MCGILL UNIVERSITY

ADOLESCENT AWAKENINGS

AN EXPLORATION IN ADOLESCENCE
THROUGH MATERIAL PRODUCED BY ADOLESCENTS

A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO
THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE MASTER'S DEGREE IN SOCIAL WORK

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MONTREAL, OCTOBER, 1971

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THE ABSTRACT

This study was concerned with describing aspects of the adolescent experience which seemed to unfold from an analysis of material produced by adolescents. It set out to explore the possibility of relating some of the literature on adolescence to a sample of material produced by adolescents.

An unstructured story was given to 57 grade 8 boys who voluntarily consented to participate. The story was followed by two questions which required the boys to respond as they would respond in their own minds (fantasy) and as they would actually respond (reality). The material was then content analyzed by means of an original analysis schema.

Suggestive evidence was found which indicated the boys' involvement in three aspects: themselves, their parents, their peers. Their unfolding capabilities in the realm of cognition, affect, motivation and other behavioural forms was evident. Differentiation and integration

along these and other themes was evident. Concern with themselves was of primary importance in the material they produced.

The boys also exhibited concern with their parents. At the interactional level, the data indicated a substantial barrier existing between boys and their parents. This was in sharp contrast to the general presentation of peers which were always depicted in an affiliative and positive light.

These results and the situation itself appear to be one set among many possible variations to which the scheme could perhaps be applied so that one gains an appreciation of the complexity of adolescent experience of adolescence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

CONCISE THEORETICAL ANCHORS FOR THE STUDY

Adolescence is a very sensitive and pivotal stage in human development. The adolescent is gaining an ability to consider himself and others in ways which were impossible during childhood but which will serve him in adulthood. He is a person in transformation who can be looked at from differing views. Three views are now presented to provide an initial and concise introduction to the adolescent.

"Every step forward in growth and maturation brings with it not only new gains but also new problems, i.e., change in any part of mental life upsets the balance as it had been established earlier and that new compromises have to be devised."[1]

. . . .

"Nothing helps here except a complete discarding of the people who were the important love objects of the child, i.e., parents."[2]

. . . .

Anna Freud brings the focus onto the individual who is changing. She points to the changes he undergoes, the challenges they present for him, and the adaptations he must make if he is to incorporate these changes positively within his personality. Extrication from the original family is a major consideration in her theory.

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[1]Anna Freud, "Adolescence As A Developmental Disturbance," Adolescence, ed. by Gerald Caplan and Serge Lebovici (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1969), p. 6.

[2]Ibid, p. 8.

". . .from one point of view the situation in which we now find our-
selves can be described as a crisis in faith, in which men, having lost
their faith not only in religion but also in political ideology and in
science, feel they have been deprived of every kind of security."[1]

. . . .

"I believe this crisis in faith can be attributed, at least in part, to
the fact that there are now no elders who know more than the young them-
selves about what the young are experiencing."[2]

. . . .

The implications of Mead's thesis are disturbing for she
suggests that the present culture is one for which no norms exist and
it is the young who will set the norms, for their experience is more in
touch with the realities of an instant communication environment and the
shadow of the Bomb.[3] The peer group becomes the focal vehicle for this
kind of transformation.

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[1]Margaret Mead, Culture and Committment (Garden City, New
York: Natural History Press), Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1970, p. 81.

[2]Ibid, p. 82.

[3]Margaret Mead, Culture and Committment.

"The adolescent mind is essentially the mind of the moratorium, a psychosocial stage between childhood and adulthood, and between the morality learned by the child and the ethics to be developed by the adult."[1]

. . . .

It [identify formation] arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications, and their absorption in a new configuration, which in turn is dependent on the process by which a society (often through subsocieties) identifies the young individual, recognizing him as somebody who had to become the way he is, and who, being the way he is, is taken for granted.[2]

. . . .

Erikson brings both the individual youth and his society closer. He firmly places the adolescent within the matrix of society, which works through its subsocieties. One can contemplate from this vantage point not only peer groupings but other ones such as the family as well. Whichever subsocieties one wants to contemplate, however, it is the adolescent mind, i.e., the adolescent, who is transforming himself in response to pressure placed on him. He is the one whose values change, the one who out of successive childhood identifications has the task of forming an identity.

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[1]Erik H. Erikson, <u>Childhood and Society</u> (2nd. ed. rev. New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1963), p. 262.

[2]Erik H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," <u>Identity and Anxiety</u>, ed. by M.R. Stein, A.J. Vidich and D.M. White, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. 47.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND INSTRUMENT FORMULATION

Initial Focus

The task of the present discussion is to gain a beginning appreciation of some of the major aspects of early adolescence and indicate some of the limitations of this period of development as it is represented in the literature. The literature presents the challenge exemplified in Mead's statement above "that there are now no elders who know more than the young themselves about what the young are experiencing." If this is the case, then the young can speak for themselves and elders can listen and try to understand. In this sense, the literature serves as a medium which sensitizes its readers to possible issues which may or may not be found upon exploration with the subjects themselves.

Such an approach of sensitization followed by exploration parallels a social work approach of "tuning in", then meeting the client and exploring his particular problem.[1] Exploration can alter some of the original ideas the worker brings into the situation, or it can confirm some of them, or provide new ones. Effective investigation and help-

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[1]William Schwartz, "On the Use of Groups in Social Work Practice," in The Practice of Group Work, ed. by William Schwartz and Serapio R. Falba (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp.13-15.

generally require a combination of these two aspects. This study, which
is intended to be an exploratory venture, concerns itself with un-
covering particular manifestations of adolescent awakenings. It is an
attempt to concretize some of what the literature says is there; an
attempt to glimpse particular contours of the adolescent situation and
somehow to describe them.

The early adolescent generally finds himself in a school
system which is becoming concerned with more than just his intellectual
development.[1] As the schools expand their awareness to include "the
whole child" i.e. his social, emotional, and physical states as well,
they become, in the process, a major agency of socialization.[2] Some
writers even suggest that the high school serves as an institution
provided by society to help the adolescent through his transitional state
from childhood to adulthood.[3]

The expanded function of the school creates the need for
social workers whose interests are precisely the social, emotional and

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[1]Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in
the Province of Quebec, Rt. Reverend Alphonse H. Parent, chairman (Quebec
City: Government of the Province of Quebec Printing Office, 1963), Vol.
III, pp. 313-14.

[2]Talcott Parsons, "The School Class As A Social System: Some
of Its Functions in American Society," The Sociology of Education, ed.
by Robert R. Bell and Holger R. Stub (Rev. ed. Homewood, Illinois:
Dorsey Press, 1969), p. 218.

[3]John I. Kitsuse and Aaron V. Circourel, "The High School
Role in Adolescent Status Transition," The Sociology of Education, ed. by
Robert R. Bell and Holger R. Stub (Rev. ed. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey
Press, 1968), pp. 44-52.

physical factors affecting the adolescent.[1] (Of course, the school nurse, psychologist and other "pupil personnel" take an active interest in these as well). As the worker begins to interact with the adolescent he learns to steer clear of adolescent stereotyping[2] or getting caught up in what some call the adolescent mystique.[3] The worker has, rather, to try to formulate an understanding of the adolescent as a person whose particular stage in life creates certain demands and needs for him, as well as certain responsibilities which he has to meet.

The present exploration parallels, in its own way, this attempt to obtain some understanding of the adolescent. The interaction in this case was limited to an instrument given to four grade eight boys' classes and the written feedback received from the boys. Part of the aim of this exploration was that the written feedback could be deciphered and that some understanding of the boys would thereby be gained.

There are many theories which attempt to explain the stage of adolescence in human development.[4] This paper has chosen to consider three of these for presentation: 1) a psychophysical view—how the

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[1]Alfred J. Kahn, Planning Community Services for Children in Trouble (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 168.

[2]James Anthony, "The Reactions of Adults to Adolescents and Their Behavior," Adolescence, ed. by. Gerald Caplan and Serge Boviei (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1969), pp. 54-74.

[3]Joseph Adelson, The Mystique of Adolescence," Psychiatry, XXVII. (February 1964), pp. 1-2.

[4]Ralph E. Muuss, Theories of Adolescence (New York: Random House, 1962).

physical changes in the adolescent affect his psychology (psyche);
2) a socio-cultural view--how does the society and its culture affect
the adolescent; 3) a psychosocial view--a view of some of Erikson's
ideas with respect to adolescence.

Theoretical Considerations

Adolescence is a time when youth begins to emerge from
childhood and relentlessly pushes towards adulthood. It is an in-
between period in the life cycle; a time when new abilities gain pro-
minence and must be tested; when new pressures are met for the first
time and must be accommodated; a time when change is the norm and meta-
morphosis the goal.

The adolescent does not, however, operate within a vaccuum.
The definition of the goal and of change is not strictly an independent
phenomenon. The adolescent operates within a society or culture which,
since his birth, fashioned his evolving potentialities through interaction
with other persons who, in an important sense, are part of the culture.[1]
The definition of the adult is culture-bound as is the definition of the
child. In this respect, the adolescent is no different.

The adolescent, then, is an individual whose emerging
potentials provide him with added potentialities which expand the nature
and the radius of his social interaction. At the same time his society
through its social agencies attempts to shape these potentialities to its

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[1]Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York: Mentor
Books, 1934), p. 17.

service.[1] The ego, caught somewhere in the middle of this tenacious encounter, is charged, according to Erikson, with developing an identity for the adolescent.[2]

1.

Adolescence occurs at a time when the unfolding potentialities of the individual have him assume a form approximating his mature self. His size, strength, hormonal balance, reproductive capability, intellectual development and social interactions simulate "adulthood" in an evolving manner. The term adolescence refers to the psychological rather than the physical aspects of this development which are generally subsumed by the term puberty.[3] These two aspects are intertwined, however, and the physical has profound effects on the psychological.

Being the one who is in the process of change, the adolescent is compelled not only to view the process but actively participate in it and direct it.[4] He cannot remain a spectator in the process. The changes which are occurring, however gradual or explosive in their course, are ones which he has to learn to incorporate. The image of the childhood frame recedes as the body changes and a "plastic" image emerges which takes

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[1]Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 270.

[2]Ibid., p. 261.

[3]Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Committee on Adolescence, Normal Adolescence (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), p. 20.

[4]Paul A. Osterrieth, "Adolescence: Some Psychological Aspects," Adolescence, ed. by Gerald Caplan and Serge Lebovici (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1969), p. 13.

account of these new capabilities.[1] The adjustment the adolescent makes is one of altering the established image of himself as a child with childhood capabilities, aspirations, and valuations of himself. He begins to assimilate the changes he is experiencing consequently altering the image of himself, because the capabilities and the aspirations attendent upon the physical changes are transformed from their childhood origins into adult projections.

Though the adolescent is changing his image, he is not in a position to be the sole director of the change. His peers, for better or worse, are similarly experiencing physical changes. Evaluation of the self assumes therefore, a relative factor alongside the personally unique character. "How am I changing?", "Am I changing in a 'good' or 'bad' way?" become concerns which can be measured against one's peers. Tests of strength, tests of skill and generally competitive activities of all kinds are employed by the boys to accommodate their excess physical energy.[2] Within these activities an adolescent can not only learn to use his new potentialities, but can also learn to measure himself against his peers. In this fashion, as well as in reflective evaluations of peers and other social interactions an adolescent self image acquires a personal and a relative basis for its alterations.

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[1] William A. Schonfeld, "The Body and the Body Image in Adolescents," Adolescence, ed. by Gerald Caplan and Serge Lebovici, (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1969), pp. 42-43.

[2] Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Normal Adolescence, p. 75.

The sexual changes compound the genre of change which is the hallmark of adolescence. The first flowering of the primary and secondary sexual characteristics of puberty give this period a distinctly genital tone.[1] Seeing that this is the first experience an individual has with his genital proclivities,[2] it is not surprising to find that a common experience for adolescents is to be overwhelmed by this physiological maturation.[3] If one thinks of human revolutions, this could easily qualify as one because its qualitative context is new to the individual. This process only emerges at this juncture in the life cycle.

The unfamiliar nature of these stirrings impose upon the adolescent psychology (psyche) a task for which there is very little, if any, existing accommodations. In terms of the self image these instinctual impulses perhaps help in strengthening or clarifying gender identity, a process which is ongoing throughout adolescence.[4] The problem appears, however, in how these impulses can find expression. At whom can these impulses be directed? What exactly does one do with these impulses? As indicated above, the adolescent response to his metamorphic experience is to direct it to the extent he can and to rely

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[1]Peter Blos, On Adolescence (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 1.

[2]Anna Freud, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense (New York: International Universities Press Inc., 1946), p. 160.

[3]Irene M. Josselyn, The Adolescent and His World (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1952), p. 24.

[4]Theodore Lidz, The Person (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), p. 301.

upon relative influences of others as well. This, in fact, is what some writers suggest the adolescent does with these impulses.

There is a suggestion that the first objects, for boys, upon whom these instincts are directed are their mothers, i.e., a resurgence of the oedipal feelings.[1] He comes across the incest taboo,[2] however, which prevents such behaviour, so he must discard her as a love object. Accommodation is beginning, albeit in a negative manner.

As a result of these impulses, whether conscious or unconscious, the boy processually learns that he must direct these energies within a wider radius of social relations.[3] (Peers can serve in positive ways as objects of attention for positive feelings as well as in the capacity of competitors.) Moreover, the separation comes to include separation from the father as well,[4] as the boy strives for degrees of independence for himself.[5] A result of this striving for independence is the necessity for the development of norms to guide behaviour, norms which are, in this sense, independent of parental norms.[6] The outcome of all

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[1]Ibid, p. 320.

[2]Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Normal Adolescence, p. 34.

[3]Anna Freud, "Adolescence As A Developmental Disturbance," pp. 8-9.

[4]Josselyn, The Adolescent and His World, p. 61.

[5]Lidz, The Person, p. 321.

[6]Theodore Lidz, "The Adolescent and His Family," Adolescence, ed. by Gerald Caplan and Serge Lebovici (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1969), p. 107.

this is a certain amount of antagonism between boys and parents as the boys experience their first attempts in gaining emotional and normative independence from their parents.

The ego, in response to the challenges facing the boy, learns to accommodate new realities and redirects the impulses towards people deemed more acceptable by the culture.[1] The ego is, therefore, the psychological agent which adjusts to the relativity in situations. As regards the impulses, the ego takes account of the parents as a factor to be contended with and the boys' behaviour must be adjusted accordingly. The parents, therefore, become a further "relative base" in respect to which the boys organize their adolescent upheavals.

The dynamic within which adolescence contends with puberty is a threefold one: the self image (which is included in the ego)[2], peer and parents. That is, adolescent awakenings which respond to the physical changes are shaped by the degree to which the boys' internal direction meshes with peer and parental influences.

One further change which is responsible for adolescent trans-formation is the cognitive development during this period. Whatever adjustments and accommodations the adolescent makes vis à vis parents or

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[1]Freud, "Adolescence as a Developmental Disturbance," pp.8-9.

[2]The ego is considered to be the executive psychological in-strument which mediates between the external and internal (psychic) realities and moderates internal psychic functions. The self image being part of the psychic machinery is therefore considered part of the ego.

peer result from this unfolding plasticity of mind.[1] Piaget suggests that the cognitive transformation in adolescence is a further stage in cognitive development.[2] The adolescent unlike the child is able to manipulate ideas as if they were concrete objects.[3] Ideas and concepts obtain a life of their own becoming independent of their physical attachments. Not only are they independent in the adolescent mind, i.e., exist in their abstract forms, but they are used in elaborate ways by the mind as it creates hypothesis with them and tries to use them in a deductive fashion as well. The mind becomes the arena in which "theories" are developed and discarded, in which fact and fiction can lose their distinction, in which past, present and future can fuse and separate at whim.

The mind does not however achieve consistent use of such functioning until fourteen or fifteen years of age,[4] the body does not attain full genital sexuality until sixteen to eighteen years of age, nor does it attain mature stature till about seventeen to eighteen years of age.[5] This means that the mind, for example, has sporadic and in-consistent use of abstract thought from when it becomes possible at age

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[1]Lidz, The Person, pp. 315-318.

[2]Jean Piaget, "The Intellectual Development of the Adolescent," Adolescence, ed. by. Gerald Caplan and Serge Lebovici (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1968), p. 22.

[3]Jean Piaget, Six Etudes de Psychologie (Genève: Bibliothèque Médiations, Editions Gonthier, 1964), pp. 75-80.

[4]Piaget, "The Intellectual Development,", p. 23

[5]Schonfeld, "The Body and the Body Image,", pp. 30-31.

eleven until it reaches its equilibrium at age fifteen. Similarly, in the sexual and physical realms one would expect periods of alterations between intense experiencing of genital implosions to periods of quiescence when other factors become overriding. In a similar fashion, one would expect that psychic phenomenon such as self images also have their periods of ascendency when they become of uppermost concern and the opinion of peers and parents assume monumental importance. Other times find opinions emanating from these very same people to be of little concern. With respect to parents, Josselyn has noted the dependency-independency vacillations,[1] along with ambivalences concerning hate-love for parents.[2]

The point is, the adolescent until slightly past mid-teens is in a dynamic state of flux, when those potentialities which are changing in him are indeed in a consistent change process. This means, that the adolescent reactions are highly unpredictable depending on what is gaining ascendency at the time. As Anna Freud points out, adolescence is by its very nature an interruption in peaceful growth and that "the upholding of a steady equilibrium during the adolescent process is in itself abnormal."[3]

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[1]Josselyn, The Adolescent and His World, p. 51.

[2]Josselyn, The Adolescent and His World, p. 54.

[3]Anna Freud, "Adolescence," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, Vol. XIII (New York: International Universities Press Inc., 1958), p. 275.

The physical imperative of growth and change during the
evolving adolescent years finds a correspondence in the responsive
alterations of the adolescent psyche. Accommodations appear, in
tentative fashion, and remain incompletely formed. They are fragile and
without consistency yet serve the adolescent's encounter within his
processual change and provide some way of meeting the unexpectable. The
heightened sensory sensitivity[1] underscores perhaps the "openness" which
is the adolescent at this time; an "openness" whose tasks in terms of
(ego) self image, peers and parents have been touched on above.

2.

An infant is born into a society which has a certain culture
and, through social interaction with that society's agents, learns the
ways of the culture.[2] "Human behaviour" in a society receives its
definition from its culture.[3] It is the culture which serves to define
what it is in "human nature" that is acceptable as "human behaviour".
Tasks performed by individuals derive their meaning from the fact that
they are integral parts of the society, and therefore, fit into the
society's cultural plan. Indeed, the concepts used to define one's self,
or one's image are culture bound[4] because it is the culture which provides

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[1]Josselyn, The Adolescent and His World, p. 25.

