nature, it was not feasible to utilize all the data collected which applies to the adolescent subculture.

6. The findings and conclusions must be interpreted with the data limitations in mind.

FOOTNOTES

¹Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, "Television in the Lives of Our Children," in Derek L. Phillips (ed.), Studies in American Society (New York, 1965), p. 52.

²Ibid., p. 56.

³Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁴David Gottlieb and Charles E. Ramsey, The American Adolescent (Homewood, Ill., 1964), p. 114.

⁵James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Glenco, Ill., 1961), Ch. 2.

⁶Ralph H. Turner, "Youth Subculture," in Ronald M. Pavalko (ed.), Sociology of Education (Itasca, Ill., 1968), p. 470.

⁷Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), pp. 606-607.

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APPENDIX A

RANKING BY ITEM CONCERNING ATTITUDES

TOWARD WORK

TABLE XXXVII.

RANKING BY ITEM CONCERNING ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

Grade Rank	7-9		10-12		Parents %
	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	
Item 1. Having a Steady Job					
	(N=52)	(N=64)	(N=54)	(N=65)	(N=112)
1	30.8	31.3	46.3	47.6	37.5
2	19.2	18.8	11.1	12.3	27.7
3	25.0	28.1	12.9	18.5	21.4
4	13.5	10.9	20.4	15.4	8.9
5	<u>11.5</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Item 2. Opportunities for a Rapid Rise					
	(N=52)	(N=64)	(N=54)	(N=65)	(N=112)
1	1.9	3.1	0.0	1.5	0.9
2	15.4	4.7	14.8	1.5	8.9
3	13.7	12.5	18.5	15.4	17.9
4	28.9	34.4	29.6	32.3	42.8
5	<u>40.1</u>	<u>45.3</u>	<u>37.1</u>	<u>49.3</u>	<u>29.5</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Item 3. Enjoyment of the Work					
	(N=52)	(N=64)	(N=54)	(N=65)	(N=112)
1	34.6	37.4	29.6	27.7	51.7
2	15.4	18.8	20.4	38.4	28.6
3	13.5	15.6	22.2	15.4	11.6
4	17.3	14.1	9.3	15.4	6.3
5	<u>19.2</u>	<u>14.1</u>	<u>18.5</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>1.8</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

Grade Rank	7-9		10-12		Parents %
	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	
Item 4. Friendly People to Work With					
	(N=52)	(N=64)	(N=54)	(N=65)	(N=112)
1	13.5	14.1	9.3	16.4	6.3
2	36.5	39.0	20.4	35.3	25.9
3	25.0	25.0	38.8	33.9	42.8
4	19.2	18.8	20.4	6.2	13.4
5	<u>5.8</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>7.7</u>	<u>11.6</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Item 5. A High Salary					
	(N=52)	(N=64)	(N=54)	(N=65)	(N=112)
1	19.2	14.1	13.0	6.2	5.4
2	13.5	20.3	33.3	12.3	8.9
3	23.1	17.2	7.4	16.9	7.1
4	21.1	21.9	20.4	30.8	28.6
5	<u>23.1</u>	<u>26.5</u>	<u>25.9</u>	<u>33.8</u>	<u>50.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX B

RANKING BY ITEM RELATIVE TO WHAT IT
TAKES TO BECOME IMPORTANT

TABLE XXXVIII

RANKING BY ITEM RELATIVE TO WHAT IT TAKES TO BECOME IMPORTANT

Grade Rank	<u>7-9</u>		<u>10-12</u>	
	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %
Item 1. Coming From the Right Family				
	(N=59)	(N=63)	(N=53)	(N=65)
1	11.8	15.9	11.3	10.8
2	10.2	20.6	10.8	18.5
3	11.9	15.9	8.0	9.2
4	17.0	11.1	7.6	7.7
5	20.3	15.9	24.5	16.9
6	20.3	9.5	17.0	15.4
7	<u>8.5</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>20.8</u>	<u>21.5</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Item 2. Leader in Activities				
	(N=59)	(N=63)	(N=53)	(N=65)
1	1.7	1.6	9.4	9.2
2	17.0	12.7	13.2	16.9
3	30.3	27.0	30.2	21.5
4	17.0	23.8	26.4	23.2
5	10.2	14.3	5.7	16.9
6	15.3	11.1	11.3	9.2
7	<u>8.5</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXXVIII (Continued)

Grade	<u>7-9</u>		<u>10-12</u>	
Rank	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %
Item 3. Having a Nice Car				
	(N=59)	(N=63)	(N=53)	(N=65)
1	5.1	0.0	7.6	3.1
2	10.2	0.0	9.4	3.1
3	8.5	7.9	3.8	7.7
4	20.6	4.8	15.1	12.3
5	5.1	12.7	24.5	9.2
6	11.9	27.0	18.9	32.3
7	<u>38.6</u>	<u>47.6</u>	<u>20.8</u>	<u>32.3</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Item 4. High Grades, Honor Roll				
	(N=59)	(N=63)	(N=53)	(N=65)
1	8.5	12.6	7.6	3.2
2	17.0	31.8	18.9	18.5
3	20.3	31.8	24.5	24.5
4	15.3	9.5	7.5	13.9
5	8.5	1.6	9.4	21.4
6	18.5	11.1	11.3	6.2
7	<u>11.9</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>20.8</u>	<u>12.3</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Item 5. Being an Athletic Star				
	(N=59)	(N=63)	(N=53)	(N=65)
1	20.3	3.2	7.6	3.2
2	27.0	7.9	24.5	9.2
3	8.5	4.8	18.9	21.5
4	17.0	33.3	18.9	33.8
5	17.0	28.6	15.1	13.8
6	6.8	20.6	7.6	12.3
7	<u>3.4</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>6.2</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXXVIII (Continued)

Grade Rank	<u>7-9</u>		<u>10-12</u>	
	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %
Item 6. Being in the Leading Crowd				
	(N=59)	(N=63)	(N=53)	(N=65)
1	22.2	15.9	24.6	29.3
2	8.5	12.7	15.1	13.8
3	13.3	7.9	11.3	9.2
4	5.1	14.3	11.3	7.7
5	22.0	14.3	9.4	12.3
6	17.0	15.9	17.0	15.4
7	<u>11.9</u>	<u>19.0</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>12.3</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Item 7. Being Honest				
	(N=59)	(N=63)	(N=53)	(N=65)
1	32.0	52.3	30.1	41.5
2	11.9	15.9	13.2	20.0
3	10.2	4.8	5.7	7.7
4	6.8	1.6	5.7	3.1
5	17.0	11.1	11.3	9.2
6	8.5	4.8	17.0	7.7
7	<u>13.6</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>17.0</u>	<u>10.8</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO STUDENTS ENROLLED
IN GRADES 7-12 IN A SMALL TOWN HIGH SCHOOL

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

As a student, you are concerned with the effects of the school on you and your friends and fellow students. Your parents are interested in the school also. The following questions seek to determine some of your ideas about your school and the part it plays in your life as a young person. This information will be used by a researcher from the Oklahoma State University in a way that will be helpful to educators and students in knowing more about their schools.

