BEATLEMANIA: AN ADOLESCENT CONTRACULTURE
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ABSTRACT

The rise of the musical group, the Beatles,
is explained by an analysis of the words and beat of
.eir music, the dance accompanying them, and their
image: in contrast to the previous popular music
emphasizing self-pity in face of crisis, their music
is cheerful and their approach haphazard. Adolescent
problems are dealt with by denial of their existence and
by turning to one's peers - each of the Beatles with the
others. This appeals to the adolescent girl, as noted
mainly in her family patterns and peer interactions, many
of which, if not stressful, are conducive to craze-like
behaviour.

Thus, those girls brought up in loosely-knit,
authoritarian families with little parental interest shown
them, though having strong mother-attachements constitute
the greatest percentage of Beatlemaniacs. In their peer
relationships the date-motivated girls with superficial male
relationships favour Beatlemania, a peer-centred out-group
activity for those with a negative unstable self-evaluation.

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AN ADOLESCENT CONTRACULTURE

A Thesis

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Beatlemania is that phenomenon which swept Britain in 1963, spread to our continent, and in 1966 still appears to be very strong. There have been other singing crazes in the past, but never with such a mass appeal over so large an area for so long a period of time. Beatlemania refers to the cultic following of a group of four singers called 'The Beatles'. They are described as "... an agreeable bunch of kids, quite unsinister"[1] and "their appearance is distinctive, their get-up, including identical haircuts in dishmop... and lapelless suits."[2] "The Beatles have broken every conceivable entertainment record in England. They are the most worshipped, the most idolized boys in the country."[3] "To see a Beatle is joy; to touch one, paradise on earth."[4] 150,000,000 Beatle records have been sold.[5]

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[1] F. Newton, "Beatles and Before" in *The New Statesman*, November 8, 1963, p. 673.

[2] *New Yorker*, December 28, 1963, p. 23.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] F. Lewis, *New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1965; magazine section, p. 124.

[5] The figure of 150,000,000 "arrived at by counting LP sales as equivalent to six singles, embraces global sales". *Variety* (entertainment newspaper) Vol. 243, No. 11, Aug. 3, 1966, p. 1.

Since the arrival of the Beatles, other similar singing groups have arisen. Because the adolescents' tastes vary so much as to which popular singing group they like and because I was unable to follow the Beatles from their outset, I use the term 'Groupmania' to refer to the cultic followers of the various singing groups to appear since the Beatles and which have basically the same style. This is because the different groups are merely variations of a style of a fashion: a popular music craze is a _fashion_; the various groups represent a specific _style_ of popular music; each individual group is a _variation_ of that style.

The study of Groupmania in general, or Beatlemania in particular serves many purposes. Firstly, it attempts to explain that which we see around us - why is it that such a phenomenon as Beatlemania has never occurred before to the same extent and proportion? In an article of _The New Statesman_, the following statement was made referring to the Beatles:

> "They are probably just about to make their slow descent. The moment when someone thinks of making a film with a popular idol normally marks the peak of his curve." 6

This excerpt from a 1963 British newspaper has been

6
F. Newton, _op. cit._, p. 673.

negated by time. Close to three years and two movies later,
the Beatles are still extremely popular; they are nowhere
near the relative obscurity of other previously popular
singers.[7] How is it, then, that this craze has lasted as
long as it has?

Another reason for studying Groupmania is that it
is an example of the dominant trend in popular music, an
element so important to the adolescent society. As
Johnstone points out:

> "... if one were asked to identify the single
> cultural trait which best characterizes the
> American youth culture, one would find it
> difficult to avoid mention of its popular
> music." [8]

Beatlemania, involving so many diverse peer groups of
various ages, enables us to seek the 'common denominator'
bringing them together as 'Beatlepeople': Beatlemania is
an example of the growing cohesiveness of youth separate
from the adult world.