[2]Benedict, Patterns of Culture, p. 17.

[3]Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural
Conditioning," Psychiatry, I (May 1938), pp. 161-167.

[4]S.N. Eisenstadt, "Archetypal Patterns of Youth," The Challenge
of Youth, ed. by Erik H. Erikson (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books
Edition, 1965), p. 30.

the meaning to these concepts; the culture somehow legitimizes that a child, or adult, or adolescent have tasks to perform which have meaning for themselves and which in turn provide meaning for the performers of those tasks.

The socio-cultural perspective is different from the one presented above which was psychophysical, yet its view seems indispensible for a complete appreciation of the forces which influence the course of adolescence. A culture provides a "climate" through its various social institutions which can facilitate or inhibit the process of "growing up". One measure of this climate is whether the culture offers to its adolescents continuities of behavioural patterns or whether it offers distinct discontinuities which make adaptation more difficult.[1] Benedict suggests that adolescence has become such a difficult period precisely because the present culture requires the emergence of new patterns of behaviour before the adolescent is recognized as an adult.[2] The discontinuities serve as contradictions to previous childhood behavioural patterns and assume the stature of hurdles over which the adolescent must somehow leap before he becomes an adult. The process becomes even more difficult when one finds that rituals which traditionally served to highlight and ameliorate transitional phases in the life experience are fast disappearing[3] in the face of persistent social and technological change.[4]

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[1]Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities," pp. 161-167.

[2]Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities," pp. 161-167.

[3]Eisenstadt, "Archetypal Patterns of Youth," p. 42.

[4]Kenneth Kenniston, "Social Change and Youth in America," The Challenge of Youth, ed. by. Erik H. Erikson (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1965), pp. 193-201.

Rituals such as would indicate that one has transferred from the childhood status to that of an adult are obsolete since the culture does not allow the adolescent to assume adult responsibilities. There are still many lessons to learn before he will receive such recognition from his culture.

The adolescent is not only faced with the difficulty of unlearning certain patterns of behaviour and learning new ones (which are in some cases diametrically opposite, e.g., dominance/submission, or responsible/non-responsible status, or contrasted sex-role).[1] In a culture where social patterns and technology are changing at an unprecedented rate, the models which served the older social patterns or the older technology become obsolete and the adolescent is left with few adult role models to follow.[2]

The present "technological culture", it would seem, presents many difficulties in the path of adolescent development. If the adolescent is to strive to become an adult in this culture then it seems that he is striving to fit into a culture which orders its human relationships for the satisfaction of external needs involving protection against dangerous forces whether natural or human.[3] It seems that he is striving to fit into a culture which operates on the assumption of the scarcity of

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[1]Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities," pp.161-167.

[2]Kenniston, "Social Change and Youth," p. 203.

[3]Jules Henry, Culture Against Man (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), p. 12.

everything available, whether commodities or social encounters,though
the evidence points to the contrary.[1] It seems that he is striving to
fit into a culture where emotional gratification and satisfaction of
complex psychic needs have to be fought for rather than expected.[2]

The pervading technological impersonality is however anathema
to the "person oriented" stance of the adolescent.[3] So the culture
"provides" social institutions for the adolescent person orientation. It
provides the institution of the school and that of the nuclear family for
adolescent socialization into the adult cultural stream.

The notion that the school has become concerned with "the
whole child" has been alluded to above.[4] The degree to which this has
progressed can be seen from the introduction of "moral and religious
development" courses in the high schools of Montreal.[5] This area of
training had formerly been the bastion of the home and church, yet, it has
also succumbed to the penchant for specialization and differentiation of
the technological culture that, the school, as a major socializing agent,
now considers it part of its domain.

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[1]Philip E. Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness (Boston:
Beacon Press, 1970), ch. 4.

[2]Henry, Culture Against Man, p. 11.

[3]James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: Free
Press, 1961), p. 37.

[4]Supra, p. 6.

[5]This study was conducted in one of these courses.

Strategically placed in the role of socializing agent, the school, in adjusting to the rate of change and to the increasing specialization of industry and the economy, is fast becoming a distinct social system.[1] It is becoming distinct from the general society producing as it were a miniature society of its own[2] where the participants become dependent on each other for interaction and approval. That is, the adolescents are becoming dependent on each other for reinforcement and are seeking each other's approval in areas of adolescent concern rather than, for example, seeking parental approval in these areas.[3] The parents' competence is not recognized in these areas and, therefore, their opinion dismissed. Or, as Coleman points out, it is the peer "approval, admiration and respect" which is being sought in everyday activities both in and out of school, while the parents' desires are important in a long range sense.[4] It is interesting to note, however, that in the matter of school achievement--which contains aspects of both peer and parental involvement--Coleman, in a later study, reports that family background is perhaps of greatest importance to school achievement. He reports, furthermore, that its importance does not diminish as the child progresses

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[1]Coleman, The Adolescent Society, p. 4.

[2]Carl W. Backman and Paul F. Secord, A Social Psychological View of Education (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World Inc., 1968), p. 48.

[3]Clay V. Brittain, "Adolescent Choices and Parent-Peer Crosspressures," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (June 1963), p. 389.

[4]Coleman, The Adolescent Society, p. 11.

through school.[1] Of the factors related to the school, the social

composition of the student body, i.e., peers, is most influential in

school achievement.[2]

It appears that parents and peers are the social agents

which mostly influence the individual adolescent. For the individual

adolescent, they assume the status of "reference groups", i.e., "a

collectivity or person which the actor takes into account in some manner

in the course of selecting a behaviour from among a set of alternatives,

or in making a judgment about a problematic issue."[3] The individual

adolescent uses either peer or parents as references in his decision making.

It is also the case, however, that the adolescent himself

is increasingly involved in shaping the form of his socialization.[4] This

brings back the notion that the adolescent, having incorporated attributes

which his culture inculcated during a previous period, is himself an agent

for his society. That is, the self image he developed over the years,

having become shaped by the culture, also contributes to decision making.

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[1]James S. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity
(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 325.

[2]Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, p. 325 and
p. 302.

[3]Theodore D. Kemper, "Reference Groups, Socialization and
Achievement," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (February 1968), p. 32.

[4]Glen H. Elder Jr., "Adolescent Socialization and Develop-
ment," Handbook of Personality Theory and Research, ed. by Edgar F.
Borgatta and William W. Lambert (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1968),
p. 239.

In this sense, the self image can also serve as a "reference group" as defined above.

Though the present "technological culture", as a result of its almost constant change, can offer discontinuities in development, and precious few role models (since they become obsolete as they gain any consistency), it nevertheless employs peers, parents and the adolescent himself in its socialization of the very same adolescent. Mead referred to the fact that the types of adjustments the parents had to make, in a world which has become an instant "communicational villiage" and technologically rampant, are not the adjustments their children had to make. Their children were born into this "culture" and this experience, she contends, more than any other has the directive and binding force for the younger generation which sets them apart from the elder generation.[1] In this sense, only the young know "what the young are experiencing".

3.

A psychosocial perspective, such as Erikson's, recognizes the profound changes which occur in adolescents as well as the society's propensity to shape the emerging potentialities of the adolescent. It contributes the view that the individual's personality develops as he becomes able to expand his awareness of and becomes able to interact with a widening social radius. His society "in principle, tends to be constituted as to meet and invite this succession of potentialities for interaction and attempts to safeguard and to encourage the proper rate and the proper sequence of their unfolding."[2]

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[1] Mead, Culture and Committment, ch. 3.

[2] Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 270.

The psychosocial perspective does not focus exclusively on the physical changes and their effect on the developing psychology (psyche) of the individual, nor does it focus exclusively on the society's role of socializing the individual into the culture. Its focus encompasses both of these and, within its domain it attempts to describe the individual's course of social development. It is through his ego that an individual establishes and maintains his personal order,[1] as he negotiates his social realities and his psychic machinations. It is the ego that Erikson follows as he attempts to explain the psychosocial development of the person.

The adolescent potentialities in the physical, genital, and cognitive spheres are undergoing transformations. In adolescing, as Erikson sometimes refers to it,[2] the awareness of an amorphous body called "society" begins to intrude itself as well.[3] The adolescent ego falteringly attempts to respond to what the society now begins to invite and demand of him. The ego is faced with the task of beginning to assimilate, in a unique and personal exercise, those demands he feels his "society" is making on him and which he feels capable of meeting. The sense of being able to master the environment in a manner acceptable to the society and receiving recognition for that mastery provide the ego with the strength required to meet the challenges provided by the society.[4] It is this kind of achievement, meaningful to his culture, which provides the individual

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[1]Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 194.

[2]Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York: W. W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1968), p. 128.

[3]Ibid,

[4]Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 235.

with a sense of who he is in the culture.[1] The task of the adolescing individual is to attempt initial mastery in "society"--his newly emerging "environment". Or as Erikson has stated, "In youth, ego strength emerges from a mutual confirmation of individual and society. . ." [2]

Simultaneous to his growing awareness of "society", is the adolescent awareness of his changing body and increased potentialities in the physical realm and his concomitant cognitive development. The confluence of these factors creates the necessity to adapt to change. The adaptation can not, however, neglect the adolescent's previous sense of who he is, i.e., "identity". His previous sense of "identity" is the matrix out of which these new factors will shape a more inclusive "identity".

The adolescent period is the stage of life in which the society provides the individual a moratorium within which he can learn to adapt his emerging capabilities within his growing awareness of "society", so that he may become a fully participating adult in society.[3] The ego must learn to integrate the new experiences of the adolescing individual-- his experiments in living which are trial adaptations of his capabilities within his "society"--and the old ego "identity", thereby providing the emerging individual with a sense of continuity and sameness "within his

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[1] Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 235.

[2] Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 241.

[3] Erikson, Childhood and Society, pp. 261-263.

own skin".[1]

The adolescing individual is caught up in a process of identity formation which requires him to respond to society as it makes its demands upon his potentials while he accommodates, in his unique fashion, to these demands, while maintaining a sense of continuity and sameness. The sense of continuity and sameness is brought about as the ego begins to integrate the previous childhood identity elements within the adolescing experience in "society". In this fashion the older elements assume meaning within the present context and the chain of continuity is maintained.[2]

Erikson describes four tasks for the adolescing individual as he attempts to integrate older identity elements within his awareness of society.[3] He seeks men and ideas in whom he can have faith, thereby enabling him through service to them to prove himself trustworthy. He seeks opportunities where he can freely decide upon service or duties to perform. He is willing to put his trust in those (peers included) who seem to allow him to give vent to his aspirations. Finally, he attempts to develop his skills in anticipation of a future career. One can discern from these the inextricability of an individual and his social exchange system, how his "identity" forms as a result of being able to trust men or

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[1]Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," pp. 44-54.

[2]Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," pp. 44-54.

[3]Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, pp. 128-129.

ideas which seem trustworthy and alternately, finding oneself trustworthy to those men and ideas which one trusts. The adolescing individual, in this sense, is seeking confirmation for himself. He requires the recognition which the society can bestow upon an individual which firmly establishes him as a member of that society.[1]

The adults of the society (including his parents presumably) as well as existing ideas have the ability to bestow conformation. The difficulty here is that the conformation bestowed must be appropriate to the unfolding potentialities of the youngster as he is, rather than as the person he used to be. The adolescing individual needs recognition for the process he is experiencing; recognition of the sort that "sounds real" to him because his ego strength is dependent on it.[2] This is perhaps most difficult to give for those who have lived with him since childhood. Therefore, the adolescing individual seeks this kind of recognition among other men or ideas who perhaps can more easily provide it.

In relation to the established society, confirmation is sought; in relation to the evolving society and, more particularly, to his generational bias, affirmation is sought.[3] The adolescing individual finds in peers a natural mirroring of himself, a common constituency. However much he may need confirmation from what already exists, he needs affirmation

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[1] Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," p. 45.

[2] Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 235.

[3] Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 263.

that he is part of "what is about to be". He needs to be affirmed by others to whom adolescing is a somatic experience not requiring definition. This, only his peers can provide; for they, equally, are seeking affirmation.

In this sense, the necessity for adolescent cliques becomes imperative, not so much as a bulwark against the parents but as a mechanism of affirmation which helps prevent the sense of "identity" diffusion, i.e., losing one's sense of identity.[1] Erikson also explains "falling in love" in this period as an attempt to project one's sense of personal "identity" on another and see how it reflects back.[2]

The adolescing individual is concerned therefore with how he appears to be in the eyes of others and what he really feels he is.[3] The confirmation and affirmation he seeks has, in a very real sense, to be accepted by him, or else it has no meaning for him and he remains un-confirmed and unaffirmed. The mechanism whereby an individual has his "society" begin to approximate the society is chiefly a dialectical and reciprocal one. It is dialectical in as much as the ego and society's agents provide the poles. It is reciprocal in as much as these two poles are in constant interaction. In fact Erikson postulates that society is "rejuvenated" by its adolescents.[4]

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[1] Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 132.

[2] Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 132.

[3] Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 261.

[4] Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 257.

The process which the adolescing individual is engaged in
is one of "identity" formulation or evolving configurations of "identity".[1]
He is not yet into his second decade of life when he more clearly approx-
imates physical maturity and when he has established his cognitive
equilibrium. Therefore, he has not yet clearly attained an "historical
sense"--a perspective which allows the adolescent a sense of the ir-
reversibility of significant events.[2] Certain events become recognized
by the adolescent as significant in his personal development insofar as
they seem to crystallize disparate elements of his "identity" or seem to
foreclose a segment of further life experimentation; as if limitations of
choices were becoming a further reality within which the adolescent must
learn to operate.

In the stage preceding the second decade of life, it would
seem, therefore, that the adolescent "identity" can be in a state of flux
as he begins to integrate the older "identity" elements within his newly
emerging potentialities all within his awareness of "society". This
process of integration is new for this stage, consequently the adolescent
"insecurity" within himself and the tendency to compare what others think
of him and how he feels he really is. Though this psychological mechanism
is operative throughout one's life in terms of one's identity,[3] it achieves
added importance in times of flux when the ego is undergoing a re-integrative

[1]Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," p. 47.

[2]Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 246.

[3]Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 22.

process as the individual begins to operate from within a new life perspective.

4.

As society begins to encroach upon the transforming physical, sexual, and cognitive potentialities of the adolescent, a fragile youngster seems caught within a persisting maze. As his cognitive awareness expands to include "society", physical and sexual changes, he attempts to fashion a new "order" in which to live. He engages in identity formation; a process which will require a re-integration of his childhood identity elements within his newly evolving social perspective, thus providing him with a sense of sameness and continuity as a person.

The inability to incorporate these profound transformations quickly, provides the youngster with a measure of inconsistency in every sphere of endeavour. The changes occur in a progressive and intermittent manner providing for poor complimentarity among the various factors. Thus, the adolescent can behave in quite opposing ways, in an inconsistent manner and the ego can, very often, lose its sense of identity and become diffuse leaving the adolescent in a totally confused state.

Though the culture provides reference groups such as peers and parent and the ego is in need of affirmation by peers and confirmation from elders, there exist very few role models within the technologically driven culture. The re-integrative process of the ego, therefore, becomes much more difficult because the possible future roles which could serve as crystallizing points are not there. The adolescent process thereby becomes a more difficult one making the search for who one is in the culture all

the more necessary yet all the more difficult as well.

Transition to Instrument:

The literature has provided a certain background and perhaps a certain amount of sensitivity to issues involving adolescents. Recurring as important to the adolescent were parents, peer, and self image or "identity" which were part of the ego.

The "tuning in" to the literature thus provided specific issues as well as theoretical background from which exploration could begin; exploration whose goal it was to describe some of the adolescent experience using material produced by adolescents. Exploration, therefore, required that some instrument be developed which incorporated the specific issues mentioned in the literature; that adolescents be found to respond to the instrument; and that these responses be deciphered for their meaning.

Nature of the Administered Instrument

The instrument[1] consisted of an unfinished story to which the boys were asked to respond. The story described a situation where the boy comes home late and meets his angry parents waiting for him. Reference is made in the story to father, mother, boy and girl friends and school. The boy is then asked two questions: 1) what he would answer father and mother if he were not afraid of getting into more trouble, and 2) what he would actually answer them.

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[1]See Appendix A.

The person or group identified in the story were described in a general way for a specific purpose. It was felt that this kind of format would allow the boys a range in which they could express their thoughts and feelings. As Wylie points out, the more circumscribed a test, the more reason to question the extent to which the subject has recorded his conscious cognitions and feelings.[1] Of basic interest to this investigation was the tapping of original responses and the instrument had to facilitate their occurrence. Since the instrument was of a projective nature where the boys were asked to freely project their responses to the questions in written form, a basic principle of projective method was employed. This principle states that the more unstructured and ambiguous a stimulus, the more one expects the respondent to project his emotions, motivations, attitudes, etc.[2]

This kind of direct approach to respondents, to have them respond as they wish to a stimulus in a highly subjective manner receives some theoretical buttressing from men such as Allport and Jourard. Allport, for example, argues for the employment of direct techniques in trying to gain understanding into the motivation of healthy people. He specifically calls into question projective techniques which purport to get at the unconscious motivations if one is studying healthy people.[3]

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[1] Ruth C. Wylie, The Self Concept (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), p. 33.

[2] Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioural Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1964), p. 526.

[3] Gordon W. Allport, "The Trend In Motivational Theory," The Self: Explorations in Personal Growth, ed. by C.E. Moustakas and S.R. Jayaswal (New York: Harper and Row Publishers Inc., 1956), pp. 26-31.

Jouard, on the other hand, discusses the efficacy of self disclosure as a means of obtaining an accurate concept of a man's experiencing.[1] From an experimental stance men such as McClelland and Getzels and Jackson have employed projective techniques in their investigations. McClelland has used the technique to investigate the motives behind social drinkers and alcoholics.[2] Getzels and Jackson have, for example, investigated the relationship between autobiographical material and creativity in children.[3]

The instrument administered to the boys was an attempt at employing direct self disclosure within the conflict situation that was described. The aim was for freely projected responses by the boys which would reveal some of their own experiencing within such a situation.[4] The principal figures were the boy himself, the parents and peers; the relevant persons recognized in the literature and which the boys were given leeway to manipulate as they saw fit. It was up to the boys to provide their concrete reactions to the exploration in which they had become involved.

[1]Sidney M. Jourard, The Transparent Self (Toronto: An Insight Book, D. Van Nostraud (Canada) Ltd., 1964), pp. 9-16.

[2]David C. McClelland, "The Power of Positive Drinking," Psychology Today, IV (January 1971), p. 40.

[3]Jacob W. Getzels and Philip W. Jackson, Creativity and Intelligence (New York: J. Wiley and Sons Inc., 1962), pp. 99-103.