Please answer each question as accurately and as promptly as possible. Do not spend too much time on one question. If for some reason you are unable to answer a question, move on to the next one. The answers you give will be used only for the purpose of research and will not be connected with your name in any way.

Thank you for your cooperation in this research.

Name (Please print) _____

- | | First | Last |
|---|--|--|
| 1. What is your sex? | 1 ___ male | 2 ___ female |
| 2. What is your age? (Nearest birthday) Circle the correct number: | 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 | |
| 3. What grade are you in at school? (Circle the correct number) | 7 8 9 10 11 12 | |
| 4. How many brothers and sisters do you have? (Circle the correct number): | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 or more | |
| 5. What is the position of your birth in relation to your brothers and sisters? (Answers are to the right of the blanks) | | |
| | 1 ___ only child | 3 ___ second |
| | 2 ___ first | 4 ___ third |
| | | 5 ___ fourth |
| | | 6 ___ fifth |
| | | 7 ___ sixth |
| | | 8 ___ seventh |
| | | 9 ___ eighth |
| 6. How many years of schooling did your parents have? (Put an X in the proper blank for your father's education; put a 0 in the proper blank for your mother's education) | | |
| | 1 ___ eighth grade or less | 4 ___ some college, but did not finish |
| | 2 ___ some high school, but did not finish | 5 ___ college graduate |
| | 3 ___ high school graduate | |

- 6 ___ post graduate or professional training after college. (Such as law or medical school.
- 7 ___ Did not attend college, but attended trade school or business college. Please specify.

7. With whom do you now live?

- 1 ___ both real parents
 2 ___ mother only
 3 ___ father only
 4 ___ real father and stepmother
- 5 ___ real mother and stepfather
 6 ___ both adopted or foster parents
 7 ___ other than the above
 Who? _____

8. Which of the following categories comes closest to your father's occupation? If your father is retired, deceased, or unemployed, indicate his former or customary occupation. (Mark only one)

- 1 ___ unskilled worker, laborer, farm hand
 2 ___ semiskilled worker (machine operator, roustabout, truck driver)
 3 ___ skilled worker (carpenter, plumber, electrician, etc.)
 4 ___ service worker (policeman, barber, postman, etc.)
 5 ___ salesman, bookkeeper, secretary, office worker, clerk in a store
- 6 ___ owner, manager, partner of a business
 7 ___ professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer, etc.)
 8 ___ minister
 9 ___ farmer (check one)
 ___ owner or manager (5)
 ___ renter (3)
 ___ operates for share (1)
 ___ farm hand (1)
 10 ___ his job is not like any of these. It is _____

9. Does your mother work? 1 ___ yes 2 ___ no

If yes, describe her job _____

10. On the average, how often do you attend church services and activities?

- 1 ___ less than once per month
 2 ___ once per month
 3 ___ twice per month
- 4 ___ three times per month
 5 ___ four times per month
 6 ___ over four times per month

11. In general, how are decisions made between you and your father and mother? (Put an X in the correct blank for your father and a 0 for your mother)

- 1 ___ my parents just tell me what to do
 2 ___ they listen to me, but make the decisions themselves
 3 ___ I have considerable opportunity to make my own decisions, but they have the final word
- 4 ___ my opinions are as important as theirs in deciding what I should do
 5 ___ I can make my own decisions, but they would like me to consider their opinion
 6 ___ I can do what I want regardless of what they think
 7 ___ they don't care what I do

12. How well do you get along with your father and mother?

Father

Mother

1 ___ don't get along at all

1 ___ don't get along at all

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 2 ___ not very well | 2 ___ not very well |
| 3 ___ fairly well | 3 ___ fairly well |
| 4 ___ very well | 4 ___ very well |

14. Do you feel that your parents are often hostile to you?

Father

Mother

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 ___ very often | 1 ___ very often |
| 2 ___ often | 2 ___ often |
| 3 ___ not very often | 3 ___ not very often |
| 4 ___ never or almost never | 4 ___ never or almost never |

15. Do your parents often discuss things with you?

Father

Mother

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 ___ never or almost never | 1 ___ never or almost never |
| 2 ___ not very often | 2 ___ not very often |
| 3 ___ often | 3 ___ often |
| 4 ___ very often | 4 ___ very often |

16. Do you often discuss things with your parents?

Father

Mother

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 ___ never or almost never | 1 ___ never or almost never |
| 2 ___ not very often | 2 ___ not very often |
| 3 ___ often | 3 ___ often |
| 4 ___ very often | 4 ___ very often |

17. How well do you trust your parents?

Father

Mother

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 ___ don't trust him at all | 1 ___ don't trust her at all |
| 2 ___ not very well | 2 ___ not very well |
| 3 ___ fairly well | 3 ___ fairly well |
| 4 ___ very well | 4 ___ very well |

18. How well do your parents trust you?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 ___ doesn't trust me at all | 1 ___ doesn't trust me at all |
| 2 ___ not very well | 2 ___ not very well |
| 3 ___ fairly well | 3 ___ fairly well |
| 4 ___ very well | 4 ___ very well |

19. To what extent can you count on your parents when you get in trouble?

Father

Mother

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 ___ can never or almost never count on him | 1 ___ can never or almost never count on her |
| 2 ___ cannot usually count on him | 2 ___ cannot usually count on her |
| 3 ___ can usually count on him | 3 ___ can usually count on her |
| 4 ___ can always count on him | 4 ___ can always count on her |

20. Do you often feel excluded from adult activities that may be helpful to you?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 ___ never or almost never | 3 ___ undecided | 5 ___ very often |
| 2 ___ not very often | 4 ___ often | |