This brings us to some of the implicit assumptions
of this thesis. A basic assumption is the existence of a
youth culture. Its values and norms may differ from the
adult society, but this does not mean it will necessarily

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[7]
    As of the middle of August 1966, the Beatles have
advance orders approaching 300,000 long-playing records.
Variety, Vol. 243, No.11, Aug. 3, 1966, p. 1.
[8]
    John Johnstone, Social Structure and Patterns of
Mass Media Consumption. University of Chicago, March 1961,
unpublished Ph. D. thesis.

and in all cases be opposed to the latter's value structure.
We ought not to see the teenage culture as a resistance
movement - rather, they "borrow, imitate and adapt aspects
of adult values to their own needs."[9] Eisenstadt states
that:

> "While they orient themselves to full partici-
> pation in the adult world and its values,
> they usually attempt also to communicate in
> a distinct special way." [10]

The rise of this 'adolescent society' as Coleman
calls it, or the 'jury of peers' as Riesman coins it, is
due to the fact that urbanization, industrialization and
the resultant specialization, mobility and increased com-
plexity have widened the gap between parent and child,
lessening family influence. As Eisenstadt asserts, youth
groups have formed where "participation in the family
became insufficient for developing full identity or full
social maturity",[11] a task so important to adolescence.
Secondly, Eisenstadt notes[12] that when age is no longer
a most vital criterion for allocation of roles, the
adolescent turns to his peers. Kingsley Davis explains

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[9]
    J. Bernard, "Teen-Age Culture", The Annals of the
American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 338,
(November 1961).

[10]
    S.N. Eisenstadt, "Archetypal Patterns of Youth",
The Challenge of Youth, ed. Erik H. Erikson. New York,
Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1965, p. 42.

[11]
    Ibid., p. 38

[12]
    Ibid., pp. 29-50

that since merit and not age is the basic criterion for

status, a conflict arises between the adolescent and his
parents.[13]   Furthermore, as Riesman states,[14]   parents are

concerned about the child's adjustment and popularity with

his friends.   Thus his peers "become his reference set for

sizing up his own problems, his own strivings and his own
ambitions."[15]   Yet the existence of a youth culture and

Beatlemania as the expression of it should not be seen as

unique:

> "The tendency of human beings to gravitate
> toward others who seem to be facing a common
> dilemma or predicament is not at all specific
> to adolescents. It is the general tendency
> whenever people see a common problem which is
> incapable of solution by a single individual." [16]

Underlying this discussion of a youth culture is a second

crucial assumption.   Inherent in the concept of youth

culture are strains or anxieties which the adolescent

experiences.   According to Goode, role strain is "the felt
difficulty in fulfilling role obligations".[17]   Hollingshead

[13] K. Davis, "The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict", American Sociological Review, 1940, pp. 523-535.

[14] D. Riesman, The Lonely Crowd(New Haven:Yale University Press, 1964) pp. 55-82.

[15] M. Sherif and C. Sherif, "Problems of Youth in Transition "Problems of Youth: Transition to Adulthood in a Changing World, M. Sherif and W. Sherif, ed. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965) p. 5.

[16] Ibid.

[17] W.J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain" Approaches, Contexts, and Problems of Social Psychology: A Book of Readings (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964) pp. 438-452

explains that "...adolescence is the period in the life of a person when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him...as a child and does not accord to him full adult status, roles and functions."[18] Adolescence is a period engulfed with ambiguities, uncertainties and resulting anxieties, precisely because the adolescent does not fully know his role obligations, nor how exactly to fulfil them. It is due to these strains that I have avoided the term 'adolescent subculture' which emphasizes the "normative systems of subsocieties".[19] The term 'adolescent contraculture' is more adequate since it stresses the "emergent norms in conflict situations",[20] thus focussing on these strains.

Since the bulk of the thesis is concerned with the strain involved in the youth contraculture, the method of studying such strain must be explained. A

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[18]A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1965) p. 6.