[4]For amplification of this point, see section "Some Theoretical Anchors Involved in the Analysis," in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENT RESPONSES AND AN ANALYSIS SCHEMA

Nature of Sample

The sample consisted of 57 boys in four grade 8 (all boy)
classes attending a Catholic High School in the northern part of
Montreal Island. According to the teacher, these boys were either born
in Italy or were of direct Italian descent. The teacher offered to
administer the instrument to his classes because he felt he had a good
rapport with them.

The instrument was given on a purely voluntary basis in
their Moral and Religious Instruction Course. The course, as described
by the teacher, is designed to serve as a forum where the boys could
discuss relevant matters affecting their lives. It is an unstructured
course whose subject material depends on the interest of class and
teacher. The teacher, therefore, left it open to each individual pupil
whether he would participate in the project.

He told the class that a friend of his was conducting a
scientific study about adolescent boys and that he had volunteered to help
his friend since he was teaching such boys. He gave each boy a copy of
the instrument and wrote the two accompanying questions on the blackboard.
He then instructed the participating boys to write their birth dates on

the paper but not their names to insure a measure of anonymity. The
time limit was fourty minutes (a regular period) and was the only
limitation within the administration of the instrument.

Overview of the Boys' Responses

The boys' productions distinguished themselves by the
variety they displayed. They varied from one sentence to several small
paragraphs. The language employed was at times colourful and at other
times incomprehensible. The sentence constructions were sometimes clear
and at other times so befuddling as to have one sentence comprise a para-
graph. The handwriting was, more often than not, difficult to make out.

The context of the productions was equally varied. Some
boys' compositions seemed to contain bitter hostility while others were
more docile. Some boys emphasized themselves, while others dwelt on their
parents. There were some striking compositions which struck highly re-
sponsive chords in the reader whose reactions were "yes, that rings true".

Generally, the boys' responses reflected back the "un-
structured" nature of the stimulus story. They wrote in the style of the
stimulus—"a free flowing manner"—focusing on the aspects they chose to
single out.

Nature of Analysis Schema for the Responses

Given an unstructured set of written responses required
that a method of analysis be developed around those specific responses.
The method of analysis emerged after extensive familiarity was gained with

the responses, and after some unproductive starts. The following presentation is intended to expose the nature of the analysis employed.

Examination of the responses revealed that the boys sometimes spoke of themselves using "I", sometimes they spoke about themselves and their friends using "we". They sometimes spoke to "dad" and other times spoke to "mom" and sometimes to both using "they". These references fit into the structure introduced by the stimulus which required them to produce an imaginary and reality type of response to their parents.[1] Though they were presumably addressing their parents, they introduced subject material about themselves, their peers, and their parents.

The first major step in the analysis was to follow this lead and look at the material produced by them with the question: to whom is the boy referring? Was the boy referring to himself, to his peers, or to his parents? A response referring to himself was called SELF RESPONSE. Responses referring to his peers (boys or girls), mother, father or parents were similarly designated, PEER,[2] MOTHER, (etc.).

Examples of each of the above type of response follows:

RESPONSES

SELF   "I not a child anymore".

"I don't like to say anything to them that's bad".

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[1]See Appendix A.

[2]Though girls were sometimes used as objects in responses they hardly ever were used as subjects. Generally "we" was used in reference to peer. PEER RESPONSE was therefore maintained without distinction to male or female.

PEER   "We don't cause any trouble".

              "We went to see this baseball game".

FATHER   "Dad, why don't you wear a tighter pair of pants?"

              "You're telling me what's bad".[1]

MOTHER   "So bud off my back".

              "Will you shut up and leave me alone".[2]

PARENT   "They don't like us teen-agers".[3]

              "Why don't you bloody well leave me alone".[4]

The illustrative responses did not necessarily come as independent statements. Rather, they came within sentences and sometimes sprawling across sentences. To introduce some order into the analysis as to what a response would be, the idea of a "message" was incorporated. A response was to be considered a message, and a message was to be considered a single communicational unit.[5] That is, not only is the boy referring either to himself, or his peers, or parents, he is also communicating some aspect about himself, his peers or his parents.

The elemental message or response units communicated by the boys became the focus for analysis rather than the two paragraphs produced

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[1]Reference to dad is made throughout the boy's response.

[2]Reference to mother is made throughout the boy's response.

[3]The boy had used "them" previous to this statement.

[4]Since this statement follows the original question of the instrument which refers to both parents, it is included as a PARENT RESPONSE.

[5]Paul Watzlawick, Janet H. Beavin and Don D. Jackson, Pragmatics of Human Communication (New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1967), p. 50.

by them. The analysis attempted to find ways of ordering elemental messages rather than ways of ordering paragraphs. Two types of messages were found to exist--a non-contingent type and a contingent type.

The distinguishing characteristic of a non-contingent message is that it concerns itself with a subject involved in a certain aspect of behaviour. Any of the above mentioned, FATHER, MOTHER, PEER, PARENT or SELF can qualify as a SUBJECT for the non-contingent message. Once mentioned, any one of these becomes the subject of attention for the message--the subject around whom the message revolves. This SUBJECT is undergoing certain processes; he is acting, or feeling, or thinking, or wanting something. This is what is considered the ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR in the message. Together the subject of attention and his aspect of behaviour form the non-contingent message because neither the SUBJECT nor the behaviour are dependent on anything other than themselves. For example, "I was hanging around with some boys and girls" is a non-contingent message whose SUBJECT is the boy - SELF - behaving in a certain way. This message is complete in itself.

Some further examples involving the other aforementioned SUBJECTS are:

MOTHER: ". . .bud off my back".

FATHER: "You're telling me what's bad".

PARENTS: "They don't like us teen-agers".

PEER: "We don't do anything wrong".

The contingent type of message is altogether different from the non-contingent type. The contingent message does not focus on an individual SUBJECT behaving in a certain manner. It is not composed of an individual SUBJECT with the accompanying ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. It is rather concerned with the dependency or contingency posed by a message containing two SUBJECTS with their behavioural aspects. One SUBJECT and his behaviour would have no meaning unless this SUBJECT and his behaviour was seen as being in relation to or contingent upon another SUBJECT and his behaviour. Though the combination of SUBJECT plus behaviour signifies a non-contingent message, the combination of two such messages, which show a fundamental contingency one upon the other, unite to form a message designated to be contingent. For example, "I will come home earlier. So they will not touch me any more" is considered a contingent message. Though the SELF is behaving in a certain fashion and the PARENTS as well are mentioned in an action manner, one statement without the other would not make sense. The action of the SELF is understood because the writer has chosen to add a contingent statement, one that illuminates the meaning behind the SELF action. In a similar fashion the PARENT action is not understood unless the SELF action is present.[1]

Some further examples of contingent messages are:

FATHER-SELF: "Don't tell me with whom I should go".

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[1] It is of interest to note that the SELF action can stand as a non-contingent message. It loses this quality by the appearance of the PARENT action statement which introduces the qualitative nature of the contingency.

SELF-PARENTS: "If I am half an hour late they start yapping their

mouth out".

SELF-PARENTS: "If they told me something I would say I'm sorry".

SELF-PEER: "I like my friends, they are good to me".

A careful examination of these messages indicates clearly that, in a contingency, there exist two types of statements. One statement seems to express the dominant or major idea while the other seems to explain or qualify it in some manner. This appears to be similar to the grammatical analysis where one finds a variety of sub-clauses which in some fashion modify the principal clause.[1]

It is evident, as well, from the above contingency examples that any number of combinations as regards two SUBJECTS and their behaviour is possible. The limitations involved are simply those which the youngsters imposed by having omitted them from their paragraphs.[2]

Though the SUBJECTS present in the message have already been examined, there has not yet developed the meaning of the other part of the message--the ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. The five basic SUBJECTS are matched by five different ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOUR. These are: ACTION, COGNITION, AFFECTIVE, MOTIVATION, and IDENTIFICATION.

ACTION. The SUBJECT is described as behaving in an action manner when he

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[1]Henry Sweet, A New English Grammar, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 161.

[2]See Appendix B for a more complete discussion of combinations (and how they were dealt with in the analysis).

is in the process of some action which is discernable, or which will be discernable, or which has been discernable. The action dimension attempts to encompass behaviour which does not require explanation or interpretation. It is not something that is in need of verification because it is by definition evident, has been evident, or will be evident. Some examples are: "What I really say," or, "I go . . .," or, "when my father brings up the subject . . .," or, "I didn't have a watch." Future and past actions are accepted in this category because the response is accepted at its face value. Saying that he will act or that they will act in a certain manner is accepted in the spirit that the act will in fact occur.

COGNITION. The message which contains the cognitive dimension of behaviour reveals a SUBJECT who is thinking or who knows something. His behaviour, involving thought processes, shows the subject engaged in thought. The SUBJECT, however, also has a store of knowledge which has already gone through thought processing, where decisions, evaluations of alternatives or judgments have already been formed. He is free to refer to this in varying ways. For example he might say, "They think their it," "I don't think I stay out late," "You're wrong man, this is 1970," "really I expect my punishment." Examples of the SUBJECT engaged in thought are: "I think I am in the age of doing these things," "I think I tell them the truth."

MOTIVATION. The SUBJECT expresses or is made to express by the boy a desire to act in a certain way or to have something. In a sense, the

SUBJECT is unsatisfied with his present state of affairs because his expression reveals a desire that some other state replace it. Some common examples are: "I don't want to be spoiled," "I feel like walking out of house," "I would have to know what the world is like," "My father would want to belt me one."

AFFECTIVE. The SUBJECTS' words express a feeling or affective quality which is taken to be an aspect of behaviour. The boy is reporting for either himself as a SUBJECT or for some of the other SUBJECTS a state of emotional involvement. The SUBJECTS are engaged in an emotional experience. No distinction is made between past, present and future. Some examples are: "I like my friends,""I am sorry," "Ain't no use for you to get mad," "I would be afraid to express my feelings," "I was having fun."

IDENTIFICATION. The SUBJECT is involved in presenting an essential aspect which refers to his state of being as a person. The SUBJECT identifies a state of his existence within the total life experience. Involved is the SUBJECT'S identification of his human credentials in a broad spectrum. Some examples are: "it's my life," "I am a man now," "it's none of your fueken business," "I'm fifteen years old," "When you were young you . . .," "I am free to pick my own friends."

These ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOUR have been extracted and isolated from the messages produced by the boys.[1] They represent an attempt at

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[1]The messages contained ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOUR which appeared individually as well as in combination. For a description of this matter see Appendix C.

classifying the particular content of the messages into more general categories. This follows the same line of procedure as occurred with the original breakdown into SUBJECT categories. The messages themselves have, therefore, been transformed from their own language into another language, much the same way as a listener must go through a process of decoding a message he is receiving from a speaker and encoding it into his own frame of reference.[1]

As the paragraphs of the boys were read the first question asked was: how many messages are there in the paragraph? After breaking down the paragraph into message units a sorting procedure followed. The messages were divided into the contingent and non-contingent variety. These were then further analyzed in their components of - SUBJECT - ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. The contingency issue and the identification of particular SUBJECTS and ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOUR of the messages were duly recorded for tabulation procedure.[2]

This structural approach to analyzing the messages was followed by an issue or theme analysis of the same messages. The question regarding the theme analysis of the messages was - "What meaning is the message conveying through its literal context?" The structural analysis

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[1]Charles E. Osgood, "The Representational Model and Relevant Research Methods," Trends in Content Analysis, ed. by Ithiel de Sola Pool, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959), pp. 33-36.

[2]For an example of a paragraph response and the type of processing it went through, see Appendix D. This appendix also includes the thematic aspect of the schema which is described in the following paragraphs.of the above text.

of the message in terms of SUBJECT - ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR was of no
importance in the theme analysis because it did not concern itself with
the meaning or sense in the message. From a structural viewpoint, the
message "I won't do it again" contains the SELF as SUBJECT concerned with
future ACTION as an ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. From a thematic viewpoint the
issue is one of self abnegation by the boy--an absolute retreat on his
part. In similar fashion, "stop spying on me" contains PARENTS as
SUBJECT behaving in an ACTION manner. From a thematic analysis, the
issue is one of harrassment--the parents intruding themselves into the
boy's experience.

Altering the method of analyzing the messages, necessitated
a change in perspective as well. The concern, as regards the messages,
was not in the particular area of contention such as lateness or being
with friends. Rather, the concern was with the more encompassing aspect
of the communication--with the interactional connotation present in the
message. The message, "I won't do it again," contains a particular area
of contention--a specific action with which he is dealing. The inter-
actional connotation in a sense disregards this kind of specificity,
focusing, rather, on what the message means in terms of the SELF. What
is the message saying about the SELF as an interacting entity? What are
the implications present when the SELF is presented in such a fashion?
One of the possible connotations of such a message is that it involves
an abnegation of the SELF ACTION. The issue or theme was therefore
labelled as ABNEGATION. In a similar fashion, "stop spying on me" was
considered to be an issue of HARRASSMENT. The PARENTS in this message

were portrayed as unwelcome intruders and the interactional connotation was thought to be one of parental HARRASSMENT of the boy. In the case of the SELF, ten issues or themes were isolated. They were: HOSTILITY, CONFRONTATION, ENGAGEMENT, ISOLATION, MATURITY, ASSERTION, INDEPENDENCE, PARENTAL AFFILIATION, ABNEGATION, FRIENDLINESS.[1] In the case of PARENTS, FATHER, MOTHER, the following issues were identified: DISENGAGEMENT, PARENTAL FALLIBILITY, "PARENT AS TEEN" MODEL, COMPETENCE and HARRASSMENT.[2] In the case of PEER, the following issues were noted: TRUSTWORTHINESS, SEX RELATED MATTERS, FRIENDSHIP, GENERATIONAL DISTINCTION.[3]

The thematic or issue analysis was not limited to the non-contingent messages. The sense of interactional connotation was found to pervade the contingent messages as well. In the case of SELF-PARENTS, SELF-FATHER, and SELF-MOTHER, the following issues were distinguished: REBELLION, OPPOSITION, ACCOMMODATION, RAPPORT, PARENTAL IDENTIFICATION, "PARENT AS TEEN" MODEL, MUTUAL PRIVATISM.[4] The SELF-PEER contingencies contained the following two issues: PEER BEHAVIOUR IDENTIFICATION and AFFILIATIVENESS.[5] The PEER-PARENT contingency contained the following four issues: GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCE, TRUST, PARENTAL IMPOSITION, "PARENT AS TEEN" MODEL.[6]

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[1] For definitions of these and all other thematic issues, see Appendix E.

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, same as footnote 1.

Some Theoretical Anchors Involved in the Analysis

The analysis as it is explained above deals with the contents of the paragraphs produced by the boys and falls into the field of Content Analysis - a field pioneered by Berelson[1] which now covers analysis of material ranging from mass media to records of patient-therapist interactions,[2] to the exploration of emotional states in interviews.[3]

The analysis scheme in the present discussion is based on the representational model of content analysis.[4] That is, the words employed by the boys are considered to be in some way representations of actual objects or phenomena. The words represent something which is real for the boys and which they have experienced in some fashion. These representations have an existence, however, which is not completely dependent on the total original experience. The boys are, therefore, able to combine these words in such a fashion that the combination of their representations also is meaningful or representational of some experience. Hence, the possibility of recording future experience. The communicational unit or message as described above could then be taken to represent some

[1]Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (New York: Free Press, 1952).

[2]Claire Sellitz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt and Co. Inc., 1959), p. 335.

[3]George F. Mahl, "Exploring Emotional States by Content Analysis," Trends in Content Analysis, ed. by Ithiel de Sola Pool (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959).

[4]Osgood, "The Representational Model," pp. 33-88.

form of experience for the boy.

Kerlinger, from a practical standpoint, outlines five
rules for categorizing material for analytical purposes.[1] The rules
which were most influential in shaping the analysis by causing categories
to appear were the following: the categories are exhaustive, i.e., they
include all the responses, and the categories are mutually exclusive and
independent. Given these rules as a guide it became difficult to
classify certain messages in terms of the one ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR so new
behavioural dimensions had to be introduced to deal adequately with what
the boys were communicating in their messages. The SUBJECT of the message,
the behavioural dimension of the message,as well as the thematic aspect
were dependent for their internal differentiations on unique qualities
communicated in the messages which served to distinguish one behavioural
dimension from another or one theme from a second. Where uniqueness seemed
to exist a new dimension or a new theme had to be produced to match it.

Since the orientation of the analysis was one where
messages were considered representational, the analysis took the liberty
of decoding the messages in a representational manner as well; therefore
the five categories or representations of the SUBJECT, and of ASPECT OF
BEHAVIOUR. Using these two tapped only one dimension of the message--the
descriptive dimension. That is, using a simple SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR
type of analysis only produced a way of recording "what was happening" in

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[1]Kerlinger, _Foundations of Behavioral Research_, p. 606.

the message, its structural outline. It did not consider: "what was the concern" of the message. This "concern" aspect of the message was retrieved with the introduction of the THEME aspect into the analysis. After describing the outline of the message, the theme of the message was reintroduced into the analysis thereby treating the message in its fullness.

Locating the scheme of analysis within the framework of content analysis does not reveal the interpretive approach to the material. How the material was decoded was one theoretical concern. The framework used to interpret the material is the other. The idea common to these two is the representational definition as above outlined.

The reports though written by the boys contained references to peers and parents as well. As was explained above, the SUBJECT upon whom the boy focused in the messages varied, sometimes the subject was himself, at other times father, etc. Calling SELF a SUBJECT implies that there is a level of experience where an individual is known to himself.[1] This is what Mead has called "self-consciousness".[2] It implies an ability to regard oneself and report about oneself as if looking through other person's eyes. Allport also suggests a category of "self-objectification" where a person is able to regard himself in a rational manner.[3] The SELF

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[1]Wylie, The Self Concept, p. 1.

[2]George H. Mead, "The Genesis of the Self," The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I, ed. by Chad Gordon and Kenneth J. Gergen, (New York: J. Wiley and Sons Ltd., 1968), p. 57.

[3]Gordon W. Allport, Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 56.

is therefore regarded as a SUBJECT which informs the reader about some aspect of the writer. It is taken to be an important disclosure about the writer himself.

Just as the SELF is taken to be a subjective report about himself, the PEER category is taken to be a subjective report about peers. The PARENTS, FATHER, MOTHER categories are also taken in the same fashion. That is, through the process of many thousands of interactional occasions within the context of relationships, the boy has built up certain representations of peers, father, etc., in his mind. When the occasion calls for it, he can produce some of these representations. This argument is simply an extension of the above, for if it is possible for a person to regard himself objectively, i.e., to have an image of himself, then it is possible for him to regard others in a similar fashion and develop ideas and attitudes towards them which would form composite images of them. And if it is possible for a person to report about his image by the method of disclosure, then it is also possible for him to report about other images he has.