21. Do you often feel that the adult world seems like a door slamming shut in your face?
 1 ___ never or almost never 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ very often
 2 ___ not very often 4 ___ often
22. Do you often feel that you are disregarded by adults?
 1 ___ never or almost never 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ very often
 2 ___ not very often 4 ___ often
23. Do you feel that the adult world is worth growing up into?
 1 ___ very definitely yes 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ very definitely no
 2 ___ definitely yes 4 ___ definitely no
24. For the most part, adults are dishonest.
 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
 2 ___ disagree 4 ___ agree
25. Do you smoke? 1 ___ yes, regularly 2 ___ yes, occasionally 3 ___ no
26. People your own age should be allowed to drink beer.
 1 ___ strongly agree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly disagree
 2 ___ agree 4 ___ disagree
27. People your own age should be allowed to drink liquor.
 1 ___ strongly agree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly disagree
 2 ___ agree 4 ___ disagree
28. People your own age should be allowed to use addictive drugs.
 1 ___ strongly agree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly disagree
 2 ___ agree 4 ___ disagree
29. Among the items below, what does it take to get to be important and looked up to by the other students here at school? (Rank the items from 1 to 7. That is, put 1 in the blank by the answer you consider to be the most important; 2 in the next important, etc.)
 1 ___ coming from the right family 5 ___ being an athletic star
 2 ___ leader in activities 6 ___ being in the leading crowd
 3 ___ having a nice car 7 ___ being honest
 4 ___ high grades, honor roll
30. If you could be remembered here at school for one of the four things below, which one would you want it to be?
 1 ___ brilliant student 3 ___ leader in activities
 2 ___ athletic star 4 ___ most popular
31. If you could receive a scholarship which would pay the expenses of your college education, which type would you prefer it should be?
 1 ___ academic scholarship based on superior high school grades
 2 ___ athletic scholarship based on athletic ability
 3 ___ scholarship based on leadership ability
32. If you could be any of these things you wanted, which one would you want to be?

(Boys answer these)

(Girls answer these)

- 1 ___ jet pilot
- 2 ___ nationally famous athlete
- 3 ___ missionary
- 4 ___ space scientist
- 5 ___ school teacher

- 1 ___ actress or artist
- 2 ___ nurse
- 3 ___ model
- 4 ___ airline stewardess
- 5 ___ school teacher

33. Different people strive for different things. Here are some things that you have probably thought about. Among the things you strive for during your high school days, just how important is each of these? (Rank from 1 to 4. Put 1 for the most important; 2 for the next most important, etc.)

- 1 ___ pleasing my parents
- 2 ___ learning as much as possible in school

- 3 ___ living up to my religious ideals
- 4 ___ being accepted and liked by other students

34. Now rank from 1 to 4 the following items in terms of their importance to you.

- 1 ___ groups and activities outside school
- 2 ___ having a good time

- 1 ___ groups associated with school
- 4 ___ a good reputation

35. Which one of these things would be hardest for you to take-- parents' disapproval, your favorite teacher's disapproval, your friends' disapproval?

- 1 ___ parents' disapproval
- 2 ___ teacher's disapproval

- 3 ___ friends' disapproval

36. A lot of times people make plans and then find that the plans cut into something else. Suppose your family had planned a trip to the West for a vacation in the summer. If you go along with them, it means you can't go camping with your friends, as you've been planning to do. What do you think you would do?

- 1 ___ go West with parents

- 2 ___ go camping with friends

37. Suppose school was dismissed an hour early one day for a pep rally down at the athletic field, and the principal urged everyone to go to the rally, although it wasn't compulsory. On the way, some of your friends asked you to go riding instead of to the pep rally. What do you think you would do?

- 1 ___ definitely go to the rally
- 2 ___ probably go to the rally

- 3 ___ probably go with friends
- 4 ___ definitely go with friends

38. Let's say that you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school, and then finally you were asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of the group. What do you think you would do?

- 1 ___ definitely not join
- 2 ___ probably not join

- 3 ___ probably join
- 4 ___ definitely join anyway

39. But what if your parents approved of the group, but by joining the club you would break with your closest friend, who wasn't asked to join. What do you think you would do?

- 1 ___ definitely join anyway 3 ___ probably not join
2 ___ probably join 4 ___ definitely not join
40. A person your own age should be allowed to spend money as he wishes without interference from parents.
- 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
2 ___ disagree 4 ___ agree
41. For a person of your own age, parents should set the time that he or she should be in at night from a date.
- 1 ___ strongly agree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly disagree
2 ___ agree 4 ___ disagree
42. Parents should tell a person your own age where he or she can and cannot go.
- 1 ___ strongly agree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly disagree
2 ___ agree 4 ___ disagree
43. A person your own age should be allowed to date whomever he or she wishes without interference from parents.
- 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
2 ___ disagree 4 ___ agree
44. You should be allowed to be away from home at night without having to tell your parents about your plans for the evening.
- 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
2 ___ disagree 4 ___ agree
45. Who is the most brilliant male student in your class? (Give his first and last name) _____
46. Who is the most brilliant female student in your class? (Give her first and last name) _____
47. Who is the best athlete in your class? (Give his first and last name) _____
48. Who is the best athlete in this school? (Give his first and last name) _____
49. Who is the most brilliant male student in this school? (Give his first and last name) _____
50. Who is the most brilliant female student in this school? (Give her first and last name) _____
51. Who is the most popular male student in this school? (Give his first and last name) _____
52. Who is the most popular female student in this school? (Give her first and last name) _____
53. What three persons in this school would you most like to be in an activities club with? (Give their first and last names)
- 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

54. What three persons in this school would you most like to sit next to in the classroom? (Give their first and last names)

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

55. Who are your three best friends in this school? (Give their first and last names)

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

56. Do you date?

1 ___ no
 2 ___ yes, about once a month
 3 ___ yes, about once every two or three weeks
 4 ___ yes, about once a week
 5 ___ yes, about twice a week
 6 ___ yes, about three or four times a week
 7 ___ yes, more than four times a week

57. What person in this school would you most like to date? (Give his or her first and last name) _____

58. Suppose you had a chance to go out with either a star athlete, or the best student in school, or the best looking person in school, or the best dressed person in school. Which one would you rather go out with?

1 ___ star athlete 2 ___ best student 3 ___ best looking 4 ___ best dressed

59. Check below the characteristics of persons considered to be important in this school.

1 ___ is popular, well liked
 2 ___ works hard
 3 ___ star athlete
 4 ___ has high grades
 5 ___ is friendly
 6 ___ who he or she is
 7 ___ in with the right people
 8 ___ pushes himself or herself into important positions
 9 ___ good personality

60. What does it take to get into the leading crowd in this school?
- _____
- _____

61. A situation like this might face anyone sooner or later. Suppose your parents planned a special trip to New York to celebrate their wedding anniversary, and they wanted to take the whole family along. But then it happens that this year your basketball team gets to the state tournament. The state finals are the very same weekend that your family is going to New York. Your parents can't change their plans, and they leave it up to you to decide to go with them or to go to the tournament. Which do you think you would do?