[19]J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture", Approaches. Contexts and Problems of Social Psychology: a Book of Readings, E. E. Sampson, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964), p. 475

[20]Ibid.
For a discussion of the relationship between strains and craze-like behaviour see N. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

survey was conducted, consisting of 441 students from
three high schools on the Island of Montreal. This
sample was not chosen at random; rather, the intention was
to select these schools according to differing school
sizes, socio-economic locations of the schools and
religious composition of the areas?[20-a]

School X, representing 87 students, is in a Pro-
testant, English-speaking lower middle class area and has
a student body of approximately 1,500. School Y, with a
student body of about 1,700 and with 115 represented in my
sample, is predominantly Jewish and of lower middle class.
School Z, containing the largest number of students in
my sample - 239 - has a student body of approximately
1,100?[20-b] It is an area slightly lower down on the socio-
economic scale. Although there are some differences
between these schools in their response to Beatlemania
and other factors, they are simply variations of a main
theme.

The sample consists only of girls, since they are
by far the most avid supporters of Beatlemania. That the
vast majority of Beatles followers are girls comes as no
surprise to us. In their discussion of teenage magazines'
appeal to the female adolescent, Gottlieb and Ramsay
explain that she is much more constrained in active
involvement and social mobility,and since she is in many

20-a. There were certain difficulties in obtaining permission
to enter certain schools which limited the possibility of full
control of all the variables.
20-b. The respondents comprise all those girls in Grades 8 and 9
of the high school population.

ways unable to be aggressive or initiate activities with boys, she is forced upon other girls to a greater extent than boys. Thus, "... girls must be more dependent upon other girls for social involvement... leading to her greater dependency on outside sources for aid in the fulfillment of desired goals and activities... media and their romantic love themes provide the young girl another area for personal involvement."[21] Tryon, however, questions whether the girl is under more strain than the male adolescent - he must learn to assert himself, to compete and to achieve: "Her progression to maturity is not marked by the same discontinuity".[22] Yet in the very same article she agrees that boys have "more opportunity to clarify their sexuality than... the girls."[23] After all, boys may relieve many of their tensions by joking about sex quite openly.

That the female adolescent is more strained than the male is substantiated by Paul Landis.[24] In his study of personality problems mentioned by students, the boys

[21] David Gottlieb and C. Ramsey, _The American Adolescent_. (Illinois: Dorsey Press Inc., 1964), p. 36.

[22] Caroline Tryon, "The Adolescent Peer Culture", _National Society for the Study of Education Year Book 43_, Part 1. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) p. 232.

[23] _Ibid._, p. 233.

[24] P. Landis, _Adolescence and Youth: the Process of Maturity_, 2nd. ed. (Toronto: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1952) pp. 27, 137.

had a greater percentage in only 10 out of 33 problems.
Their concerns were not getting enough sleep, wanting to
learn to dance, good manners and other such problems. The
girls' main worries, however, were concerned with developing
self-confidence, wanting people to like them and worrying
too much. Furthermore, Morris Rosenberg points out that
"more boys score high on self-conception"[25] and are more
self-confident.

Besides the fact that the adolescent girl is more
strained than the boy, we note that women are permitted to
display such overt emotions as crying or screaming, which
are so characteristic of Beatlemania. We can therefore
understand why girls tend towards such phenomena as Beatle-
mania. This study, then, is concerned only with girls.
This simplifies the analysis and enables us to focus on
variations within the sample of girls.

The analysis of the data from the survey was
difficult, due in part to the problems of operationalizing
the dependent variable, Beatlemania. Since there is no
clear-cut working definition of this term, a Beatlemania
scale was constructed, combining different questions,
including other groups besides the Beatles - the Groupmania

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[25]
    M. Rosenberg, Society and the Adolescent Self-
Image, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965),
p. 50.

style. Furthermore, this scale from 0-8 was divided into
two at the sixth point. That is, those with a score of
0-5 were not considered Beatlemaniacs, whereas those with
a score of 6-8 were classified as Beatlemaniacs. This was
used as a cutting point for two reasons: (1) it was at this
point that the sample was roughly divided in half; and (2)
more important, it was at the score of 6 that the data
began to be differentiated. For an explanation of the scale
construction and indices formulated see the Appendix.