The notion that images of others exist within the person is clearly presented by Shibutani who uses the idea to explain self control.[1] In essence, he argues, along with Mead,[2] that a person's overt

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[1]Tamotsu Shibutani, "Self Control and Concerted Action," The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I, ed. by Chad Gordon and Kenneth J. Gergen (New York: J. Wiley and Sons Ltd., 1968), pp. 379-382.

[2]George H. Mead, The Philosophy of the Present, ed. by Arthur E. Murphy (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1932), pp.176-195.

actions are in response to a pre-configuration as to how the action will be regarded by others. The person has the ability to imagine other people's reactions. He must therefore have some image of them represented in his mind.

Though the discussion has, thus far, been limited to non-contingent messages, it can easily be expanded to include contingent messages. If role taking is possible and images of self and others exist, then representations of contingent behaviour is also possible. Brim, for example, suggests the possibility of self-other relationships as playing an important part in the process of socialization.[1] He refers specifically to such contingencies as "I-them", "they-me", "I-me" and "they-them". If these occur as a result of the interactional process as he suggests, then these contingencies can also be expected to occur as images.

The suggestion being made is that it is possible to consider the messages produced by the boys as emanating from personal subjective images they have of themselves or their parents, etc.; that the messages produced by them are not accidental but rather unique to each boy as an individual. The possibility is being entertained that the analysis scheme developed can tap the messages and expose the common and unique features of their adolescent images.

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[1]Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I, ed. by Chad Gordon and Kenneth J. Gergen (New York: J. Wiley and Sons Ltd., 1968), p. 229.

Summary

In essence, the analysis schema developed centred around a structural approach and a thematic or issue approach to the content produced by the boys. The content was not analyzed according to paragraphs. Paragraphs were broken down into individual messages.

The boys' productions were first analyzed for the structure of the responses or messages. A message was defined as a single communicational unit. The messages were found to fall into the contingent and non-contingent categories. That is, non-contingent messages contained completed information in and of themselves while contingent messages could not stand on their own merit and needed further explanatory information for their completion.

Both contingent and non-contingent messages were comprised of the same elementary structural features; SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. The SUBJECT referred to the subject in the message on whom attention was focused. Sometimes a message focused on the boy, at other times on his parents or peers. The SUBJECT range included - SELF, PARENTS, FATHER, MOTHER, PEERS. Because the subject in each case was in the process of acting or thinking or wanting something, the adjunct to the SUBJECT became his ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. A gestalt was formed in the combination of SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. The various aspects were: ACTION, COGNITION, MOTIVATION, AFFECTIVE and IDENTIFICATION.

The non-contingent messages comprised all the responses which had the single gestalt of SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. Since there

were five of each present, the number of possible combinations was twenty-five. With the introduction of the possibility that ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR contained two aspects combined, the number of possible combinations became one hundred (as the same aspect could not succeed itself).

The contingent messages on the other hand comprised all those responses which contained multiples of the simple gestalt SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. Since the simple gestalt could not stand by itself as a completed informational unit, it was combined with another one or two or three such gestalts until the message became independent in and of itself, i.e., a gestalt in itself. The possible number of combinations were astronomical.[1]

The structural analysis of the content concerned itself with focusing attention on a SUBJECT in the process of behaving in some manner; not so the thematic or issue analysis of the messages. The perspective developed in the thematic analysis focused on the interactional connotations present in the messages both non-contingent and contingent. The interactional sense involved in the gestalt of the message, whether composed of a single or a multiple set of SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR, became the criteria for this type of analysis.

The assumption entertained by this analysis schema was the possibility of analyzing unstructured material of a subjective-representational manner.

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[1]See Appendix C.

Transition to Results

The analysis schema had its origin in the attempt to understand the unstructured responses of the boys. It grew out of these responses, became the method whereby results would be obtained from the boys' responses, and finally, became a schema for interpretation of these responses. It grew out of the investigator's initial interaction with the responses and, following an incubationary period, obtained its own definition.

The aim behind this exercise was to attempt to capture the flavour of the boys' responses in a consistent fashion; in a manner that would uncover the contours of the boys' adolescent experience with respect to some of the issues which had been identified in the literature.

CHAPTER IV

SCHEMATIC INTERPRETATION OF ADOLESCENT AWAKENINGS

Basic Considerations for Interpretation of Results

It has already been suggested that the messages analyzed by the schema represented subjective images the boys entertained about themselves, their parents, or peers.[1] That is, the messages reported material which was subjective in nature and which revealed something about the ways the boys regarded themselves, parents, or peer. It was thought that by concentrating on this kind of approach, the messages could be tapped for their adolescent meaning.

This bias regards the data produced by the boys as representative of their adolescent experience. The number of messages they produce, the distribution of those messages into contingent and non-contingent types, the further breakdown according to SELF, PARENT, SELF-PARENT, etc., the frequency of issues, are all related to the adolescent bias of the boys. Interpretation of these various factors derives from these very same factors, while, simultaneously, addressing itself to them as well.

One point to be stressed at the outset is the fantasy-reality split introduced by the instrument.[2] The first question to which

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[1]Supra, pp. 47-48.

[2]See Appendix A.

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the boys addressed themselves asked them what they would say to their parents if they were not afraid of getting into more trouble—fantasy. The second question asked them what they would in fact say to their parents—reality. The fantasy-reality split was maintained throughout the result compilation of the study and is often referred to in the following results.

Contingent/Non-contingent:Messages

Messages, by definition, are considered to be "communicational units"[1] which means that both the contingent and non-contingent variety contained a meaningful communication. These two types of messages differed with respect to their conciseness and focus. The non-contingent message contained only the elemental unit - SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR - and was focused sharply and in a concise fashion. The contingent messages contained dependent or contingent elemental units in their gestalt and were, therefore, more elaborate and "diffusely" focused.

The boys produced a total of 419 messages of which 259 fell in the fantasy realm, while 160 fell in the reality realm. Figure 1 shows the exact breakdown.

The 259 "fantasy messages" vs. the 160 "reality messages" suggests that the boys were less restricted when answering the "fantasy" question as compared with the "reality" question. Since the compositions

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[1]Supra, p. 36.

FIGURE 1

TOTAL DISTRIBUTION OF CONTINGENT/NON-CONTINGENT
MESSAGES IN REALITY AND FANTASY REALMS
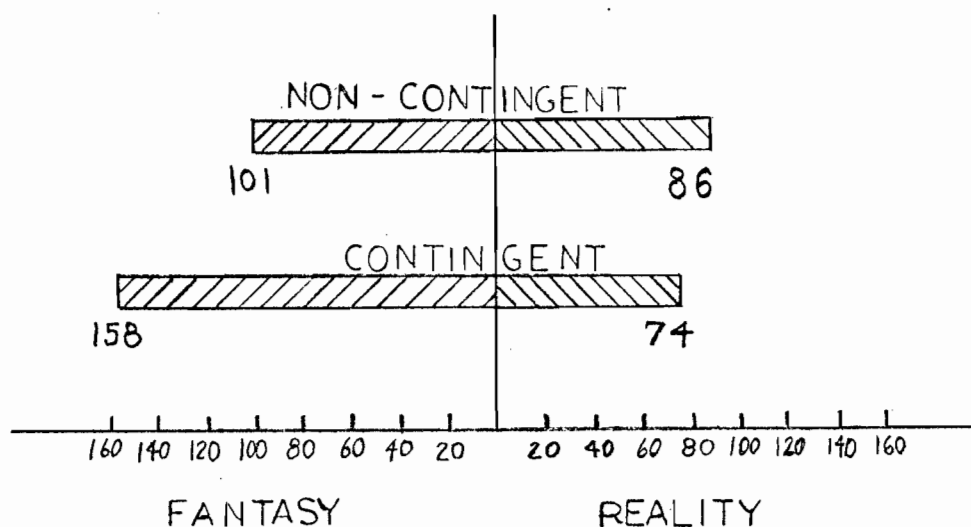
were all written in class time, the difference noted might be accounted
for by the nature of the release permitted them by the fantasy aspect as
against that permitted by the reality aspect.

A closer scrutiny of the "fantasy messages" reveals that
101 were of the non-contingent variety, while 158 were of the contingent
variety. In view of the suggestion that the fantasy level permitted
greater release to the boys, one can see the direction in which the re-
lease occurred. That is, the more elaborate gestalts gained in prominence.
Combinations of the elemental units into contingencies occurred more often
than the non-contingent variety.

The contingency message distinguishes itself insofar as it deals with elemental units related in a dependent manner. The type of mental apparatus evolving in the adolescent[1] would facilitate this kind of abstract combination of elemental units. The joining of two units in a hypothetical manner seems indicative of a more sophisticated mental approach than simply producing single elemental units. The fact that there are only 74 contingent responses in the reality realm indicates that this type of thinking is operative in reality as well, but has been subdued or has not yet found adequate opportunity for expression. The upshot of this seems to be that free reign to more sophisticated mental operations, as represented by the contingent messages, requires a fantasy realm in which to operate, i.e., one where the adolescent feels "freer" to produce as he wants to produce. The adolescent can test this developing capacity when the situation seems benign to such testing.

The suggestion that the reality realm served to restrict the production of the boys can be seen not only in the 259 vs. 160 comparison, but also by the fact that the trend in reality is to produce more non-contingent than contingent messages--86 as compared with 74. The non-contingent message is a sharply focused elemental unit indicative of a sharply focused or taught approach to the endeavour. By comparison, this taught approach seems somewhat dissipated when 158 messages appear in the fantasy realm as compared with 101 contingent messages in this realm.

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[1] Piaget, "The Intellectual Development of the Adolescent," pp. 22-26.

It seems that the fantasy realm was more conducive to personal expression as compared with the reality realm. It seems also that the "freer atmosphere" of the fantasy allowed for the use of a more complex mental approach to the task. Does the "freer atmosphere" allow the boy actually to deal with this problem, is a question which is considered later. Whether this notion holds true in other areas as well is a question which cannot be approached by this project but the implications that a "freer atmosphere" within a given task allows for testing of developing cognitive apparatus is certainly intriguing.
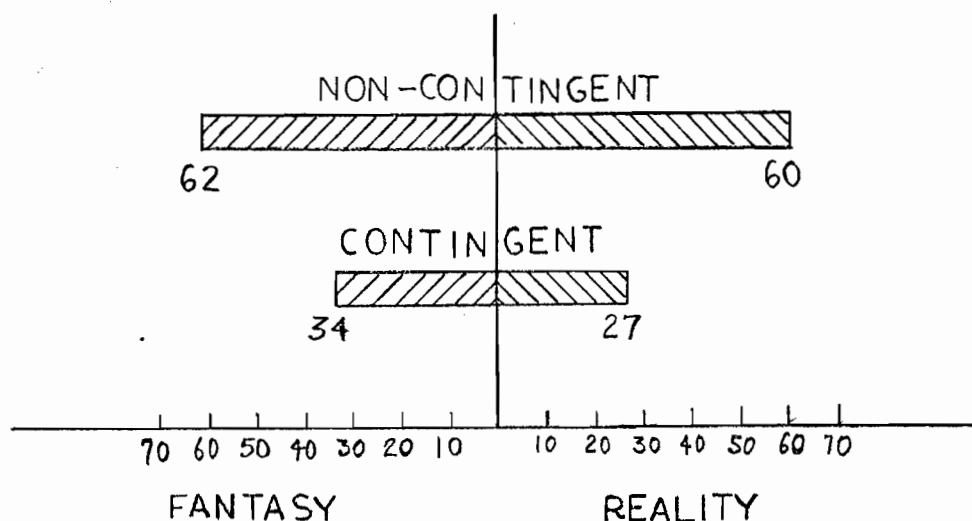
Self

The SELF as the SUBJECT upon whom the boy focuses in the message provides an image of what the boys expect they would do in the situation described. The reader, through the SELF, obtains a glimpse of the boys as they would manifest themselves in the situation of the story. Included in this section are non-contingent messages with SELF as SUBJECT as well as contingent messages where the SELF was the SUBJECT in both units or all three units.

One hundred and eighty-three of the 419 messages produced by the boys were concerned with the SELF in some way. That is, nearly half of the messages were concerned with what the boys felt they would do in the situation. Figure 2 gives the exact distribution of the messages.

Unlike Figure 1, this chart does not present any major disparities in terms of number between fantasy and reality realms.

FIGURE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF SELF MESSAGES

It shows, across the fantasy-reality dimension, a rather balanced picture of the distribution of the contingent and non-contingent dimension. The fantasy-reality split has not seemed to make any major difference with regard to the SELF. In fact, the 2:1 proportion occurs both in fantasy and reality but along the non-contingent/contingent dimensions. Only the internal disproportion between the non-contingent/contingent messages, within the realm of fantasy or within the realm of reality, is evident.

The suggestion of the fantasy dimension providing greater release to produce messages seems not to be operating in terms of the SELF. An apparent equal number of SELF messages are produced in fantasy

and reality. The boys seem to be pre-occupied with themselves as SUBJECTS; as the focus of their attention. They are so "taken in" with themselves in the situation that fantasy and reality become blurred.

The literature has certainly indicated that adolescents are very much concerned with their own development,[1] and how they appear in the eyes of others.[2] Given this twofold concern, of how they appear in their own eyes and in the eyes of others, one can better understand the blurring of fantasy and reality. The SELF, since it is in a stage of unfolding, differentiates itself by being concerned with itself and by testing others and how they would behave to the SELF. Both these activities are necessary for the differentiation and integration of one's identity or self image. The boys, "responding" to this kind of a dynamic, produced an equal quantity of SELF messages which bypassed the fantasy release. The release, in terms of SELF messages, is not one of fantasy or reality. The release, is rather what to do with oneself in a situation. "How do I, an adolescent, react given this situation?" They reacted by blurring the fantasy-reality dimension and producing nearly half of the total number of messages as SELF messages.

It could be argued that the instrument was basically responsible for the preponderance of SELF messages. The instrument did ask the boys what they, personally, would say to their parents. The boys were not asked, however, to speak about themselves. They could

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[1] Lidz, The Person, p. 306.

[2] Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 261.

easily have turned the tables and spoken primarily of their parental "rigidities" or their parental reactions. They, rather, chose to speak of themselves for nearly half of their messages. Although the questions might have steered the boys in the personal direction, this provides insufficient explanation for the number of SELF messages produced, or for the fantasy-reality blur. What seems a more appropriate explanation is that the questions might have served as triggers, while the dynamic of the adolescent concern with himself was active in producing that many SELF messages and the fantasy-reality blur with respect to these messages.

Though the fantasy-reality split did not materialize in the SELF messages, a 2:1 ratio of non-contingent to contingent did materialize. The general distinction between these two as being one of sharp focus is somewhat lost in this discussion of SELF because even in the contingent messages the SUBJECT remains the SELF in every single unit. The ratio does assume importance with respect to the conciseness of the communication; the non-contingent is more concise than the contingent one. It presents a deftly sharp communication whose meaning is unmistakeable.

Before considering some possible explanations for this 2:1 ratio of non-contingent to contingent messages, mention must be made of the primary ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR which accompanied the SELF messages. This would give an indication of the way the boys expected to behave or what their major concern would be in the given situation.

The data reveals that the ACTION related ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR is the primary focus of the boys. In the fantasy realm, 41 of

the 62 non-contingent SELF messages were ACTION related,[1] while 28 of
the 34 contingent ones were so related. In the reality realm, the same
holds true; 42 of the 60 non-contingent SELF messages and 23 of the 27
contingent SELF messages were ACTION related. Within this ACTION realm,
coming home late, hanging around with friends, saying things to parents,
caring for oneself, or simply doing things were most often mentioned.

The 2:1 ratio seems more related to the non-contingency/
contingency issue rather than behavioural aspects. Even if one looks
at those other aspects MOTIVATION, COGNITION, etc., related to ACTION,
one finds that they seem to be evenly distributed in the non-contingency/
contingency dichotomy. In the non-contingency one is apt to find
MOTIVATION-ACTION behavioural aspects, e.g., "I want to hang around with
my friends." Within the contingency messages one can see that the two
or three units contain different aspects of behaviour, e.g., "I think I
have the right to stay out late if I want to".

The non-contingency message is sharp in its communication.
It presents its communication without any additional explanations. If
the boys were "into" the situation and were experiencing themselves in
the situation, a more concrete and impulsive reaction seems to be what
they are exhibiting; concrete in terms of the ACTION related orientation,
impulsive in terms of the majority of non-contingent messages they sent.

Impulsive actions and involvement in activity seem to be
important for adolescents.[2] In the given situation, the activity

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[1]ACTION related refers specifically to the presence of
ACTION in the ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. ACTION may appear individually or in
combination with other ASPECTS. See Appendix C for a more complete
discussion of this whole issue.

[2]Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Normal
Adolescence, p. 75.

orientation can be seen in the boys' focusing on coming late or saying things to parents, etc. The fact that they express themselves in sharp staccato style seems to suggest that their communications have been produced without elaborate processing--a factor which seems more evident in the non-contingent messages.

This staccato style has certain shock value, but as Erikson has pointed out, much of adolescent activity can be seen as attempts to project one's self-image onto another and see its reflection.[1] Coupled with this is the fact that adolescents are in the process of discovering and testing limits for themselves[2] and one way of making immediate impact is to be brash in manner. The SELF non-contingent predominance might therefore indicate a certain vulnerability which the adolescents feel, or a concern with the developing self-image which causes abrupt behaviour when a situation seems ominous or threatening as this situation might have appeared to them.

The differentiation and integration of the self-image, it seems, is played out with respect to externals rather than on the internal scene. This does not mean that the data suggests no internal manipulations; contingent SELF messages do make their appearance (in the fantasy realm as well). The suggestion is that, in the given situation, the boys seemed more concerned with a style that is abrupt in manner and which serves a purpose. In fact, Brim suggests that with growing maturity

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[1] Erikson, Identity: Youth Crisis, p. 132.

[2] Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Normal Adolescence, p. 75.