1 ___ go with parents 2 ___ go to the tournament

62. Among the crowd you go around with, which of the things below are important in order to be popular in the group? (Check as many as apply)

1 ___ be a good dancer
 2 ___ have sharp clothes
 3 ___ have a good reputation
 4 ___ stirring up a little excitement
 7 ___ know how to dress properly
 8 ___ know what's going on in the world of popular singers and movie stars

- 5 ___ have money
6 ___ smoking
- 9 ___ know about cars
10 ___ being honest
11 ___ drinking

63. Circle below the grade nearest your average for the last two semesters:

A A- B+ B B- C+ C C- D F

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

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 ___ time for being in at night and on weekends | 6 ___ against going around with certain boys |
| 2 ___ amount of dating | 7 ___ against going around with certain girls |
| 3 ___ time spent watching TV | 8 ___ eating evening meal with the family |
| 4 ___ time spent on homework | 9 ___ no rules for any of the above |
| 5 ___ when and how often I drive the family car | |

65. Rank from 1 to 5 the five items below in terms of their importance to you if you were working on a job.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1 ___ having a steady job | 4 ___ friendly people to work with |
| 2 ___ opportunities for a rapid rise | 5 ___ a high salary |
| 3 ___ the enjoyment of the work itself | |

66. Please indicate total family income by the year (column 1) or by the month (column 2) or by the week (column 3).

Yearly Income	Monthly Income	Weekly Income
1 ___ less than \$1,000	1 ___ less than \$80	1 ___ less than \$20
2 ___ \$1,000 to \$1,999	2 ___ \$80 to \$165	2 ___ \$20 to \$40
3 ___ \$2,000 to \$3,999	3 ___ \$166 to \$330	3 ___ \$41 to \$80
4 ___ \$4,000 to \$5,999	4 ___ \$331 to \$499	4 ___ \$81 to \$124
5 ___ \$6,000 to \$7,999	5 ___ \$500 to \$665	5 ___ \$125 to \$165
6 ___ \$8,000 to \$10,999	6 ___ \$666 to \$915	6 ___ \$166 to \$230
7 ___ \$11,000 to \$15,000	7 ___ \$916 to \$1250	7 ___ \$231 to \$310
8 ___ over \$15,000	8 ___ over \$1250	8 ___ over \$310

67. What is your favorite way of spending your leisure time?

68. How much time do you spend studying and doing your homework outside school?

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 ___ none, or almost none | 5 ___ about 1½ hours a day |
| 2 ___ less than ½ hour a day | 6 ___ about 2 hours a day |
| 3 ___ about ½ hour a day | 7 ___ three or more hours a day |
| 4 ___ about 1 hour a day | |

69. About how much time do you spend watching TV on a weekday, including weekday evenings?

1 none, or almost none

2 about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour a day

3 about 1 hour a day

4 about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day

5 about 2 hours a day

6 about 3 hours a day

7 four or more hours a day

APPENDIX D

A LETTER SENT TO PARENTS ALONG WITH A QUESTIONNAIRE

**OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY • STILLWATER**Department of Sociology
(405) 372-6211, Exts. 7020, 7021

74074

May 8, 1970

Dear Parents:

As you are well aware, our high schools play a very important part in the lives of our children. It is during the high school years that youth form many ideas which will remain with them throughout life. As a modern American parent, your ideas and attitudes about the high school education of your children are very important.

I am writing to ask for your help and cooperation in a study I am conducting concerning high school age youth. I have taught in high schools and at the college level for several years. Consequently, I am familiar with the many important roles the high school plays in the lives of you and your children. At the present time, I am a Graduate Associate in the Department of Sociology at Oklahoma State University. The study I am doing seeks to determine what parents of teen-agers think about the high school and the education their children are getting.

Enclosed is a questionnaire which will take about 10 to 15 minutes for you to complete. You will note that I do not ask for your name on the questionnaire. The information you give will be analyzed by no one other than myself.

Please take just a few minutes to fill out the questions and return the questionnaire to me in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Thank you for your assistance in this research.

Very sincerely,

Carl R. Redden
Graduate Associate
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma State University

APPENDIX E

PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE

PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Directions for Filling out This Questionnaire:

This questionnaire is very easy to fill out. You should be able to complete it in about 10 to 15 minutes. Most of the questions have alternate responses and can be answered simply by marking an X in the blank by the statement you choose for your answer. There are no right or wrong answers. Here is a sample question and how it may be answered:

How do you feel about the quality of education your teenager is getting?

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> very satisfied | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> not very satisfied |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> fairly satisfied | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> very unsatisfied |

If your answer, for example is "very satisfied," you would mark X in the blank number 1 by the statement "very satisfied." A few of the questions require answers to be ranked. Directions for these will be given when those particular questions are reached in the questionnaire.

Please read the questions carefully and mark them as accurately and as promptly as possible.

Thank you for your assistance in this study.

1. How do you feel about the progress your child is making in his or her studies in school?

1 <input type="checkbox"/> very satisfied	3 <input type="checkbox"/> not very satisfied
2 <input type="checkbox"/> fairly satisfied	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very unsatisfied

2. How do you feel your child is getting along in other activities in school?

1 <input type="checkbox"/> very satisfied	3 <input type="checkbox"/> not very satisfied
2 <input type="checkbox"/> fairly satisfied	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very unsatisfied

3. How do you feel about the friends that your child has made in high school?

1 <input type="checkbox"/> very satisfied	3 <input type="checkbox"/> not very satisfied
2 <input type="checkbox"/> fairly satisfied	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very unsatisfied

4. Of the following, which one would you rather see your child concentrate on in school?

1 <input type="checkbox"/> studies in school	3 <input type="checkbox"/> clubs and activities
2 <input type="checkbox"/> athletics in school	4 <input type="checkbox"/> things outside school

5. Among the things teen-agers strive for during their high school days, just how important do you think each of these should be? (Rank from 1 to 4. That is, put 1 in the blank by the answer you consider most important; 2 in the next most important, etc.)
- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 ___ pleasing their parents | 3 ___ living up to their religious |
| 2 ___ learning as much as possible
in school | 4 ___ being accepted and liked by
other students |
6. Now rank from 1 to 4 the following items according to how important you think each of them should be for a teen-ager.
- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 ___ groups and activities out-
side school | 3 ___ activities associated with
school |
| 2 ___ having a good time | 4 ___ a good reputation |
7. If your teen-ager could be outstanding in high school in one of the four things listed below, which one would you want it to be?
- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 ___ brilliant student | 3 ___ leader in activities |
| 2 ___ athletic star | 4 ___ most popular |
8. If your child could be any one of these things he or she wanted, which one would you want him or her to be?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Answer these for boys | Answer these for girls |
| 1 ___ jet pilot | 1 ___ actress or artist |
| 2 ___ nationally famous athlete | 2 ___ nurse |
| 3 ___ space scientist | 3 ___ model |
| 4 ___ missionary | 4 ___ airline stewardess |
| 5 ___ school teacher | 5 ___ school teacher |
9. How do you feel about teen-agers drinking beer?
- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 ___ strongly approve | 3 ___ undecided | 5 ___ strongly disapprove |
| 2 ___ approve | 4 ___ disapprove | |
10. How do you feel about teen-agers drinking liquor?
- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 ___ strongly approve | 3 ___ undecided | 5 ___ strongly disapprove |
| 2 ___ approve | 4 ___ disapprove | |
11. How do you feel about teen-agers using addictive drugs?
- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 1 ___ strongly approve | 3 ___ undecided | 5 ___ strongly approve |
| 2 ___ approve | 4 ___ disapprove | |
12. Among the crowd your teen-ager goes around with, what are the things which are important to do in order to be popular? (Check as many as apply)
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 ___ be a good dancer | 7 ___ know how to dress properly |
| 2 ___ have sharp clothes | 8 ___ know what's going on in the
world of popular singers and
movie stars |
| 3 ___ have a good reputation | |
| 4 ___ stirring up a little
excitement | 9 ___ know about cars |
| 5 ___ have money | 10 ___ being honest |
| 6 ___ smoking | 11 ___ drinking |