The thesis is divided into three parts, not of
equal length:

      1. Beatles' appeal.

      2. Beatlemaniacs.

      3. Beatles craze.

In Chapter II, the Beatles' appeal will be
analyzed. What is it about them (if anything) that has
resulted in such a craze? To answer this, a content
analysis of their songs will be presented, together with
a study of their music, their image, the dance, and mass
media. This will be assimilated with interviews conducted
at performances of Groupmania, where literally thousands
of teenagers swarmed the area, forming a concretely
observable youth contraculture.

In Chapter III the strains inherent in this contra-
culture will be surveyed. The family patterns of the
adolescent and their relationship to Beatlemania will be
discussed. Since a parent-youth conflict exists and since

Beatlemania is an expression of these various strains,
we would expect a study of the family to be revealing
in our analysis.

Since adolescence involves a move away from the
family towards one's peers and since the adolescent tends
to cluster with his peers, his relationships with those
his age will be discussed in Chapter IV.

During adolescence, the youth is constantly
asking himself who he is, who the 'others'are, and how
he ought to act towards them. The more ambiguous his
answers to these questions and the less he thinks of
himself, the greater his strain. This will be discussed
in Chapter V, as well as the ages at which their opinions
of themselves change. This will lead to a discussion
of the central age involved in Beatlemania.

In Chapter VI, the class and religious variables
will be discussed. Since it has been commonly assumed
that the lower class is the most strained, we would
expect them to be the greatest Beatlemaniacs. Whatever
the relationship, we can definitely expect this variable
to be a revealing one in the light of such studies as
Hollingshead's Elmtown's Youth, which stresses the
importance of class amongst teenagers.

What, though, about the religious factor? Will
any relationship exist? Or does the youth culture

neutralize this variable?

Finally, in Chapter VII, the conclusions will be drawn from the different chapters in an attempt to tie together the various findings. The purpose of this thesis, then, is to consider some of the underlying factors of Beatlemania - the hysteria and the hysterical:

> "They're...they're just so...so..ohh! They're
> so zubily. They're the gassiest. They make
> me wanna move. They are camp. Zowie!" - a
> girl respondent.

Why does she say this? What is she like? What is so 'zubily' about these groups? What is she talking about?

The thesis will attempt to explain this phenomenon.[25a]

[25a] The focus here is on the _rise_ of the Beatles, not with their subsequent change in _music_ style, behaviour and appeal.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF THE BEATLES' APPEAL

What is it about the Beatles that has appealed to millions of teenagers? From my interviews with some 'Beatle-people' (those who say they like the Beatles or other groups of Groupmania), different reasons have been posited:

> "The Rolling Stones are different; they're easy-going...real fab."

> "They way they sing it...their moving on the stage".

> "They are individuals..the beat."

> "The way he shakes."

> "The best songs are those with meaning that tell a story." 26

These sample answers suggest that their appeal is manifold - the music, they say, is good. What do they maaa by this? Different things - the beat, the sound and the words. Yet this is not their total appeal: the way they dress and act are also important. To understand this appeal we must realize that Beatle-music, like any other kind of popular music, may serve different functions

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for different people. As I shall suggest in the following
chapters, dancing to this music may serve as an activity
for the peer group or a chance to release tensions and
strains; for the girl who dates infrequently, a 'crush'
on Ringo, the Beatle drummer, may ease various strains
that she may feel; or it may serve as an expression of
rebellion against dependency on their parents. It is
not coincidence that the vast majority of popular music
deals with the courtship and dating themes, for it is at
this adolescent stage that one must learn one's role
vis-a-vis the opposite sex.