"I-me" responses decrease in lieu of "I-other" responses,[1] and the data does seem to follow this up. The boys seem to be showing by the SELF messages a certain tendency to face the external world and in doing so are evolving their maturity (learning to define their self-image). The actual process of integration and differentiation of the self-image or "identity" is, to a large extent, unconscious.[2]
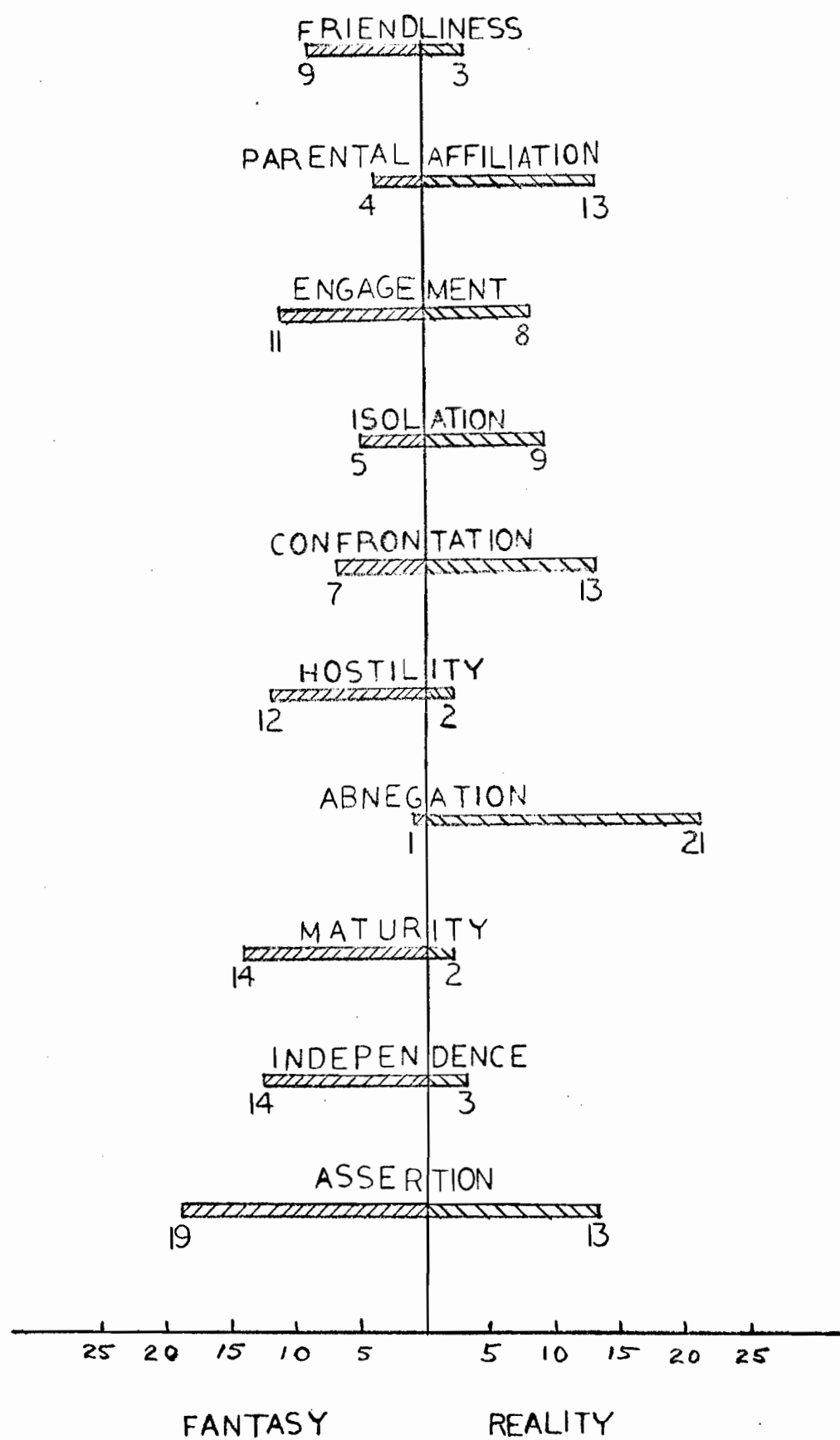
The data associated with the structural analysis of the SELF is suggestive of certain aspects which receive a somewhat fuller definition if one regards the message from the thematic point of view. The thematic or issue point of view regards the messages from their relational aspect; in the SELF messages the boys selves are the origin of the relational analysis. The SELF messages, from this point of view, reveal some of the themes or issues with which the boys' "I" contended in the situation. Appendix E provides the definitions of the themes and Figure 3 displays their distribution.

The number of themes associated with the SELF messages is more than the number of themes associated with any of the other categories to be met later. The degree of thematic differentiation of the SELF messages, in a sense, parallels the sheer number of SELF messages produced. One can suggest that not only is there an active concern about oneself in the situation, but that this active concern finds expression a highly varied

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[1]Brim, "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," p. 238.

[2]Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 23.

FIGURE 3 - DISTRIBUTION OF SELF THEMES

FRIENDLINESS
9   3

PARENTAL AFFILIATION
4   13

ENGAGEMENT
11   8

ISOLATION
5   9

CONFRONTATION
7   13

HOSTILITY
12   2

ABNEGATION
1   21

MATURITY
14   2

INDEPENDENCE
14   3

ASSERTION
19   13

25 20 15 10 5   5 10 15 20 25

FANTASY   REALITY

number of themes. The active concern is, in other words, composed of a
number of varied active issues for these boys. In a sense, this could
be representative of the differentiation which is taking place regarding
the self-image.

There are three basic clusters of SELF themes. One such
cluster includes the categories of ASSERTION, INDEPENDENCE, and MATURITY
which together exemplify the boys' growing awareness (through their
messages) of personal preferences, whether in actions, motivations,
affects or thoughts; a growing concern about one's life and direction for
that life; as well as a growing awareness of new roles which accrue as a
result of their changing status. This personal concern with oneself is
indicative of the boys' active concern with participating in the channelling
of their newly emerging skills and capacities.[1] Thus, in a situation which
seems directly to affect the boys, they produce more SELF messages than
any other; SELF messages which intrinsically display a certain involvement
with self differentiating qualities which form part of the self-image.
This cluster produced a total of 65, and represents more responses than
was produced in any of the other clusters. The suggestions made above
in the structural analysis seem to be reinforced by considering the
thematic analysis. This analysis indicates that there is a developing
sense, in the adolescents, which is concerned with how they appear in the
eyes of others and in their own eyes. The fact that these themes evolve

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[1]Osterrieth, "Adolescence: Some Psychological Aspects,"
p. 13 and Elder, Jr., "Adolescent Socialization and Development," p. 239.

primarily in an ACTION orientation and presumably in an impulsive manner further suggests a real need to express, in a concrete way, what they are experiencing. In a sense, they are trying to keep others informed about their own sense of development and, in the process, are able to see the reflection from those who receive it. The circularity involved in one's developing sense of identity seems evident here. (This kind of argument appears again in the SELF-PARENT category.)

More than the structural analysis, the thematic analysis seems to suggest that the boys are making a presentation of part of their self images concerned with personal function. This cluster seems to indicate that the sense of self is quite active in these boys. The poignancy of the adolescent's dilemma comes through when one considers the fact that 47 of these 66 responses occur in the fantasy realm and issues involving MATURITY and INDEPENDENCE seem more "muted" than that of ASSERTION. The suggestion that for the SELF the fantasy-reality split is blurred extends in the realm of numbers of messages but seems to require qualification at the thematic level. This consideration is introduced further on in the section.

One captures another glimpse of agonizing adolescent tension when clusters 2 and 3 are compared. Both these clusters are part of the SELF messages dealing primarily in relation to parents. That is, these messages were concerned with the "I" of the boys—the SELF—as the parents seemed part of that "I". The "I" was taken up with the parent. This category is different from the SELF-PARENT category because the PARENT is not differentiated as a separate SUBJECT, but seems to occupy a place

within the "I" itself. In other words, the parents are considered "part of the self-image of the boys."

Cluster 2 is composed of the ISOLATION, CONFRONTATION, and HOSTILITY themes. These mark, in varying degrees, a pulling away from the parents. One method involves verbal silence or physical disappearance from the situation, another involves arguing with the parents over specific issues, while the third is a reversal of the "expectable" obedient child behaviour. Cluster 3 contains the PARENTAL AFFILIATION, ENGAGEMENT, and ABNEGATION themes which seem to be in direct opposition to those of Cluster 2. One theme is concerned with positive attachments the boys displayed for their parents, the other represents an attempt to reach towards the parents for dialogue, while the third describes the boys' assumption of the parental point of view in the situation. The tension between clusters 2 and 3 is quite evident and the fact that they exist side by side within the SELF messages, i.e., as part of the self image, only intensifies the polarity of their dialectic. The ambivalent love-hate relationship so characteristic of the adolescent is exemplified in this situation within the self image of the boys.[1] The situation seems to have suggestively uncovered ambivalence towards the parents within the SELF messages, i.e., as part of the self image of the boys.

As was the case in cluster 1, the fantasy-reality split

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[1]Josselyn, The Adolescent and His World, p. 54.

does seem to distinguish itself in clusters 2 and 3 as well. Figure 3 indicates that the boys tended to behave with HOSTILITY in the fantasy realm to a much larger degree than in the reality sphere; the ratio in numbers of messages was 12:2. There was a trend in CONFRONTATION and ISOLATION to produce more reality than fantasy messages; the ratio was 7:13 for CONFRONTATION, and 5:9 for ISOLATION in favour of reality.

This seems to suggest that the boys responded in a graded fashion to the various ways of showing negative attitudes towards their parents. The least noxious of these themes, ISOLATION, finds the boys' reality and fantasy messages approximating each other much more closely than in the other, more noxious, themes. An order seems to exist in cluster 2 which suggests a "grading mechanism" in line with the "fantasy release" mechanism already mentioned. The boys grade their negative responses in a manner which allows their appearance in reality, when reality seems to be the "proper" arena. When reality becomes a questionable arena for expression, fantasy serves as the medium in which the responses occur. Where the theme is least negative, reality and fantasy become more equal vehicles for expression of that theme.

When cluster 3 themes are looked at closely one is struck by the fantasy-reality ratio of 16:42 responses in favour of reality. One is also struck by a "grading mechanism" which exhibits for ABNEGATION-- a form of identification with parental viewpoint--a ratio of 1:21 responses in favour of reality. PARENTAL AFFILIATION comes second with a ratio of 3:14 in favour of reality, while ENGAGEMENT for dialogue reverses this trend slightly with a ratio of 11:8 in favour of fantasy.

It would seem that what is most "proper" in the situation, if one is going to affect one's parents positively, is to assume an attitude of ABNEGATION. The more difficult positive approach to the parents - ENGAGEMENT, which would involve initiative for dialogue, is also more difficult to grapple with in the manner which the other two are presented. One finds, therefore, a closer approximation of fantasy and reality with the trend reversed in favour of fantasy. This suggests that the boys deal with more "proper" positive tasks in reality and tend to favour fantasy for the difficult "proper" positive tasks.

A comparison of the "mechanisms" involved in cluster 2 and 3 would suggest a functional use of the fantasy and reality realms by the boys. Where negative attitude of the self image towards the parents was displayed, one observed a tendency which shifted away from a ratio biased in favour of fantasy towards one biased in favour of reality. The lesser negative reaction could appear in reality. The situation seems slightly different when one considers the positive attitude towards the parents. Here, the lesser positive attitude ex- hibits a ratio biased in favour of fantasy whereas one would expect positive attitudes to appear in reality. If one thinks in terms of the love-hate ambivalence, one can picture the following: the more "love" the more it appears in reality, the less "love" the less it appears in reality and the more it tends towards fantasy; the more "hate" the more it appears in fantasy, the less "hate" the less it appears in fantasy and the more it tends towards reality. The following type of continua seem to suggest themselves.

FIGURE 4

CONTINUA

MOST FANTASY | EXPRESSION
VS. LEAST REALITY EXPRESSION

MORE FANTASY | EXPRESSION
VS. LESSER REALITY EXPRESSION

most
negative   lesser   FANTASY EXPRESSION   lesser   most
positive

attitude   negative   EQUALS REALITY EXPRESSION   positive   attitude
to parents   attitude   attitude   to parents

MORE REALITY | EXPRESSION
VS. LESSER FANTASY EXPRESSION

MOST REALITY | EXPRESSION
VS. LEAST FANTASY EXPRESSION

Since the negative attitude towards parents begins above

the horizontal line and ends below that line and the reverse occurs for

the positive attitudes towards parents which begins below the horizontal

and ends above, each one could be operating within a continuum of its own.

Thus, the negative attitudes towards parents might have a "grading

mechanism" which functions according to its own "grading rules" which are

different from the "grading rules" which control expression of positive attitudes towards parents. This is suggested by the fact that two negative themes are biased in reality whereas one would expect all three negative themes to be biased in fantasy.

This suggests that expression in the realms of fantasy and reality is one that is ratio bound and intrinsically tied to the nature of the themes involved. A "grading mechanism" controls the amount of expression in reality of negative attitudes and simultaneously the amount of expression in fantasy of these same attitudes. It is not as if expression in reality entirely stifles expression in fantasy or vice versa. Rather, the "grading mechanism" measures the amount of each which is permissable with respect to any one theme. One theme might allow for expression in favour of a reality bias while another might favour a fantasy bias.

It is interesting to note, in light of this discussion, that the expression of negative attitudes towards parents receives greater reality bias sanction in two negative themes. The fantasy/reality ratio of these two themes favours reality. Though the literature is replete with suggestions of negative approaches towards parents,[1] this situation seems to indicate that the boys find ways to express this in reality even when a fantasy/reality mode is offered them. Perhaps this is because they have discovered "acceptable" ways of expressing their negative attitudes towards their parents. Perhaps the "negative grading mechanism" is, in some sense, so in touch with the "spirit" of the developing self image

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[1] Lidz, "The Adolescent and His Family," p. 107.

that it finds ways of "pulling apart" from the parents.

The difficulty in "pulling apart" from the parents is further suggested by a glance at the positive themes. The "positive" grading mechanism" allows for extreme positive expression of allegiance to the parents, but when it comes to engaging the parents in dialogue, which suggests a more evolutional approach to "pulling apart", the trend is reversed and the fantasy bias appears. The boys can express their extreme attachment in a highly biased reality realm but do not seem to allow a middle stance in reality; one that would create a situation of dialogue. The "positive grading mechanism", thus, seems bent on maintaining the previous forms of relations with the parents.

The tension of "pulling apart" from, while maintaining loyalty towards the parents seems evident. If "pulling apart" requires increasing expansion of personal development in all spheres and expression of these in some way, negative attitudes towards parents, and positive friendships, then maintaining loyalty seems to demand a positive attachment towards parents. Each one of these factors contributes its unique quality in the maturing process and, because of this uniqueness, generates a delicate state of imbalance within the "I" of the adolescent. As one of these factors finds expression, the others become"cognizant" of the occurrence and produce their own expression. Thus, one sees the interspersion of the themes in a non-systematic way in the original compositions. The fluidity of the adolescent can be seen both by the number of themes as well as by their interlacing form of expression. The

suggestion of some order is introduced by the idea of "grading mechanisms"
yet it is difficult to imagine that these remain constant within the
fluid development of the adolescent. The notion being introduced is
that the adolescent in this situation exhibits a fluidity in his develop-
ment which seems structured in a relative manner; each factor has some
consistency, yet is tied to the other factors in a relative manner. Each
factor is an expression of that factor yet is also expressed in reaction
to any of the other factors. It is no wonder that Erikson describes
the formative stages of adolescence as being in a state of flux with
respect to a firm sense of who one is.[1]

What began as a simple issue, from a structural analysis
point of view, has become a major complexity when seen in a thematic
light. The fantasy and reality realms seem to distinguish themselves
when one looks at the SELF themes. They seem to do this within a
"fantasy release" mechanism which operates along "grading mechanisms"
with respect to positive and negative attitudes the self image contains
in relation to the parents.

One can also argue for a "grading mechanism" with respect
to cluster 1 which is concerned with the presentation of the growing
personal aspirations and awareness of the boys. Figure 5 suggests that
the fantasy/reality realms begins to approximate each other in ASSERTION—
the "weakest" of these three themes. That part of the "I" which is
concerned with the personal comment on their own development—the

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[1]Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," pp. 45-47.

exclusive self within the self image—also operates within a structure
which allows differing ratios to exist within themes. A "grading
mechanism" seems to be indicated for the personal self within the self
image as well.

Perhaps one can tentatively suggest the following. The
fantasy and reality realms as they relate to the SELF, which is being
considered as the most personal aspect of the boy's display of his self
image, operate within a complex tension governed by a "release mechanism".
This "mechanism", it seems, is functionally related to a thematic scheme
which, in the SELF category, is related to the boy himself, positive
attitudes towards parents, negative attitudes towards parents. That is,
fantasy and reality exist in a proportion or ratio which is affected by
what the SELF is dealing with. The ratios alter as the "I" deals with
central aspects of his development, or with positive attitude toward
parent, or negative ones. The discussion also suggested that these three
categories might exist separately within the "I". This would further
suggest that the boys, at this stage of development, might be more con-
cerned with differentiation of themselves as compared with integration.

This idea that the boys seem, perhaps, more concerned with
differentiation receives some support from the trend of non-contingent/
contingent SELF messages. It was earlier suggested that non-contingent
messages are more indicative of a certain absence of internal processing
and an abrupt way of projecting oneself onto others. This, it was thought,
showed an attempt to tease out aspects of oneself by seeing their re-
flection from others. The data indicates that in every one of the ten

themes associated with the SELF, non-contingent messages predominated over the contingent ones. In every theme, non-contingent messages, and by association the non-contingent manner, proved more prevalent than the other type. In a sense, the boys, along their range of experience indicated above, were more outwardly and differentially inclined. Integration was, of course, also occurring and was exemplified by the presence of contingency messages in both fantasy and reality.

The tenth theme FRIENDLINESS--which describes positive actions and feelings the boys express for their peers within the SELF messages--hits a record 12:0 non-contingent/contingent messages. The above argument can therefore be reproduced with respect to this theme with the added significance that no contingent messages were produced. Friends, it seems, play a very important role in the "I" of the boys. The unique quality in relation to peers is further suggested when one considers that only a positive category exists with respect to them. The impression one receives is that peers exist in the "I" in a unique positive fashion and that they are important as exclusively positive screens for reflection. This quality seems to suggest an approach indicative of "either you are my friend or you are not my friend." Peers who are friends seem especially endowed with affirmation ability[1] for one is most easily affirmed by those whom one thinks important, i.e., to whom one is highly positively attached. In this respect parents seem to lack an easy affirmation ability because of the existing ambivalence.

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[1]Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 263.

The SELF messages, being concerned exclusively with the "I" of the boys, contained four aspects. They were: concern with the unfolding self, positive attitudes towards parents, negative attitude towards parents, and exclusively positive attitudes towards peers who were friends. The "I" which was considered as the self image, and which suggestively was represented by the SELF messages, was, in this situation, composed of these same four elements which seemed to exist separately within that "I".