13. Are there any of these things that you wish they wouldn't emphasize so much? If so, please circle below the numbers referring to those items.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11

14. Check below the rules which you make for your teen-age child.

1 ___ time for being in at night and on weekends	6 ___ against going around with certain boys
2 ___ amount of dating	7 ___ against going around with certain girls
3 ___ against going steady	8 ___ eating evening meal with the family
4 ___ time spent on homework	9 ___ no rules for any of the above
5 ___ when and how often your child can drive the family car	

15. Rank the five items below in terms of their importance to you in a job. (Rank from 1 to 5. Put 1 in the blank by the statement you consider to be most important; 2 for the next most important, etc.)

1 ___ the security of steady work	3 ___ the enjoyment of the work itself
2 ___ the opportunity for a rapid rise	4 ___ friendly people to work with
	5 ___ a high salary

16. About how much time on the average do you spend watching TV on a weekday?

1 ___ none or almost none	5 ___ about 2 hours a day
2 ___ about ½ hour a day	6 ___ about 3 hours a day
3 ___ about 1 hour a day	7 ___ four or more hours a day
4 ___ about 1½ hours a day	

17. On the average, how often do you attend church services and activities?

1 ___ less than once per month	4 ___ three times per month
2 ___ once per month	5 ___ four times per month
3 ___ twice per month	6 ___ over four times per month

18. If your teen-ager could receive a scholarship that would pay the expenses of a college education, which type would you prefer it should be?

1 ___ academic scholarship based on superior high school grades
 2 ___ athletic scholarship based on athletic ability
 3 ___ scholarship based on leadership ability

19. In general, how are decisions made between you and your teen-age child?

1 ___ I just tell my child what to do	5 ___ my child can make his or her own decisions, but I would like my opinions to be considered
2 ___ I listen to my child, but make the decisions myself	6 ___ my child does what he or she wants regardless of what I think
3 ___ I give my child considerable opportunity to make his or her own decisions, but I have the final word	7 ___ I don't care what my child does

- 2 ___ semiskilled worker (machine operator, roustabout, truck driver, etc.)
- 3 ___ skilled worker (carpenter, plumber, electrician, etc.)
- 4 ___ service worker (policeman, barber, postman, etc.)
- 5 ___ salesman, bookkeeper, secretary, office worker, clerk in a store
- 7 ___ professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer, etc.)
- 8 ___ minister
- 9 ___ farmer (check one)
 ___ owner or manager (5)
 ___ renter (3)
 ___ operates for share (1)
 ___ farm hand (1)
- 10 ___ his job is not like any of these. It is _____
28. Does the wife work? 1 ___ yes ___ no
 If yes, please describe her job _____
29. How many years of schooling did you have? (Please put an X in the proper blank for the husband's education; put a 0 in the proper blank for the wife's education)
- 1 ___ eighth grade or less
- 2 ___ some high school, but did not finish
- 3 ___ high school graduate
- 4 ___ some college, but did not finish
- 5 ___ college graduate
- 6 ___ post graduate or professional training after college. (Such as law or medical school)
- 7 ___ did not attend college, but did attend trade school or business college. Please specify. _____
30. How old is your teen-ager? (Nearest birthday) Circle the correct number.
- 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
31. What grade is he or she in? (Circle the correct number)
- 7 8 9 10 11 12
32. What is the sex of your teen-ager? 1 ___ male 2 ___ female
33. As parents, how well do you get along with your teen-age child?
- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Father | Mother |
| 1 ___ don't get along at all | 1 ___ don't get along at all |
| 2 ___ not very well | 2 ___ not very well |
| 3 ___ fairly well | 3 ___ fairly well |
| 4 ___ very well | 4 ___ very well |
34. The general conduct of teen-agers of today is worse than when you were a teen-ager.
- 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
- 2 ___ disagree 4 ___ agree
35. Teen-agers of today are just as trustworthy as were teen-agers when you were growing up.
- 1 ___ strongly agree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly disagree
- 2 ___ agree
36. Teen-agers of today are not as considerate of adults as were teen-agers when you were growing up.
- 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
- 2 ___ disagree

37. In the area of sex behavior, teen-age morals of today are much lower than teen-age morals when you were growing up.
- 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
2 ___ disagree 4 ___ agree
38. Knowing what you do about teen-agers, this world would be in a sorry mess if teen-agers were allowed to run it.
- 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
2 ___ disagree 4 ___ agree
39. Do teen-agers often feel excluded from adult activities that may be helpful to them?"
- 1 ___ never or almost never 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ very often
2 ___ not very often 4 ___ often
40. From your knowledge about teen-agers, do you think they often feel that the adult world is like a door slamming shut in their face?
- 1 ___ never or almost never 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ very often
2 ___ not very often 4 ___ often
41. Do teen-agers often feel that they are disregarded by adults?
- 1 ___ never or almost never 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ very often
2 ___ not very often 4 ___ often
42. Do teen-agers feel that the adult world is worth growing up into?
- 1 ___ very definitely yes 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ very definitely no
2 ___ definitely yes 4 ___ definitely no
43. Teen-agers feel that for the most part adults are dishonest.
- 1 ___ strongly disagree 3 ___ undecided 5 ___ strongly agree
2 ___ disagree 4 ___ agree
44. How well do you feel that you understand your teen-age child?
- 1 ___ don't understand him or her at all 3 ___ fairly well
2 ___ not very well 4 ___ very well
45. Please indicate your total family income either by year (column 1) or by month (column 2) or by week (column 3).
- | Yearly Income | Monthly Income | Weekly Income |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 ___ less than \$1,000 | 1 ___ less than \$80 | 1 ___ less than \$20 |
| 2 ___ \$1,000 to \$1,999 | 2 ___ \$80 to \$165 | 2 ___ \$20 to \$40 |
| 3 ___ \$2,000 to \$3,999 | 3 ___ \$166 to \$330 | 3 ___ \$41 to \$80 |
| 4 ___ \$4,000 to \$5,999 | 4 ___ \$331 to \$499 | 4 ___ \$81 to \$124 |
| 5 ___ \$6,000 to \$7,999 | 5 ___ \$500 to \$665 | 5 ___ \$125 to \$165 |
| 6 ___ \$8,000 to \$10,999 | 6 ___ \$666 to \$915 | 6 ___ \$166 to \$230 |
| 7 ___ \$11,000 to \$15,000 | 7 ___ \$916 to \$1250 | 7 ___ over \$310 |
46. Please indicate in the proper blank below who filled out this questionnaire
- 1 ___ husband 2 ___ wife 3 ___ both together

Thank you again for your cooperation in this research.