> "The singer is at the same time available as
> an object of vicarious identification or as
> a fancied partner with whom in imagination
> the relationships and emotions of the future
> may be anticipated." 27

1. Word Analysis

We may then ask the question: If most popular
music is concerned with the courtship theme, why is it
that Beatles have so much of a greater appeal than
others? Or is their music - the words, perhaps - any
different from other singers stressing some variation
of the theme on courtship? In order to answer this, I

27
    Donald Horton, "Dialogue of Courtship in Popular
Songs", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (May 1957),
p. 577.

chose the first fifty Beatle songs to be recorded and
compared them with Donald Horton's [28] analysis of popular
music in 1955; of the 235 songs that he studied, 196
(83.4%) dealt with the love theme. He then categorized
these love songs according to various stages in the
courtship process, as if it were a play; some dealt with
the hope of finding a lover, some with the first few
dates of a couple; others concerned the seriousness of
love, the breaking off of an affair, and the pleas for its
resumption. The results of this comparative content
analysis are presented in Table I. We note that 32% of
Horton's music deals with the preliminaries of the
courtship process - asking for a date, or expressing a
deep feeling; 40% of the Beatles' music, however, fits
into this category. At this stage complications are
not yet introduced. In the second main category, 'the
downward course of love', close to 15% of Horton's as
compared to 20% of the Beatles' music is involved. Com-
plications begin to set in: one of the lovers perceives
something to be wrong - faithlessness or loss of love.
In both these categories of 'Courtship' and 'Downward
Course of Love', the Beatles have a greater percentage;
yet 25% of Horton's music as contrasted with only 16% of
the Beatles' music belongs in the third main category of

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[28]
Ibid., pp. 569-578

'All Alone'. Although these percentages may not be statis-
tically significant,[29] they are suggestive of a trend. Yet
we may ask of what significance is this comparative
analysis, especially since the categories are so arbitra-
rily defined? To answer this we must not only study the
words of the Beatle songs, but we must also listen to the
music.

2. Music Analysis

We note that most of the songs have a fast beat.
Whether a song was considered 'fast', 'medium' or 'slow'
was determined by a professional musician. It was found
that 58% were fast, 24% medium and 18% slow. Among the
elite songs[30], 73% were fast and only 27% slow (no
medium). What is even more outstanding is the fact that
many of these fast cheerfully sung lyrics are basically
sad: the girl has left the boy, even though he loves her.
But is he sad? Not at all; he is not fully alone because
he has good memories of her.[31] Another song - a plea for

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[29]
The most important difference between the 1955
study and the present study is the "all alone" category,
which is significant. The difference between 1955 songs
and Beatle songs in "all alone" as a theme 1 = .09;
$p(a_1 \ 0)$ = .07. This test of significance follows
James S. Coleman, Introduction to Mathematical Sociology,
(New York:The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), Chapter 6.

[30]
By 'elite' songs I mean those which were the first
million sellers of the Beatles.

[31]
"There's a place when I go..when I'm alone, when
I'm blue...in my mind I think of you..."

TABLE I

COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF BEATLES' SONGS AND

HORTON'S 1955 HIT PARADE SONGS

			% Distribution	
			Horton's	Beatles
Prologue			2	2
Act I	Courtship			
	Scene 1	Direct approach		
	Scene 2	Sentimental approach		
	Scene 3	Desperation		
	Scene 4	Questions and promises		
	Scene 5	Impatience and surrender		
	Scene 6	New beginning with you		
	Total		32	40
Act II	The Honeymoon		8	4
Act III	The Downward Course of Love			
	Scene 1	Temporary separation		
	Scene 2	Hostile forces		
	Scene 3	Threat of leaving		
	Scene 4	Final parting		
	Total		15	20
Act IV	All Alone			
	Scene 1	Pleading		
	Scene 2	Hopeless love		
	Scene 3	New beginning		
	Total		25	16
Total Courtship			84	82
Others			16	18
FULL TOTAL			100	100
		N =	(235)	(50)

help - cries out:

> "Help, you know I need somebody
> ...I feel so insecure
> ...Help me if you can I'm feeling down   32
> ...Help me get my feet up off the ground."