Two more considerations must be dealt with. The numbers used throughout the study are totals derived from all the participating boys. The discussion is, therefore, concerned with the general picture presented rather than the individual one presented individually and then collaged into one unitary image. The significance of this appears in the following consideration. Of the 57 boys who participated, only 21 included SELF messages in both fantasy and reality, i.e., only 21 responded to questions one and two. Seven did not respond in their compositions to either one or two. The remaining 29 responded to either question one or question two. The same type of trend occurred with respect to the other categories in this study as well. It would have been impossible to use an individual approach. A more general approach was, therefore, used. One can imagine the possibility, however, of individual interpretation of the boys in light of the emerging general considerations. That is, a profile approach from the various categories used could be produced for application to individual assessment. A method would have to be produced to elicit messages with respect to all the categories named. This,

however, was not the object of the study.

A further limitation in the study has been the range of the boys' ages. Though 44 of the 57 participants were thirteen and fourteen years old, the rest were fifteen and two were sixteen. The boys were not homogeneous in relation to age so that the description presented in this study primarily covers the 13-15 age range. A profile approach would be interesting across ages, for example, or perhaps even across classes, but this is not the object of the study.

Self-Parent

SELF messages were the focus of the above discussion and it was suggested that these messages, because of their exclusive focus on the "I" of the boys, represented a factor concerned with the personal "I" of the self image. The category of SELF-PARENT is to be distinguished from this. It presents two SUBJECTS for focused attention in its contingency. It is, therefore, related to an important personal aspect of the boys', yet, simultaneously, also related to an important perceived aspect of the parents. These messages deal with dual SUBJECTS and are, consequently, one step removed from the personal "I" of the SELF messages. They are, nevertheless, closely related to the "I" because they contain the SELF as one of the SUBJECTS. These messages are closely allied to the "I" as well as being allied to the perceived "images" of parents and parental reaction. Their importance, for the boys, is indicated by the number of such messages produced.

The boys produced a total of 123 SELF-PARENT messages.

This amount is second only to the total of 183 SELF messages. These
messages are distinguished from those of the SELF because they are ex-
clusively contingent. They are comprised of three varieties: SELF-
PARENT, SELF-FATHER, SELF-MOTHER. Figure 5 gives their distribution.

FIGURE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF SELF-PARENT MESSAGES
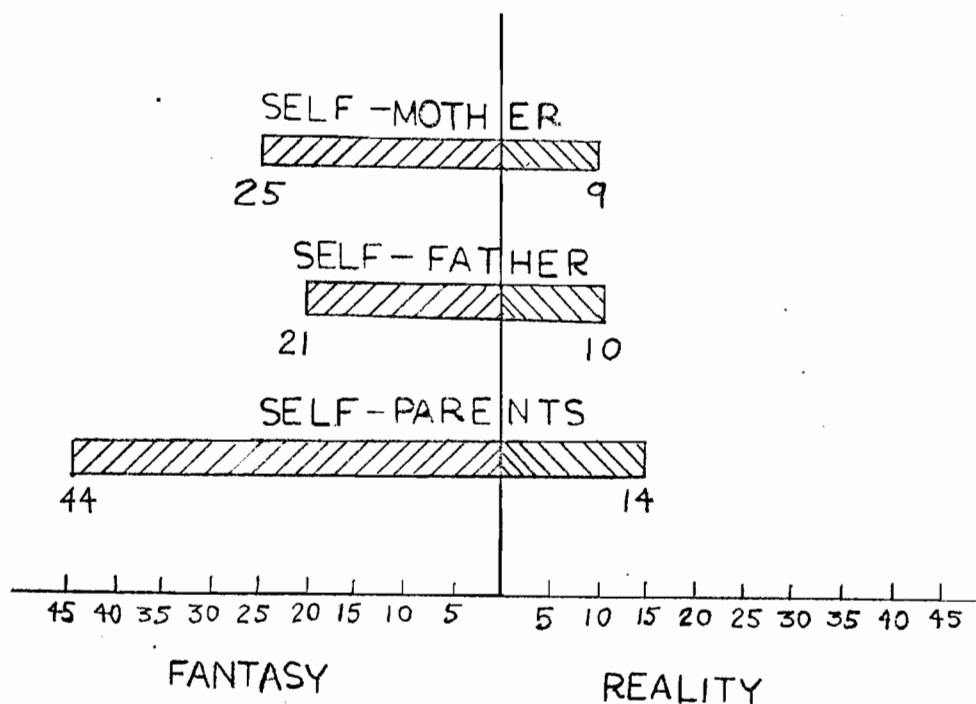
The disparity between fantasy and reality is the most
striking feature of this figure. Indeed, when one thinks back to
Figure 1 and the original fantasy-reality split at the contingent level,
one finds the message ratio of 158:74. Of these 158 contingent fantasy
messages, 90 fall into the category of SELF-PARENT. It is significant
that the arena of interaction between boy and parents seems to be primarily

in the fantasy realm.

The SELF messages, as shown in Figure 2, are evenly balanced across the fantasy-reality dimension. When the messages were primarily concerned with the SELF, i.e., featuring the "I" and how it would be presented, the fantasy and reality realms contained equal numbers of messages. Not so when the boys' consideration focuses on an interactional approach with the parents. Then, the boys seem to require the "fantasy release". Somehow the interactional approach--one which highlights the face-to-face encounter between boy and parents--firmly establishes the fantasy realm of functioning. Though equal numbers of messages across the fantasy-reality dimension did not invalidate the "fantasy release" as the thematic discussion in the SELF showed, it is important to note that, structurally, this mechanism seems to be called for in the SELF-PARENT messages.

As the "internal" movement is away from the SELF and heads in the direction which encompasses SELF relating to PARENT, the experiencing of the situation, perhaps, assumes a more immanent quality. The boys in all these messages operate in an interrelational plane. The complexity thus produced is very real, not only because the contingent mode is more complex than the non-contingent. The boys are expressing, in relation to their parents, requests for empathy--"I would ask her what she would do in my position" and whole sequences of action--"If he already knew I would wait until he cooled down and explain I had done nothing wrong." The mental apparatus, it seems, is working in a hypothetical and deductive manner in its attempt to cope with the situation.

Not only do these messages suggest that the mental apparatus is achieving complexity but they also suggest that it is using its capabilities in the emotional and other realms of behaviour. Though ACTION figures as the single most prominent ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR, it represents only one such aspect. The others - IDENTIFICATION, MOTIVATION, COGNITION and AFFECTIVE generally occupy the other SUBJECT in the contingency. The result is that ACTION seems to blend into the other behavioural aspects and assumes its definition in relation to them. For example, "He would want [MOTIVATION] to belt me [ACTION] I would tell him [ACTION] its my life [IDENTIFICATION]." "I don't know [COGNITION] what they did [ACTION] when they were young like me [IDENTIFICATION]." "If I become a doctor [IDENTIFICATION] they will say [ACTION] they are the parents of a doctor [IDENTIFICATION]." The ACTION of the SELF or PARENT receives its qualification from the other behavioural aspects in the message.

The complexity shown by these contingent messages appears in all behavioural aspects even though ACTION remains the single most prominent aspect. This emphasis on ACTION seems to coincide with what occurred in the SELF messages. One can suggest, therefore, that in the situation an emphasis on ACTION seemed to be the boys' main concern. They were concerned with coming late, hanging around with friends, what their parents might do or say, what they might do or say and that their parents not curb their activities. ACTION was what served to focus the boys' attention in the situation.

When discussing the SELF thematically, it was pointed
out that there is an increasing differentiation of awareness of personal
strivings and a concern for oneself. One can see, at a structural
level, an increasing differentiation in ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOUR in these
messages. That is, not only do the boys indicate a differentiation with
respect to themselves, but greater use and blending of various aspects
of behaviour also suggests a more general differentiation of behavioural
possibilities, as well as greater prospects for integration of these
various behavioural aspects. The boys are not only producing more and
varied behavioural aspects, they are producing them in combinations,
i.e., in joined or "integrated" fashion. This would seem to indicate
an ability to integrate different elements on the part of the boys.

The boys are showing these developing capabilities within
relational confines involving themselves. Differentiation and integration
proceed, therefore, in relation to behavioural or thematic aspects as
they revolve around the boy himself--psychologically, his self image.
In a sense, these contingent messages allow the projection of various
aspects about the SELF onto the PARENT and vice versa. The effect is to
have the self image project in relation to existing images of others and
to see the reflection in the mind itself. Thus the mind can possibly make
use of projecting in an "internal" manner aside from projecting externally
on other people. In a sense, this could serve as practice before or in
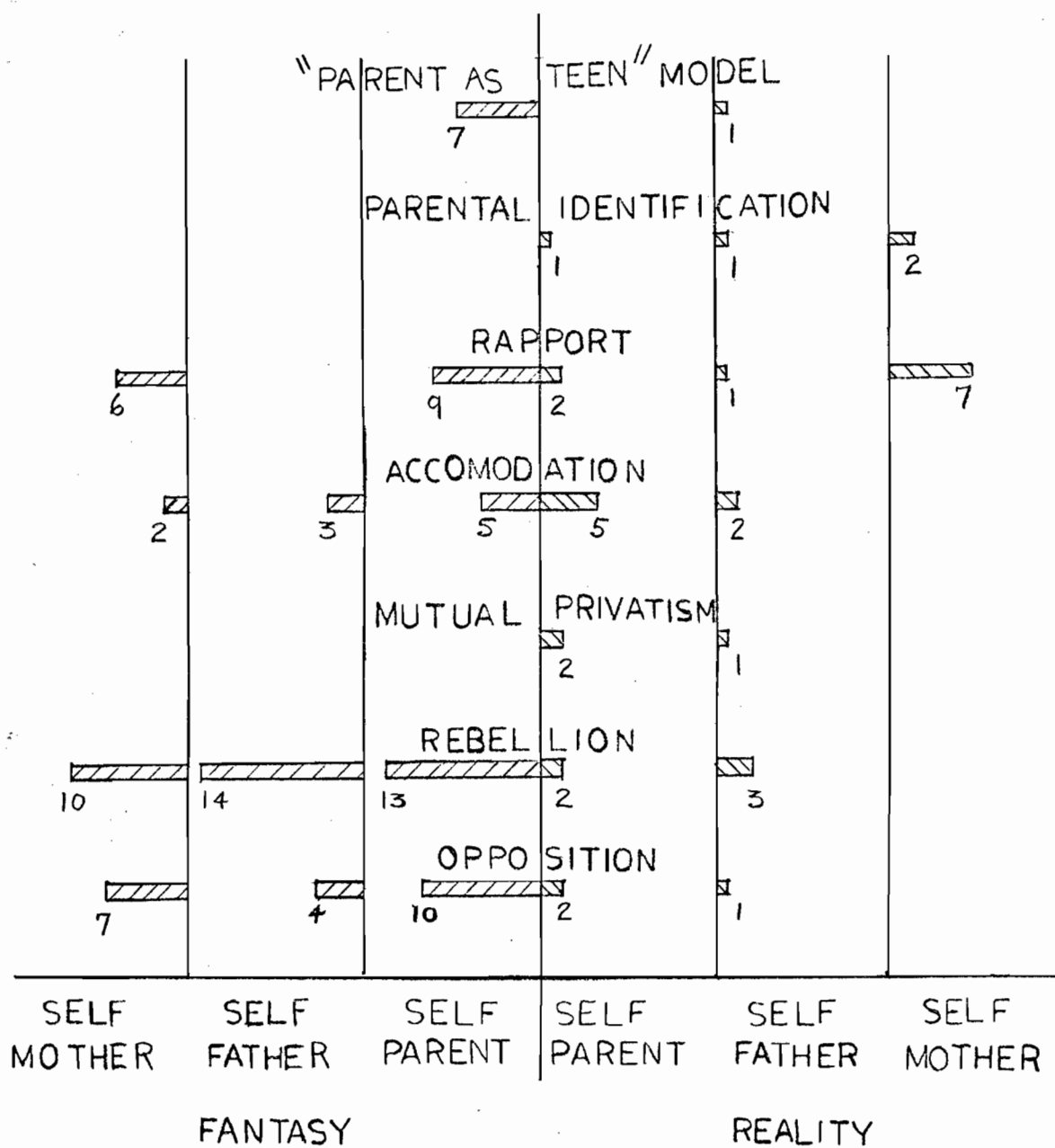conjunction with external projection of oneself. Strauss in fact suggests

that fantasy serves this purpose of "internal" practice.[1] This would
sit well with the bias in terms of fantasy found in these messages but
it does not explain why in fact these messages used fantasy as the
preferred method in this situation.

The thematic aspect of these messages requires examination
before gaining an understanding of this, and Figure 6 indicates this
thematic distribution. It must be noted, however, that once projection
is seen as an "internal" process as well, that one must posit the
possibility for the consideration of the reflection by the mind. This
creates the possibility of internally obtaining a sense of who one is by
one's own internal projections, and if one does not like the reflection
then appropriate adjustments can be made, just as adjustments are made
once external reflections become evident. A sense of this is "me" or
this is "not-me" can then accrue. Integration of a sense of self becomes
a definite possibility.

The thematic aspect of analysis of these messages attempted
to follow the structural aspect. Structurally, there was a dual focus
in SUBJECTS. Thematically, the attempt was made to find terms which
would take this into account, i.e., terms which would highlight the sense
of what was happening between SELF and PARENT. OPPOSITION, for example,
does not serve the SELF half of these messages which, had they been
analyzed in the SELF analysis above, would have been subsumed under the
themes of ASSERTION or INDEPENDENCE. These half-messages are, rather,

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[1]Anselm L. Strauss, Mirrors and Masks (San Francisco,
California: Sociology Press, 1969), p. 65.

FIGURE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF SELF-PARENT THEMES

"PARENT AS TEEN" MODEL
7   1

PARENTAL IDENTIFICATION
1   1   2

RAPPORT
6   9   2   1   7

ACCOMODATION
2   3   5   5   2

MUTUAL PRIVATISM
2   1

REBELLION
10   14   13   2   3

OPPOSITION
7   4   10   2   1

| SELF MOTHER | SELF FATHER | SELF PARENT | SELF PARENT | SELF FATHER | SELF MOTHER |

FANTASY   REALITY

subdued within the whole message which is comprised of SELF-PARENT.

The seven themes of these messages can be, generally, divided into three clusters. Cluster 1 contains OPPOSITION and REBELLION which are concerned with either descriptions of differences existing between the boys and their parents or actual expression of statements which the boys would make to their parents. Cluster 2 is composed of MUTUAL PRIVATISM which contains messages depicting the boys and their parents operating in individual spheres vis à vis each other in this situation; and ACCOMMODATION which depicts ways in which boys and parents are forming compromises as a result of the situation. Cluster 3 is comprised of RAPPORT, PARENTAL IDENTIFICATION, and "PARENT AS TEEN" MODEL. These themes describe a mutually positive rapprochment between boy and parent, a total agreement with the parental point of view, and a claim that the boys are following in parental footsteps because their present behaviour resembles parental teen behaviour. Appendix E contains more complete definitions of these themes.

The most striking feature of Figure 6 is the top heaviness of OPPOSITION and REBELLION--cluster 1--in the fantasy realm. Fifty-eight of the 90 fantasy messages are taken up by these two themes, while only 8 such messages appear in the reality realm. These two themes seem to have been quite pressing on the boys' minds. Unlike the negative cluster in the thematic SELF analysis, which finds ways of producing fantasy/reality ratios favouring even reality, these contingent messages do not provide evidence for "grading mechanisms" which seemed to exist in the SELF messages.

They seem to have been loaded in fantasy. Furthermore, these negative
attitudes come out with respect to all three types: SELF-PARENTS,
SELF-FATHER, SELF-MOTHER. The "fantasy release" mechanism seems operative
without a "grading mechanism".

The distinction between these messages and the SELF occurs
primarily in the existence of a dual focus on SELF and PARENT. Every
time a statement is made about the SELF in these messages an accompanying
contingent statement is also made about the PARENT. While it may prove
useful for an adolescent to let it be known that he thinks he is changing
and developing certain tastes, outlooks, etc., in so doing, he is talking
only of himself. However, if he talks also of another party at the same
time as he speaks of himself, especially when the flavour of the comments
is of a negative variety, then, extreme caution has to be employed. He
is then subject to the creation of unnecessary and unwarranted hostility
which might hurt himself more than anyone else. Perhaps the reflection
of consequences is operative, and so the fantasy realm is the arena where
this is worked out. Lidz offers another suggestion when he claims that
the break between adolescent and parent cannot be too complete because
in later adolescence the boy must be able to identify with the father so
that he can at some future time also assume that role.[1] Perhaps also,
the positive attitude of cluster 3 in the SELF could be operating to
maintain the expression of these two themes in fantasy.

Cluster 1 of the SELF-PARENT messages contains 66 messages,

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[1]Lidz, The Person, p. 329.

i.e., more than half of the total of 123 messages. Even though there was ample opportunity to comment in reality about the possible positive attitudes, the boys did not seem to avail themselves of this because only 24 of the remaining 57 messages were produced in reality. Generally, reality was not the realm in which the boys produced the SELF-PARENT messages. Perhaps one could suggest that since the boys were so pre-occupied with the negative attitudes, the "fantasy release" was operating generally with respect to these messages. Because the mechanism was so "tuned in" to the negative possibilities and consequences contained in these messages, other types of messages were not easily produced. Since no "grading mechanism" seems evident, a more general mechanism seems to be operating.

This suggestion is reinforced when one considers cluster 3 of these messages—the cluster whose concern was with positive attitudes between parent and boy. The ratio of the messages was 22:14 in favour of fantasy. Cluster 2, which is more of an attempt at compromise between the boy and parents as the boy sees it, presents an even 10:10 split.

This trend is indicative of the real difficulties the adolescent seems to be experiencing in relation to his parents. As he turns to face his parents in a more direct manner and relates his present experiences with those of his parents, he comes very much to rely on fantasy as the arena in which this theme is played out. It is not that he has no personal strivings or that he cannot make these known, somehow, when it comes to relating the newly evolving capabilities with the ex-perience of the parents, a wall of negativity sets in; a wall which is

jealously prevented from consistently erupting though it seems to be pierced on occasion. In some fashion, parental experience assumes a negative value as it is related to personal ongoing experience.

In terms of boy-parental relations, the condition is exacerbated by the additional or corrollary reluctance of assuming a counter-valing positive attitude. The same suppression which seems to be occurring for the negative attitudes occurs also for the positive ones. The pathos in all of this is that the boys are working in the realm of fantasy thereby not giving reality a chance. If, in fact, these projections occur in fantasy as a result of learned reactions from previous experience, the pathos deepens.