APPENDIX F

A FOLLOW-UP LETTER SENT TO THOSE PARENTS WHO DID NOT RETURN THE
QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE FIRST REQUEST

**OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY • STILLWATER**Department of Sociology
(405) 372-6211, Exts. 7020, 7021

74074

May 22, 1970

Dear Parents:

A few weeks ago I mailed you a questionnaire which asked for your opinion about some very important things relating to high schools and teen-agers. Since I have not received your reply, this is a second request for your much needed help. I again enclose the questionnaire and a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Please take just a few minutes of your time to fill out the questionnaire and return it to me at no expense to you.

The importance of the information you give lies in the fact that it will contribute to a better understanding of our high schools and the part they play in educating our children. I am sure you will agree that our children are our most important asset. To neglect them would be a tragic mistake. Therefore, as a responsible parent and citizen of your community, your opinions are exceptionally important to the basic aim of this study.

You will note that I do not ask for your name on the questionnaire. Therefore, the information you give will in no way be connected with your name or the name of any member of your family. No one other than myself will see the questionnaire when you return it.

May I again please urge you to fill out the questionnaire and return it to me. So that it may not slip your mind, it may be helpful to take about 10 or 15 minutes to fill out the questionnaire soon after you receive it in the mail.

Thank you again for your assistance in this research.

Very sincerely,

Handwritten signature of Carl R. Redden.

Carl R. Redden
Graduate Associate
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma State University

APPENDIX G

A FOLLOW-UP LETTER SENT TO THOSE PARENTS WHO DID NOT
RESPOND TO EITHER THE FIRST OR SECOND REQUEST

**OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY • STILLWATER**Department of Sociology
(405) 372-6211, Exts. 7020, 7021

74074

June 12, 1970

Dear Parents:

In two previous letters, I mailed you questionnaires which asked for your opinion about some important issues relating to high schools and teen-age life. Since I have not received your reply to either of the two previous questionnaires, this is a third request for your assistance and cooperation. Enclosed is the questionnaire and a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Please take just a few minutes of your valuable time to fill out the questionnaire and return it to me.

Again I emphasize that the importance of the information you give lies in the fact that it will help parents and educators, as well as young people themselves, better understand our high schools and the contributions they make to our community and to the intellectual growth of our young people. Since I am unable to discuss these important issues with you personally, the only feasible alternative is to "talk" with you through the mail.

May I, therefore, ask you again to please fill out the questionnaire and return it to me at your earliest opportunity. I cannot emphasize too strongly that the information you can give is urgently needed for this research study.

Thank you again for your assistance in this research.

Very sincerely,

Carl R. Redden
Graduate Associate
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma State University

APPENDIX H

FORTRAN PROGRAM CHI SQUARE

PROGRAM CHI SQUARE

```

C PROGRAM CHI SQUARE CARL REDDEN
  DIMENSION O(10,10),R(10),S(128),P(107),X(28,17)
  TS=(1./2.)/3.
  TU=.5
C KR CORRECTS FOR OLDER AND YOUNGER STUDENT
  DO 2 I=1,28
  DO 2 J=1,17
  2 X(I,J)=0.
  DO 25 I=1,259
  READ (5,6)(S(J),J=1,56),PN,(S(J),J=57,128)
  6 FORMAT (F1.0,F3.0,2F1.0,2F2.0,50F1.0,17X,F3.0/
  1F1.0,F3.0,15F1.0,8F3.0,F1.0,F3.0,12F1.0/
  2F1.0,F3.0,12F1.0,F2.0,18F1.0)
  IF ((S(3)/S(59))/S(98).NE.TS) GO TO 200
  IF ((PN.LT.1.).OR.S(6).EQ.0.) GO TO 25
  LN=(-3)
  KR=S(6)/10.
  IF(S(4).NE.1.) GC TO 9
  DO 10 JJ=49,52
  J=JJ
  IF (J.EQ.52) J=JJ+32
  LN=LN+4
  L=LN+KR*2
  K=S(J)
  IF(K.EQ.0) GO TO 10
  X(L,K)=X(L,K)+1.
10 CCNTINUE
  GO TO 11
  9 LN=LN+16
11 DO 12 J=15,18
  IF(J.EQ.16) GO TO 12
  LN=LN+4
  L=LN+KR*2
  K=S(J)
  X(L,K)=X(L,K)+1.
12 CCNTINUE
25 CCNTINUE
  DO 50 I=1,128
  READ(5,26) P
  26 FORMAT (F1.0,F3.0,58F1.0/F1.0,F3.0,27F1.0,
  12F2.0,16F1.0)
  IF(P(3)/P(63).NE.0.5) GO TO 205
  IF(S(91).EQ.0.) GC TO 50
  LN=(-2)
  KR=P(91)/10.
  J=0
  IF(P(92).NE.1.) J=4
  IF(P(92).NE.1.) GO TO 35
  M=16
  GO TO 42
29 M=71
  GO TO 42
30 M=17
  GO TO 42
31 M=73
  GO TO 42
35 M=72
  GO TO 44
36 M=93