Another of the Beatles' records is a plea for the girl

not to break up their affair: "We can work it out, We

can work it out, Life is very short...33"

One would expect these words to be accompanied by

slow, sad, 'blue' music; however, this is not the case.

Problems are here taken care of by denying the existence

of the problems - by treating them in a haphazard manner.

Within this context, we can now understand the different

percentages between the Beatles' and Horton's songs in

the various categories. According to the Beatles, one

is never alone (other-direction would not allow this);

one is faced with problems but they can be dealt with

by, perhaps, sticking together with one's peers - each

of the Beatles with the others - and by an easygoing

manner. This approach can have a very strong appeal to

an adolescent - the boy or girl filled with anxieties

about his or her popularity - a value high on their

scale - and they may strongly identify with a happy-go-

lucky, easy problem-solver Beatle. The following

remarks from interviews illustrate this:

32
    "Help", a song written and sung by the Beatles.
33
    "We Can Work It Out", a song written and sung by
the Beatles.

"They don't care what others think of them...I
appreciate the way they feel 'cause I know
what other people think. They let people
criticize them and it doesn't bother them."
(Underlining is my emphasis).

"They're so different; they're easygoing."

"They're so casual!!" (Respondent's emphasis).

"They feel sure of themselves."

"They're not afraid to say what they want to
say; they're free."

" They don't care about anybody."[34]

The adolescent brought up in an atmosphere of
other-direction,[35] which stresses conformity, co-operation,
popularity and fun morality,[36] where complexity of our
thoughts, feelings and problems are taken for granted,
may well identify with one who complements them - not
anxious, not strained, but simply the picture of four
'guys' having fun - the Beatles who express what almost
every adult describes to every adolescent, subtly or
otherwise, as 'the best years of your life'. Riesman
supports this interpretation when he notes that:

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[34]
Interviews; see footnote 26.

[35]
Riesman, op.cit. One who is other-directed is
sensitized to the expectations of others. See especially
pp. 19-23.

[36]
Martha Wolfenstein, "The Emergence of Fun Morality",
Social Structure and Personality: a Casebook, ed.Y. Cohen,
(New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1962), pp.99-106. The
basic theme is that fun is no longer permissible but com-
pulsory. Thus, if one does not have fun, anxiety sets in:
"What is wrong with me that I am not having fun?" Where
formerly it might have been thought that a young woman who
went out a great deal might be doing wrong, currently we
wonder what is wrong with a girl who is not going out enough."
p. 104.

"...one role of popular music in socializing
the young may be to create in combination
with other mass media a picture of childhood
and adolescence in America as a happy-go-
lucky time of haphazard clothes and haphazard
behavior, jitterbug parlance, coke-bar sprees
and blues that are not really blue. Thus the
very problems of being young are evaded." 37

The teenage girl is uncertain of dating -yet she

desires to date. She wants to be treated as an equal and

thus seeks her peers - yet she is insecure among them.

Beatlemusic aids in overcoming these strains of

sex socialization and of popularity by presenting an

image of solidarity and by reference group identification.

This relationship between ambiguous sex and peer

socialization and Beatlemania is, I believe, a crucial

factor. This will be considered in more detail in

Chapter IV, where we shall test the hypothesis that the

more strained the girl is in dating and in popularity in

general, the more likely will she escape via Beatlemania.

In an article in the London Sunday Times, some

psychiatrists did not perceive Beatlemania in such a

manner:

"In a sense, the open hero worship of the group
is an indication of how fully emancipated
adolescents have become, a sign that adoles-
cence is now a proud experience rather than a
shameful phase." 38

I would question this kind of interpretation. As

37
Riesman, Individualism Reconsidered (New York:Free
Press, 1964), p. 185. (underlining is my emphasis).
38
New Yorker, op. cit., p. 25.