The situation which defines the SELF-PARENT messages appears to be quite different from the situation which defines the SELF messages, though in both cases the boys are generally responding to the same question of what they would tell their parents. Within the general social situation which the boys are asked to put themselves, one finds a suggestion that specific content of messages is related to more specific social milieu of the message. If the felt social milieu is one of the SELF, i.e., where the boy himself is the main actor, one finds suggestions of "grading mechanisms" which seem to be operating effectively within fantasy and reality realms without unduly exaggerating one or the other. The boys seem to retain a degree of spontaneity within the social milieu of the SELF as actor. When, in the boys' minds, the social milieu expands to include the direct interaction between SELF and PARENT, defenses

become much more rigid and lose the flexibility exhibited in the SELF.
The result seems to be a lack in spontaneity and an expressive form
which involves exaggerated fantasy reactions. This suggestion seems to
coincide with Ackerman's proposal that social role and situation play
an important screening part in the exhibition of the more central self.[1]

In the light of this discussion, it is interesting to
consider that there are no SELF-MOTHER themes of OPPOSITION, REBELLION,
MUTUAL PRIVATISM or ACCOMMODATION in reality. The social situation
which is SELF-MOTHER seems to exclude all such content from reality while
including RAPPORT and IDENTIFICATION. Might this indicate an oedipal
interpretation as the literature suggests?[2] OPPOSITION and REBELLION
in this type of message certainly occurs in fantasy, and mother is
certainly part of the SELF-PARENTS messages which occur in fantasy and
reality.

The social milieu presented by these messages seems to
combine with a difficulty in sharing or comparing ongoing experience
with the parental contingency to provide, in this situation, a greater
reliance on fantasy than reality. The caution or defensiveness thereby
produced seems to generalize in all spheres of SELF-PARENT themes. The
structural analysis pointed out the unfolding differentiation along all
the behavioural aspects and the simultaneous integration of these aspects.

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[1]Nathan W. Ackerman,"'Social Role' and Total Personality,"
American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXI:1 (1951), pp. 1-17.

[2]Freud, "Adolescence As A Developmental Disturbance," p. 7.

It seemed that the cognitive development was instrumental in shaping
the differentiation and integration. The analysis of these messages
also provided a comparative glance at the SELF messages.

The discussion has, so far, been somewhat extensive be-
cause the numbers of messages involved seemed to warrent this fact. The
SELF and SELF-PARENT messages contained 306 of the total of 419 of both
contingent and non-contingent messages produced by the boys. In dis-
cussing these two categories one had the sense of dealing with material
which was pertinent to many of the boys.

Once the numbers begin to decrease this sense begins to
decrease. Interpretation from the numbers becomes more problematical
and if the interpretation thus far has been suggestive, interpretation in
the succeeding categories becomes very highly speculative. This discussion
therefore, limits itself to basic considerations which the material seems
to offer.

Self-Peer

The messages in this category were exclusively contingent
and dually focused on the boy and his friends. They describe a social
situation different from that of SELF-PARENT though they are at the same
level as SELF-PARENT vis à vis the SELF category. These messages are not
part of the "I" though there was an indication that a part of the "I" is
concerned with peers. The messages are part of the "I" as it relates to
the PEER - interactional, both in content and intent.

Fifteen SELF-PEER messages were produced as compared with
123 SELF-PARENT messages. Comparatively, this area seemed not to be as

pressing a matter as was the SELF-PARENT category. Perhaps this was due to the structure of the questions to which the boys were asked to respond; peers though mentioned in the situation was not again repeated in the questions. In addressing themselves to the questions, the SELF-PEER social situation, the data suggests, was not a pressing concern. Fifteen were, however, produced and one assumes them to be of some interpretive value.

Ten of the 15 messages appeared in the realm of reality, which perhaps indicates that the boys could produce this type of statement to their parents more readily than perhaps was the case in the SELF-PARENT messages. These statements could be produced more readily because they concern themselves with experiences between peers which might be more easily accepted by their parents. The hostility they could create would, perhaps, be a shade below that which would be created had the REBELLION statements emerged in reality.

Thematically these messages are interesting because they indicate a basic positive attitude towards friends without an accompanying negative one. Nine of the 15 fell into the AFFILIATIVE theme which indicated a voluntary and affable association between SELF and PEER. Six of the 15 fell into the PEER BEHAVIOUR IDENTIFICATION theme which depicts behaviour influenced by peer and acceptable to the boy as a guide for himself. Appendix E contains more complete definitions.

The ongoing experience of the boys finds a ready ally in peer experience in general. Whenever the SELF and PEER are juxtaposed

the flow between them is positive unlike the flow between the SELF and
PARENT which seems to run in the other direction. In a sense, it seems
as if the peer shares the same kind of language whose definitions are
commonly understood among them but not among their elders (especially,
in their eyes, their parents.) Strauss points out that language in an
instrument which structures norms, values, etc.[1] If the peer group does
indeed share a language connotatively and denotatively, then it would
be easier to account for the easy sharing of experience as well.
Affirmation, opines Erikson, is an easy flowing matter among peers.[2]

Parent

Though the boys are relating more messages, the SELF fades
out entirely. The boys are no longer focusing their attention on themselves
as participant SUBJECT. They are writing to, or writing about their
parents. It is to and about their parents that they are focusing their
attention by either describing or addressing them exclusively. The
images the boys are dealing with are images related to their parents which
causes them to react as they do in these messages. Their parents assume
uppermost importance in their minds.

These messages contain PARENTS, FATHER, MOTHER as SUBJECT
of attention though PARENTS appear more often than the other two. This
is in line with what occurred in the SELF-PARENT category where SELF-
PARENTS were more numerous than the other two combinations. This is

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[1] Strauss, Mirrors and Masks, Ch. 1.

[2] Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 263.

perhaps indicative of a generalized approach to both parents[1] though SELF-FATHER and SELF-MOTHER did come in for individual criticism as well.

ACTION seems to be the concern of these messages; 42 of the 56 PARENT messages are ACTION related. The type of ACTION which the boys most often associate with their parents are those which exhort their parents to "bug off", "fuck off", or "leave me alone". The ACTION pre-occupation has occurred in the above categories as well and perhaps indicates a general preoccupation the boys have with this behavioural aspect. Perhaps as they focused on the situation, it was this aspect which most stuck in their mind and so they also express themselves in such terms. It could also be that the situation is biased in terms of ACTION and the boys are responding to this bias. Though this could explain why ACTION appeared in the reality realm, it is perhaps insufficient to explain why it should equally often occur in the fantasy realm where the boys could have chosen their own means of argumentation, especially since the fantasy realm abounds in messages. The personal factor seems to play a role as well.

It is in the fantasy realm that one finds 43 of these messages, while 13 appear in reality. The fantasy realm, as one thinks back, seems generally to occupy an important expressive arena when the boys are dealing with their parents. Figure 7 perhaps, crystallizes the

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[1]Lidz, "The Adolescent and His Family," p. 107.

issue for the PARENT category. It presents the distribution of messages according to the thematic analysis.

FIGURE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF PARENT THEMES
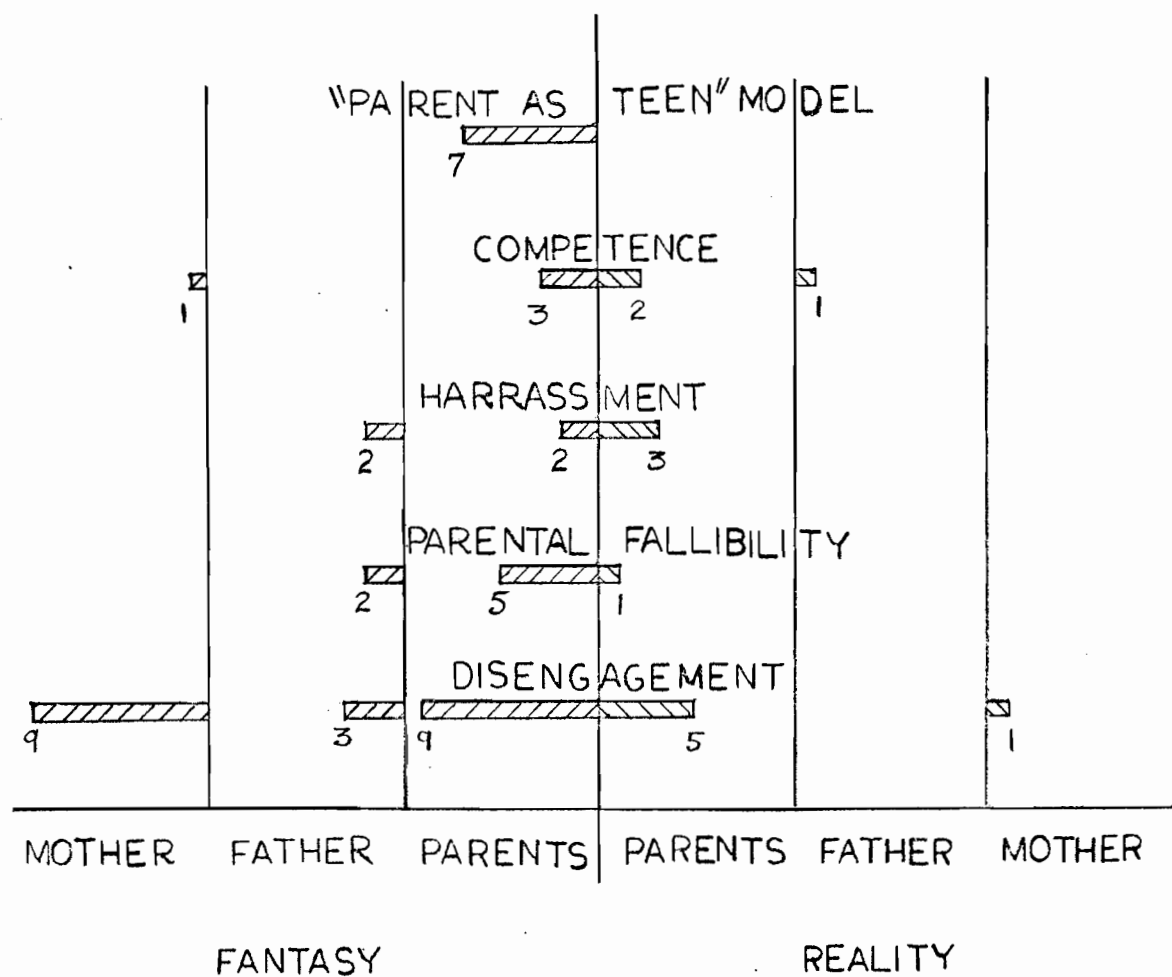
The basic image the boys present involves placing the parents in a position of DISENGAGEMENT and PARENTAL FALLIBILITY. The messages are concerned with a pulling apart of boy from parents and,

to a lesser extent, highlighting parental shortcomings. Half the
messages are concerned with these two and so they appear predominantly
in fantasy. This is reminiscent of a similar occurrence in the SELF-
PARENT category and it seems possible to suggest that the "fantasy
release mechanism" was again being used by the boys in its extreme
operating form. One finds, for example, that "PARENT AS TEEN " MODEL
appears only in fantasy; that COMPETENCE, where parenthood is acknowledged
in a legitimate way, appears more in fantasy than reality as does the
parental intrusive category which is HARRASSMENT. Unlike the SELF-
PARENT messages, the vast majority of these messages are non-contingent
indicating perhaps the incisive quality of the indictment of the parents,
by the boys.

In this situation it appears that parents are generally
not perceived from a positive aspect. The image one gets of the parents
is one where the boy finds much more to criticize and pull away from
while objecting to their intrusiveness. Legitimation of parents in their
parental role through COMPETENCE is minimal. These messages occur
primarily within the realm of fantasy, i.e., they would not receive direct
expression to the parents. Though one could make some statements re-
garding the oedipal possibilities of Figure 7, the numbers do not seem
to justify such a task.

One fact which must be noted is the oft used four letter
word--fuck--or its derivatives in this category. The boys seem to have
employed this terminology indiscriminately and perhaps purposefully in

this category. At the very least, this indicates the extent to which
some of the boys were caught up in the situation that words were employed
which indicated a high level of emotion. (Some boys, in fact, commented
that the situation seemed only too real.) This type of language also
seems to indicate the strong resentment and negative attitude the boys
felt against their parents, a factor which was noted in the other PARENT
related messages as well.

Peer

The boys are focusing exclusively on their peers or friends.
in this category. They present messages which depict peer behaviour.
Since the SUBJECT of PEER is derived from the "we" statements in their
compositions, it is assumed that the boys consider themselves part of
the PEER category. Though they have displayed a singular I in the SELF
messages, they also exhibit the possibility of submerging themselves
within a more encompassing "we" category.

Association of this kind is almost expectable when one
thinks back to other PEER type messages where only the positive attitude
could be found towards friends. These messages tend to elaborate in a
more concrete way the notion of affinity among adolescents and the
significant influence they exert on each other. It is as if the boy
is freely giving himself into the care of his friends. They are friends
which he recognizes to be friends, i.e., what attracts him to them,
allowing this type of association, is the fact that he can see himself as
being part of them. They have qualities which he can easily recognize
or value.

This is discernable in the themes which emerge from this category. Eleven messages are concerned with TRUSTWORTHINESS, a theme which describes peers as having behaved properly and not having done anything wrong. Four messages deal with FRIENDSHIP describing certain positive qualities found in friends. Six messages deal with SEX RELATED MATTERS which is self explanatory (though Appendix E contains complete definitions of these themes.) Four messages relate to the GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCE or gap. There is also the tendency "to produce these messages in reality (14 messages) rather than fantasy (11 messages).

Perhaps this association gives them strength, perhaps this reflection provides them with positive encouragement to continue in their development. The "subsociety" which is formed by one's friends seems a highly influential aspect in the youngster's development.

Parent-Peer

The last category of messages produced by the boys was PARENT-PEER. The boys formally coupled their parents interrelating with their peers in some fashion. Ten messages were produced in all: 6 of the PARENT-PEER, and 4 of the FATHER-PEER variety. Issues of PARENTAL IMPOSITION and TRUST occupied 6 of these 10 messages. Appendix E explains the 4 themes which were evident in the messages.

Overview

One is struck by the sense of continuity and integrity across SUBJECTS. Those themes which were found in the SELF messages and related to parents seem to have reverberated in the SELF-PARENT messages

and again in the PARENT messages, though the positive aspects were more
subdued in these latter two. Those themes which occurred in the SELF
messages relating to friends were picked up and amplified on in the SELF-
PEER and PEER themes. Some kind of common thread seemed to have weaved
itself throughout the messages to produce a discernable wholeness.
Perhaps this was a result of the situation which imposed itself but,
as has often been suggested in the discussion, perhaps the situation
allowed the boys to express themselves personally.

The boys' main concern in this situation was with themselves
and secondarily with the interaction between themselves and their parents.
These two basic concerns were distinguished by the use of fantasy and
reality as realms of expression. In the concern with themselves--as seen
through the SELF messages, the boys clearly exhibited a judicious use of
fantasy and reality by producing fantasy/reality ratios. In the case of
the interaction between themselves and parents--as seen through the SELF-
PARENT messages--the boys leaned very heavily and indiscriminately in
fantasy as opposed to reality.

The percept received through the SELF messages revealed
boys who were becoming aware of their development and who were striving
to channel their development along certain personal directions. They
seemed to be struggling with positive and negative attitudes towards
their parents which seemed to be part of themselves and they seemed to
find ways of expressing both. Their heavy reliance on non-contingent
messages with respect to themselves suggested that, in becoming aware of
their own differentiation, they required to project this awareness and to

see its reflection from others who were important to themselves. They
were, thereby, able to check if, in fact, differentiation was in progress
and what it looked like to others.

The percept received through the SELF-PARENT messages
complimented, in many ways, the above percept and pointed out the barrier
which seemed to exist between boys and parents. In line with the
differentiation found in the SELF messages, these messages revealed a
differentiation in the employment of behavioural aspects involving
thought, feelings, motivation, etc. The boys used a greater variety of
terms involving the various ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOUR and were also able to
use them in a contingent manner which suggested that, along with differ-
entiation, integration was also occurring. The boys were showing signs
of unfolding their capabilities within different realms and, at the same
time, maintaining, for themselves, cohesiveness within the unfolding.
It was suggested that these two operations, along with the hypothetical
and deductive abstractions made by the boys, indicated a developing mental
capacity for abstract thought.

The social situation defined by the SELF-PARENT messages
revealed a stress in the interaction between boys and parents. Though
the boys were able to handle themselves in a discriminating manner--as
revealed in the SELF messages--they were unable to do so in direct inter-
action with their parents. Most of the messages were produced in the
fantasy realm, even the positive ones. A generalized barrier seemed to
exist as the boys attempted to relate their present experience with that

of their parents.

The presentation with respect to peers (friends) is in sharp contrast to this. Peers are always presented in the positive light; association and identification with them is an easy occurrence. The boys seem to recognize them as their natural constituency.

Remaining Considerations

The inferences and interpretations made above derive from an analysis of material which placed the boys in a hypothetical conflict situation with their parents. The results obtained may have been unduly influenced by the conflict. One wonders, therefore, how these adolescents would have reacted to another situation; one where the harmony between them and their parents was stressed. Would a similar pattern, in the positive direction, have emerged? Would the negative pattern have remained dominant? This is a serious matter, for it represents a way of checking and enlarging the scope of understanding of the adolescent experience. The boys are also developing positive attitudes; it would be important to chart their development, or lack of it, in relation to their parents.

The positive relations to friends has been greatly emphasized. One wonders if indeed the boys operate within a simple "either-or" dynamics when it comes to friends. One would expect negative projections to be tested within the safety of one's peer group. One would expect "bad" and "good" feelings to be present about friends. Another situation and another study would have to concern itself with

this whole issue.

Though Chapter II presented some theory on the socio-cultural influence on adolescents and these boys were of Italian descent, no mention was made of anything specifically connected with Italian custom. Does this mean that the Italian customs are playing a less important role for these boys? Was this influence a matter which the boys took for granted? Have the boys already become highly acculturated? Another situation would have to be created to obtain information in this area; information which the boys considered relevant for themselves.

The socio-cultural perspective also pointed to the scarcity of role models. Erikson, on the other hand, emphasized the need to find men and ideas to trust and to serve. Does the adolescent experience validate these views? If, as Erikson points out, the whole idea of identity is relative to a given socio-historical time and place,[1] then perhaps the boys find models for themselves. Do the models come from other peers as Mead suggests? Perhaps another situation could provide some insight into this matter.

Since ego strength is a concept which is also culture bound,[2] how are the boys obtaining ego supports in a culture that provides less and less culturally meaningful behaviour for those who are not adults? Does the school provide the boys with meaningful tasks? Do

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[1] Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 23.

[2] Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 235.

other activities? If so, which ones? Perhaps a situation concerned
with meaningful activities might help to shed some light on this matter.

Different forms of the same situation given to adolescents
at one or two year intervals might reveal the changing forms of how the
adolescent defines himself. Thus, an investigator would not be situation
and time bound but could traverse these with the adolescents to gain a
deeper appreciation of what they are experiencing.