```

```

GO TO 44
37 M=94
GO TO 44
42 LN=LN+4
GO TO 46
44 IF((P(92).NE.1.) .AND. M.EQ.72) LN=LN+16
45 LN=LN+4
46 L=LN+KR*2
K=P(M)
IF(K.EQ.0.) GO TO 48
X(L,K)=X(L,K)+1.
48 CCNTINLE
J=J+1
GO TO (29,30,31,35,36,37,49),J
49 CONTINUE
50 CCNTINLE
DO 57 I=1,27,2
DO 52 J=1,7
IF(X(I,J)*X(I+1,J).NE.0.) IC=J
IF(J.GT.IC) GO TO 53
52 CCNTINLE
53 CCNTINLE
DO 55 J=1,2
I2=I+J/2
DO 55 K=1,IC
O(J,K)=X(I2,K)
55 IF(I.EQ.13) O(J,K)=X(I2,K+1)
IF(I.EQ.13) IC=IC-1
N=I2/2
CALL CHI(N,0,2,IC,CS,PR,R,DF,T)
X(I,8)=CS
X(I,10)=R(1)
X(I+1,10)=R(2)
X(I,9)=SQRT(CS/(CS+T))
X(I+1,9)=PR
X(I+1,8)=DF
DO 57 J=1,2
I2=I+J/2
DO 57 K=1,IC
57 X(I2,K+10)=X(I2,K)/X(I2,10)
WRITE(6,70)
70 FORMAT('1 SCHOOL SUBCULTURE STUDY.'//)
DO 75 I=1,14
WRITE(6,71) I,(J,J=1,17)
71 FORMAT('/' TEST',I3,I4,6I5,10I7)
DO 73 J=1,2
I2=I*2-1+J/2
73 WRITE(6,72) J,(X(I2,K),K=1,17)
72 FORMAT(5X,I3,7F5.0,F7.1,F7.4,F7.0,7F7.3)
75 CCNTINLE
GO TO 210
200 WRITE(6,201) S(1),S(2)
201 FORMAT(' DATA DISORDED RESP.',2F5.0)
GO TO 210
205 WRITE(6,201) P(1),P(2)
210 STOP
END

```

```

SUBROUTINE CHI(N,C,IR,IC)
DIMENSION O(10,10), E(10,10), R(10), C(10), M(10,20)
CS=0
T=0
DO 2 I=1,10
R(I)=0
2 C(I)=C
DO 5 I=1,IR
DO 4 J=1,IC
R(I)=R(I)+C(I,J)
4 C(J)=C(J)+O(I,J)
5 T=T+R(I)
DF=(IR-1)*(IC-1)
WRITE (6,10)N
10 FORMAT(' TABLE',I4,' OBSERVED',T75,' EXPECTED'/)
DO 15 I=1,IR
DO 15 J=1,IC
E(I,J)=R(I)*C(J)/T
DIF=ABS(O(I,J)-E(I,J))
IF(DF.EQ.1.0)DIF=DIF-.5
CS=CS+DIF**2/E(I,J)
M(I,J)=C(I,J)
15 M(I,J+10)=E(I,J)
DO 18 I=1,IR
WRITE(6,14) (M(I,J),J=1,IC)
18 WRITE(6,16) (M(I,J+10),J=1,IC)
14 FORMAT(10I6)
16 FORMAT('+',T65,10I6)
P=PRBF(DF,1000.0,CS/DF)
WRITE(6,20)N,CS,P,DF
20 FORMAT(/' TABLE',I4,' CHI SQUARE =',F6.2,' P=',
1F6.4,' DF=',F2.0//)
RETURN
END

```

```

FUNCTION PRBF (DA, DB, FR)
C COMPUTES EXACT PROBABILITY OF RANDOM OCCURRENCE OF AN F-RATIO
C DA = NUMERATOR DEGREES OF FREEDOM
C DB = DENOMINATOR DEGREES OF FREEDOM
C FR = F-RATIO TO BE EVALUATED
C PRBF IS RETURNED AS A DECIMAL-FRACTION PROBABILITY
PRBF = 1.0
IF (DA * DB * FR .EQ. 0.0) RETURN
IF (FR .LT. 1.0) GO TO 5
A = DA
B = DB
F = FR
GO TO 10
5 A = DB
B = DA
F = 1.0 / FR
10 AA = 2.0 / (9.0 * A)
BB = 2.0 / (9.0 * B)
Z=ABS(((1.0-BB)*F**(1./3.)-1.0+AA)/SQRT(BB*F**(2./3.)+AA))
IF (B .LT. 4.0) Z = Z * (1.0 + 0.08 * Z**4 / B**3)
PRBF = 0.5 / (1.0 + Z * (0.196854 + Z * (0.115194 + Z *
1 (0.000344 + Z * 0.019527))))**4
IF (FR .LT. 1.0) PRBF = 1.0 - PRBF
RETURN
END

```

APPENDIX I

FORTRAN PROGRAM T TESTS, MEAN RANKS, AND PERCENTAGES

PROGRAM T TESTS, MEAN RANKS, AND PERCENTAGES

```

C PROGRAM T TESTS, MEAN RANKS, AND PERCENTAGES, CARL REDDEN
  DIMENSION S(45),P(128,45), X(36,11),LB(9)
  DATA LB/' T ','MEAN','RANK','FREQ','PCT ','YNG ','OLD ','STUD',
  1'PAR '/
  TS=(1./2.)/3.
  OLD=0.
  YNG=0.
  DO 2 I=1,36
  DO 2 J=1,11
  2 X(I,J)=0.
  DO 4 M=1,128
  READ(5,5) P(M,1),P(M,2),(P(M,I),I=13,16),(P(M,I),I=20,23),
  1 (P(M,I),I=17,19),(P(M,I),I=24,34),(P(M,I),I=35,43),
  2 P(M,44),(P(M,I),I=3,7),P(M,45),(P(M,I),I=8,12)
  IF(P(M,2)/P(M,44).NE.0.5) GO TO 2C5
  4 CONTINUE
  5 FORMAT(1X,F3.0,F1.0,4X,4F1.0,4F1.0,11X,3F1.0,11F1.0,11X,9F1.0/
  14X,F1.0,10X,5F1.0,13X,F2.0,8X,5F1.0)
C CARD NUMBERS ARE P(2),P(44),P(45)
  DO 25 M=1,259
  READ(5,6) S(2),(S(I), I=8,12),(S(I),I=17,19),
  1(S(I),I=13,16),S(1),S(44),(S(I),I=20,23),(S(I),I=3,7),S(45),
  2(S(I),I=24,34),(S(I),I=35,43)
  6 FORMAT(4X,F1.0,31X,5F1.0,1X,3F1.0,11X,4F1.0,17X,F3.0/
  34X,F1.0,4F1.0,5X,5F1.0/4X,F1.0,11F1.0,2X,9F1.0)
  IF((S(2)/S(44))/S(45).NE.TS) GO TO 2C2
  IF(S(1).EQ.0.) GO TO 25
  DO 8 I=1,128
  IF(S(1).EQ.P(I,1)) GO TO 9
  8 CCNTINUE
  GO TO 25
  9 KR=P(I,45)/10.
  J1=2
  RK=KR
  CLD=OLD+RK
  YNG=YNG+1.-RK
  DO 12 L1=1,9,4
  PP=0.
  SS=0.
  D=0.
  L=L1+KR*2
  J1=J1+L1
  J2=J1+4-2*(J1/17)
  DO 11 J=J1,J2
  PP=PP+P(I,J)
  SS=SS+S(J)
  11 D=D+S(J)-P(I,J)
  IF(PP*SS.EQ.0.) GO TO 14
  X(L,1)=X(L,1)+D
  X(L,2)=X(L,2)+D*D
  X(L,3)=X(L,3)+1.
  X(L,6)=X(L,6)+SS
  X(L,7)=X(L,7)+SS*SS
  X(L+1,6)=X(L+1,6)+PP
  X(L+1,7)=X(L+1,7)+PP*PP
  12 CCNTINUE
  14 DO 16 L1=13,17,4