· The situation created for this study has been one of many
possible situations. The results obtained seem to have been one set
among many possible variations. This is indicative of the complexity of
adolescence; one needs more than one situation and more than one ex-
posure to gain even initial appreciation. As well, one needs multiple
and overlapping exposures to obtain a representative picture. The schema
presented in this paper could perhaps serve as a useful instrument for
such exposure. As seen in Chapter III, it has served this investigator
as an instrument of analysis and interpretation. Perhaps it could serve
others, in the same or modified version, as they attempt similar ex-
plorations. The plasticity of the categories SUBJECT, ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR,
THEMATIC ANALYSIS, seems to recommend itself for further testing and for
modification.

Of basic interest to this investigator would be a testing
of this schema for internal validity among three scorers. As it was
worked out, this schema was used by the investigator, with the research
advisor acting as a consultant, when messages became difficult to interpret

or when the schema had to be refined. It has not yet stood the test of three independent scorers working on one set of messages.

This type of study could be useful for social workers, especially those who work in high schools and with adolescents generally, because of its broad scope which seems to include and vitalize theory as it appears in the literature. In this study, one obtains a fair indication of what an adolescent might be experiencing if a conflict situation with parents was part of his problem. A worker might make use of this study to obtain a broad awareness of the issues involved in such a conflict; issues which encompass theoretical and actual concerns. The worker could perhaps be more accurately "tuned in" to the adolescent. One can only suggest that the practice thereby offered would perhaps be more in touch with client needs. Only another study could test this even as it would have to test the service offered.

CHAPTER V

SUMMATION

This study was concerned with describing aspects of the adolescent experience which seemed to unfold from an analysis of material produced by adolescents. It set out to explore the possibility of relating some of the literature on adolescence to a sample of material produced by adolescents.

An unstructured story was given to 57 grade 8 boys who voluntarily consented to participate. The story was followed by two questions which required the boys to respond as they would respond in their own minds (fantasy)and as they would actually respond (reality). The material was then content analyzed by means of an original analysis schema.

Suggestive evidence was found which indicated the boys' involvement in three aspects: themselves, their parents, their peers. Their unfolding capabilities in the realm of cognition, affect, motivation and other behavioural forms was evident. Differentiation and integration along these and other themes was evident. Concern with themselves was of primary importance in the material they produced.

The boys also exhibited concern with their parents. At the interactional level, the data indicated a substantial barrier existing

between boys and their parents. This was in sharp contrast to the
general presentation of peers which were always depicted in an affiliative
and positive light.

These results and the situation itself appear to be one
set among many possible variations to which the schema could perhaps be
applied so that one gains an appreciation of the complexity of adolescent
experience of adolescence.

APPENDIX A

THE INSTRUMENT

I came home late Thursday night and waiting to jump on
me were my parents. I had been out with some friends of mine, boys and
girls, and we had a good time. My father began to complain that I was
hanging out with the boys too much. He got so mad I thought he would
belt me one. My mother was worried about me hanging around with girls
so early and thought I was going to fail my grade in school. She ex-
ploded but I don't think she was really mad. It's funny though, my
father didn't seem to worry about me being out with the girls or about
school. They really put me on the spot there. It was a real mess.

. . . .

After handing each of the students a copy of the instrument,
the teacher wrote the following two questions on the board.

1) What I would say to my father and mother if I were not afraid of
getting into more trouble is . . .

2) What I would really say is . . .

Chapter III describes how the instrument was administered.

APPENDIX B

VARIETIES OF CONTINGENT MESSAGES

A contingent message has been defined by the existence of
more than one SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR, i.e., one elemental unit. No
limitation was placed as to the combination of these elemental units so
long as they were contingent one upon the other. It was not uncommon,
therefore, to find SELF-SELF combinations since repetition of SUBJECT
was not a limitation. An example of such a SELF-SELF contingency was:
"I [SELF] do what I [SELF] want". Each SUBJECT, i.e., SELF contains its
own ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR. Each SUBJECT, thus, belongs to one elemental
unit. There is a contingency between these two units so one finds a
contingency where the SUBJECT is repetitive.

This was the case not only in SELF-SELF contingencies but
other contingencies also had repetitive SUBJECTS. An example of a PEER-
PEER would be: "We [PEER] liked the game so much that we [PEER] lost
track of time". An example of PARENTS-PARENTS would be: "When you
[PARENTS] were young you [PARENTS] did even worse". In a similar fashion
one found FATHER-FATHER and MOTHER-MOTHER messages as well. There were
two varieties of contingent messages then; one variety contained repetitive
SUBJECTS, which have just been described; another variety contained
different SUBJECTS, e.g., SELF-FATHER, etc., which have been described in
the main body of the paper.

Two other varieties of contingent messages were found besides the two already mentioned. Since no limitation was placed as to the number of elemental units which could combine to form a contingent message, contingencies containing three elemental units and several containing four such units were found. For example, "I [SELF] don't know what you [PARENTS] did when you [PARENTS] were young like me," "I [SELF] think I [SELF] am of the age of hanging around with boys and girls even if I [SELF] don't pass," are two three-unit contingencies. They exhibit, as well, the possibility of repetitive and non-repetitive SUBJECTS appearing in these messages.

It can only be reiterated that the variety of contingent messages was limited to the productions of the youngsters.

APPEARANCE OF ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR IN THE MESSAGES

The ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOUR could appear individually in the messages, independent of the type of SUBJECT involved. For example, "I [SELF] do it [ACTION] anyway," illustrates ACTION as the ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR in combination with the SUBJECT-SELF; "Why are you [MOTHER] so upset [AFFECTIVE]," illustrates AFFECT as the ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR in combination with MOTHER as SUBJECT. Any of the SUBJECTS could have appeared together with any ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR.

The ASPECTS did not always appear individually. The boys made frequent use of a combination of ASPECTS in their messages. For example, "I [SELF] want [MOTIVATION] to do it [ACTION]," is a message where the ASPECTS appear in the MOTIVATION-ACTION combination; "If they [PARENTS] not listen [ACTION] and still be mad [AFFECTIVE] . . .," contains an ACTION-AFFECT combination. The combinations of ASPECTS were limited to the types of combinations produced by the boys. At the most, the possible number of combinations of two ASPECTS, the second ASPECT being different from the first at all times, was 20. Multiply this by five possible SUBJECTS and the total number of combinations possible in the non-contingent messages was 100.

The combinations of ASPECTS was not limited, however, to non-contingent messages. They could and did appear in the contingent

messages as well. For example, "I [SELF] might get belted [ACTION] so I have to [MOTIVATION] make up excuse [COGNITION]," is a contingent SELF-SELF message containing in one part a MOTIVATION-COGNITION combination.

In the contingent messages one could find ASPECTS appearing individually and in combination just as they appeared in the non-contingent messages. If the possible number of combinations for a non-contingent message, i.e., SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR is 100, then a contingent message of two SUBJECT-ASPECT OF BEHAVIOUR joined together would combine for a possible 100 x 100 or 1000 and a contingent message of three such units joined together would combine for 100 x 100 x 100 or 1,000,000 possible combinations.

APPENDIX D

SCHEMATIC ANALYSIS OF SAMPLE PRODUCTION

Sample Production

1) What I would say to my father and mother if I were not afraid of
getting into more trouble is . . .

"I really dig my friends, I wouldn't care if I would come late again.
You could belt me but I would still go on doing it again. So what I
don't care about that scrap school, I think I'm old enough to hand around
with girls even if I fail my grade. I wouldn't care if they were both
worry about me; I just want my own way of living."

2) What I would really say is . . .

"Really say is that you are both right about I came to late Thursday
night, I really hanged to much with my friends. I really hang to early
with girls. I should study to past my grade. You really care for me I
love you both."

SCHEMATIC ANALYSIS

1)	TYPE OF MESSAGE	STRUCTURE OF MESSAGE	THEMATIC ISSUE OF MESSAGE
I [SELF] really dig my friends [AFFECTIVE]	NON-CONTINGENT	SELF: AFFECTIVE	FRIENDLINESS
I [SELF] wouldn't care [AFFECTIVE] if I [SELF] would come late again [ACTION] .	CONTINGENT	SELF: AFFECTIVE- SELF: ACTION	HOSTILITY
You [PARENTS] could belt me [ACTION] but I would still go on doing it again [ACTION] SELF	CONTINGENT	PARENTS: ACTION- SELF: ACTION	REBELLION
So what I [SELF] don't care about that scrap school [AFFECTIVE] .	NON-CONTINGENT	SELF: AFFECTIVE	CONFRONTATION
I [SELF] think [COGNITION] I'm [SELF] old enough [IDENTIFICATION] to hang around with girls [ACTION] even if I [SELF] fail my grade [ACTION] .	CONTINGENT	SELF: COGNITION- SELF: IDENTIFICATION/ ACTION-SELF: ACTION	MATURITY
I [SELF] wouldn't care [AFFECTIVE] if they [PARENTS] both worry about me [AFFECTIVE] .	CONTINGENT	SELF: AFFECTIVE- PARENTS AFFECTIVE	OPPOSITION
I [SELF] just want [MOTIVATION] my own way of life [IDENTIFICATION] .	NON-CONTINGENT	SELF: MOTIVATION/ IDENTIFICATION	INDEPENDENCE

2)

	TYPE OF MESSAGE	STRUCTURE OF MESSAGE	THEMATIC ISSUE OF MESSAGE
Really say is that [this is considered as a repetition of question. Some boys used this form before they produced the actual response. Perhaps it was more difficult for these boys to tackle this part of the instrument].			
You [PARENTS] are both right [COGNITION] about I [SELF] came to late Thursday night [ACTION].	CONTINGENT	PARENTS: COGNITION-SELF: ACTION	PARENTAL IDENTIFICATION
I [SELF] really hanged to much with my friends [ACTION].	NON-CONTINGENT	SELF: ACTION	ABNEGATION
I [SELF] really hang to early with girls [ACTION].	NON-CONTINGENT	SELF: ACTION	ABNEGATION
I [SELF] should [MOTIVATION] study to past my grade [ACTION].	NON-CONTINGENT	SELF:MOTIVATION/ACTION	ENGAGEMENT
You [PARENTS] really care for me [AFFECTIVE] I [SELF] love you both [AFFECTIVE].	CONTINGENT	PARENTS:AFFECTIVE-SELF: AFFECTIVE	RAPPORT

APPENDIX E

THEMES OR ISSUES FOUND IN THE MESSAGES

SELF

1) ASSERTION - contains the declaration of some ideas of specific
strivings and preferences which the boys have. They deal with matters
involving personal motivations, knowledge, emotions and actions. For
example, "I know which people to hang around with," "I wouldn't care if
I come late again."

2) INDEPENDENCE - the boy is concerned with the totality of his life as
he is experiencing it. Here he goes beyond specific preferences and seems
to encompass a more holistic view of his present state of existence.
There is a sense of autonomous motivation and internal direction for one's
life in this theme. For example, "I am a man now," "I just want my own
way of life".

3) MATURITY - the issue is whether the boys have reached a stage where
they can act in certain ways. Certain norms seem to exist which enable
the boys to claim maturity. The most common norm is that of age - "I
am old enough to . . . ." Somehow age and other social achievements,
e.g., "I am in high school" define behaviour as acceptable for this boy,
behaviour which was unacceptable for the child he used to be.

4) ABNEGATION - the boys seem to set aside their own volition in the face of their parents' objections. They agree to cease acting in the offensive manner or agree with their parents' analysis of the situation. "I will listen," "I won't do it again," "I really hang around too much with boys and girls." Their behaviour seems to lose its merit when it is criticized by parents. The boys consequently seem to dissociate themselves from the behaviour by identifying with the parental attitude.

5) HOSTILITY - the boys describe a feeling or an action which is "unexpected" in terms of parent-child behaviour. There is a sense of aggressiveness stemming from anger in their part. They say, "I would tell them off," or "sometimes I feel like telling her off good".

6) CONFRONTATION - the boys present their parents with an argument of some kind; "it isn't that late," or "I would argue with my parents". They seem to be meeting parental objections with their own objections.

7) ISOLATION - the boys respond with silence cutting themselves off from further discussion or involvement. "What I really would say to them is nothing," "I ignore them and answer with low answers". The boys seem to withdraw into themselves.

8) ENGAGEMENT - the boys express an open quality of meeting their parents at some level. They are concerned with reaching for their parents to overcome parental objections. "I'd have a face to face talk with my father," "I think I would tell them the truth," "first explain why I was late". These imply an invitation to further involvement, the boys having responded in a positive (at worst neutral) manner to their parents.

9) PARENTAL AFFILIATION - the emotional attachment the boys maintain for
their parents comes through either in expressions of love, a reluctance
to criticize parents or a feeling of contriteness or an apology. Some
statements are: "I love my parents," "I really don't want to say them
again to my parents," "What I really would say to them, I don't like it".
A positive regard for the parents seems to animate the boys' responses in
this theme.

10) FRIENDLINESS - describes action or feelings which involve the boys in
a positive fashion. The boys are concerned with experiences from which
they derive pleasure or experiences shared with peers and which seems to
have totally involved them at the time. They were so involved that they
came home late. "I was hanging around with some boys and girls," "I
kissed them," "I was having fun," "I really dig my friends".

SELF-PARENT

1) OPPOSITION - the boy presents aspects of his behaviour ranging from
holistic concerns to specific actions, cognitions, etc. which are in
opposition to parental actions, cognitions, etc. He establishes a dichotomy
between himself and his parents. The relationship theme is one of accent-
uating differences. What has formerly been described as "assertion" and
"independence" with regard to SELF is placed in fundamental opposition to
PARENT responses within these contingent messages, e.g., "I wouldn't care
if they both worry about me," "first it is none of their business if I go
out with girls".

2) REBELLION - the opposition is expressed in direct terms to his parents.
He expresses his opposition rather than describing it and often adds

profanities or terms such as "bug off" which clearly indicated a dogged
incalcitrance on his part. what has been characterized in the SELF
themes as "hostility", "assertion", and "independence" are all subsumed
under the REBELLION theme within the SELF-PARENT contingency. "Fuck off
O.K. let me do everything I want," "don't fucken bug me about lateness,"
"You did what you wanted at my age - why shouldn't I?"

3) MUTUAL PRIVATISM - these messages contained the sense of a dividing
wall separating boy and parents. They seemed to be living in separate
domains. For example, "I would have a long talk they would just sit,"
"then he'd give me a speech and I would go to bed".

4) ACCOMMODATION - in the face of parental opposition or punishment the
boy behaves in a manner which enables him to meet the objections. Some
express future abstinence from the behaviour while others search for a
compromise. The boys are, each in his own fashion, reaching a viable
solution for themselves vis à vis their parents. Personal and parental
individualities seem to be taken into account as some kind of accord is
sought as a way out of the struggle.

5) RAPPORT - the care and concern which the parents have shown the boy
are acknowledged. The boy attempts to reciprocate by either expressing
his love, or remaining silent, or expressing appreciation for what his
parents have done and are doing for him. There is a sense of mutually
positive rapprochement between parents and boys in this theme.

6) PARENTAL IDENTIFICATION - the boys either express agreement with their
parent's evaluation or they exhibit an abject contriteness that disclaims

future misbehaviour. For example, "I am doing what you told me," "Thanks a lot for sending me straight".

7) "PARENT AS TEEN" MODEL - the boys compare their present behaviour with parental behaviour when parents were teens; e.g., "I would think what they had done when they were my age," "I'm sure when you were young dad that you stayed up until your friends did".

SELF-PEER

1) PEER BEHAVIOUR IDENTIFICATION - the boys identify their behaviour as part of their peer group behaviour. "I think I have a right to stay up late if the rest of my friends do," or "My friends were holding me back I couldn't go home". In a sense the boy's behaviour seems to be influenced by that of his peer group.

2) AFFILIATIVENESS - the boys' speech in terms of voluntary associations with friends from which they generally derive pleasure. "I like my friends, they are good to me," or "I enjoy being with friends," or "My girl friend had a problem and I couldn't left her alone". The sense here is one of personally relevant and motivated behaviour as opposed to behaviour which is more a result of peer group pressure. The SELF is the dominant actor.

PARENT

1) DISENGAGEMENT - the issue here is the drawing apart of son and parents. A pulling apart or disengagement is the main concern of this theme, e.g. "fuck off", "lay off you established creeps", "they would leave the room", or "it's none of your fucken business".

2) PARENTAL FALLIBILITY - the parents are criticized in uncomplimentary terms. They are brought to task on specific issues such as dislike for teens, prestige seeking, inability to raise children properly. On a more general plane, they are described as a "real pain in the ass", or "a bunch of fuckers", or "old fashioned".

3) HARRASSMENT - the parents are variously described in ways which depict their intrusion into the boys' experience. Statements such as "nag, nag, that's all you know", or "stop spying on me", reveal a sense of parental intrusiveness.

4) COMPETENCE - the parents are acknowledged in their capacity as parents. Thus, the boy will say, "they take good care of me," or "after all, they are my parents," or "you're right". There is a sense of deference combined with an accepting realization of parental responsibilities in their role as parents.

5) "PARENT AS TEEN" MODEL - the boys in talking of their parents talk of their parents' teen stage and generally consider the parents to have gone through similarly mischevious behaviour.

PEER

1) TRUSTWORTHINESS - the concern here is with having behaved in the proper manner, not having done anything "bad". "We don't do nothing wrong," "We just play bowling or something like that," "We went to a baseball game so we lost track of time". In a sense, the peer group acts with propriety even if the individual boy comes home late.

2) SEX RELATED MATTERS - the messages are concerned with peer behaviour norms regarding sex or with topics generally allied with sex. "if you dig this chick you just fuck off with her," "We were talking if any were virgins," "boys and girls start going out early".

3) FRIENDSHIP - the boys describe or define what friends are about. "They are real great friends," "they are very interesting to talk to," "the girls are just friends as equal as the boys".

4) GENERATIONAL DISTINCTION - the peer generation is distinguished from the parent generation. "We're not in your generation gap," "Today's society has changed," "We're not living in the seventeenth century. . . ."

PARENT-PEER

1) GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCE - the boy makes reference to an historical time gap between the generations - "The time in which we are living is not like yours".

2) TRUST - the boys question what the parents really think of peers, what they consider them capable of doing. "Are you afraid we're going to get together and mug some guy or rape some broad?"

3) PARENTAL IMPOSITION - the parents restrict peer behaviour, e.g., "as soon as we find fun or something to do that's interesting you old ones shoot us down".

4) "PARENT AS TEEN" MODEL - same definition as above, e.g., "You stayed up late until your friends did even if it was earlier than we do now".

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