```

```

PP=0.
SS=0.
L=L1+KR*2
J1=L1+3*(L1/17)
J2=J1+3
DO 15 J=J1,J2
N=J+1-J1
SS=SS+S(J)
PP=PP+P(I,J)
X(L,N)=X(L,N)+S(J)
15 X(L+1,N)=X(L+1,N)+P(I,J)
16 IF(SS*PP.NE.C.) X(L,6)=X(L,6)+1.
C X(17,6)=N FLR YOUNG STUDENTS & PARENTS. X(19,6)=N FOR OLD.
DO 20 L1=21,29,8
L=L1+KR*4
J1=L1+3*(L1/14)
J2=J1+10-2*(L1/29)
DO 20 J=J1,J2
N=J+1-J1
IF(S(J).EQ.2.) X(L,N)=X(L,N)+1.
20 IF(P(I,J).EQ.2.)X(L+2,N)=X(L+2,N)+1.
25 CCNTINUE
DO 30 I=1,11,2
DO 26 J=1,6,5
X(I,J)=X(I,J)/X(I,3)
IF(J.EQ.6)X(I+1,J)=X(I+1,J)/X(I,3)
X(I,J+1)=SQRT(X(I,J+1)/X(I,3)-X(I,J)**2)
26 IF(J.EQ.6)X(I+1,J+1)=SQRT(X(I+1,J+1)/X(I,3)-X(I+1,J)**2)
X(I,4)=X(I,1)/(X(I,2)/SQRT(X(I,3)-1.))
X(I,5)=PRBF(1.,X(I,3)-1.,X(I,4)**2)
X(I,8)=X(I,3)
30 X(I+1,8)=X(I,3)
DO 35 I=13,20
L=I-MOD(I+1,2)
DO 35 K=1,4
35 X(I,K)=X(I,K)/X(L,6)
DO 40 I=21,29,8
I2=I+2
DO 36 J=I,I2,2
L=J+4
DO 36 K=1,11
X(J+1,K)=X(J,K)/YNG
36 X(L+1,K)=X(L,K)/CLD
40 CCNTINUE
X(29,11)=YNG
X(33,11)=CLD
WRITE(6,44) (J,J=1,11)
44 FORMAT('1 REDDEN STUDY. STUDENT SUBCLTURE. (T TESTS AND
1MEAN RANKS). '//13X,11I7/)
DO 50 M=1,20
KR=MOD(M+1,2)
L2=8+KR
M2=(M+1)/2
KS=MUD(M2+1,2)
L1=6+KS
LG=1+M/13
50 WRITE(6,52) LB(LC),LB(L1),LB(L2),(X(M,J),J=1,11)
52 FORMAT(2X,A4,1X,2A4,3F7.1,2F7.3,6F7.1)
DO 6C M=21,36

```



```
KR=MOD(M+1,2)
L2=8+KR
L0=4+KR
M2=(M+1)/2
KS=MOD(M2+1,2)
L1=6+KS
IF(KR.EQ.1) GO TO 55
WRITE(6,54) LB(LC),LB(L1),LB(L2),(X(M,J),J=1,11)
54 FORMAT(2X,A4,1X,2A4,11F7.0)
GO TO 60
55 WRITE(6,56) LB(LC),LB(L1),LB(L2),(X(M,J),J=1,11)
56 FORMAT(2X,A4,1X,2A4,11F7.3)
60 CONTINUE
GO TO 210
200 WRITE(6,201) S(1),M
201 FORMAT(' DATA SET',F4.0,' DISORDERED. STUDENT SET. M=',I3)
GO TO 210
205 WRITE(6,206) P(M,1),M
206 FORMAT(' DATA SET',F4.0,' DISORDERED. PARENT SET. M=',I3)
210 STOP
END
```

```

FUNCTION PRBF (CA, CB, FR)
C   COMPUTES EXACT PROBABILITY OF RANDOM OCCURRENCE OF AN F-RATIO
C   DA = NUMERATOR DEGREES OF FREEDOM
C   DB = DENOMINATOR DEGREES OF FREEDOM
C   FR = F-RATIO TO BE EVALUATED
C   PRBF IS RETURNED AS A DECIMAL-FRACTION PROBABILITY
PRBF = 1.0
IF (DA * CB * FR .EQ. 0.0) RETURN
IF (FR .LT. 1.0) GO TO 5
A = DA
B = DB
F = FR
GO TO 10
5 A = DB
  B = DA
  F = 1.0 / FR
10 AA = 2.0 / (9.0 * A)
   BB = 2.0 / (9.0 * B)
   Z=ABS(((1.0-BB)*F**(1./3.)-1.0+AA)/SQRT(BB*F**(2./3.)+AA))
   IF (B .LT. 4.0) Z = Z * (1.0 + 0.08 * Z**4 / B**3)
   PRBF = 0.5 / (1.0 + Z * (0.196854 + Z * (0.115194 + Z *
1 (0.000344 + Z * 0.0195271)))**4)
   IF (FR .LT. 1.0) PRBF = 1.0 - PRBF
RETURN
END

```

APPENDIX J

ITEM CATEGORIZATION OF STUDENT AND PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRES

TABLE XXXIX
ITEM CATEGORIZATION OF STUDENT AND PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRES

<u>Analytical category</u>	<u>Student Item Number</u>	<u>Parent Item Number</u>
Biographical and related data	1-5, 7	30-32
Parental education and occupation	6,8,9	27-29
Church attendance	10	17
How decisions are made; rules	11,64	19,14
Get along with and understand parents	12-13	
Attitudes toward parents	14-19	
Parental perceptions of teen-agers		34-38
Attitudes toward adults	20-24	39-43
Smoking, alcohol, and drugs	25-28	9-11
What it takes to be important	29	26
Attitudes toward athletics	30-32	7,8,18
Importance of things to strive for	33-34	5-6
Peer group orientation	35-35	
Attitudes toward parental control	40-44	21-25
Best athlete, scholar, most popular	45-52	
Sociometric data	53-55	
Dating	56-58	
Characteristics of important persons	59	
What it takes to get into leading crowd	60	
Go with parents or to tournament	61	
What it takes to be popular in group	62	
Grade average	63	
Attitudes toward work	65	15
Family income	66	45
Leisure time	67	
Time spent studying and watching TV	68-69	16
Attitudes of child's school progress		1-4
Get along with and understand child		33-34
Who filled out questionnaire		46

VITA

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