Riesman says, "The very problems of being young are
evaded."[39] Edgar Friedenberg states:

> "Looking for your first job among strangers,
> learning that your first love is the girl she
> is but not the girl you need...none of this
> is fun. But such experiences are not
> sickening, heartbreaking or terrifying because
> even at the time, they can be felt as bringing
> you in closer touch with reality." [40]

"Adolescence is conflict.".[41] Beatlemania, Groupmania
and popular music in general ignore this, leading even more
towards the 'vanishing adolescent', where problems are not
even perceived as problems to be dealt with in a straight-
forward manner.

3. Dance Music

We must realize that Groupmania is not simply
adoration towards the singers and listening to music; it
involves dancing; the specific type of dance - the 'frug',
the 'jerk', the 'swim' and the 'twist' - involves much
bodily movement in a rhythmic 'jerking' manner. On
January 3, 1966 a dance was held at the Forum in Montreal.
A good description of their dancing would be the following:

> "...here I saw the jerks (movement) and some
> danced...the people are taken to jerking
> irresistibly...their eyes when dancing seem

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[39] Riesman, loc. cit.

[40] E.Z. Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent (New
York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963), p. 34.

[41] Ibid.

to be fixed upwards.....The foot is hardly taken
from the floor and the progression is mainly due
to the jerking, hitching motion." 42

The first of the above two excellent descriptions
of the Forum Dance Party of Groupmania was written by a
preacher describing the revival meetings he attended in
1804. The second excerpt is a quotation from The Nation
of May 30, 1867, concerning a dance of the Negroes. We
see that these 'new' dances accompanying Groupmania are
not new at all; yet studies have shown that in all three
cases, the religious revival, Negroes and adolescents,
strains may be great. What is it about music that
accompanies these situations? In The Psychology of
Music, Carl Seashore explains that it is through music
that we express our various feelings. Rhythm is central
here:

"Rhythm gives us a feeling of balance. It
is built on symmetry...(thus) we have grace." 43

How important this is to the adolescent, who is
characterized by such awkwardness - in growth, co-ordination,
and in the playing of new roles. Furthermore, rhythm:

"gives us a feeling of freedom, luxury, and
expanse...or power...The pattern once
grasped, there is the assurance of ability

42
Gilbert Chase, America's Music (New York:McGraw-
Hill Publishing Co., 1955), pp. 210-11; 256.
43
Carl Seashore, The Psychology of Music (New York:
McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 1938), p. 141.

to cope with the future." [44]

Many of the remarks made by the teenage girls whom I interviewed substantiated this:

> "...they drive you 'kuku', they just jump around...they move with the music."
>
> (What do you feel when you hear their songs?)
> "All 'jiggly' - they send the rhythm though you, especially fast ones."
> "You get engulfed with the music - it puts you in a certain mood."
> "It gets into your stomach and you gotta move."
> "...he dances, he's fabulous, he's _sexy_" (her emphasis).
>
> (What do you mean by 'he's sexy'?)
> "When he _shakes_ (her emphasis), when he shakes - and when he dances...an electricity current runs up and down your spine."
> "They're not afraid to be free." [45]

4. Image

I have tried to explain Beatlemania by studying their songs - the words, the sound, the rhythm and the dance - as it pertains to the adolescent and his peers. What is it about the Beatles, though, that they have become idols "whose dress and diet and diversion are known to hundreds of millions." [46] Leo Rosten describes the Hollywood image where "Everyone has flashing white

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[44] _Ibid._, p. 142.

[45] See footnote 26.

[46] Leo C. Rosten, _Hollywood_ (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1941) p. 10.

teeth, a suntan, marble swimming pools...Champagne...
Cadillacs...Romance."[47] What is it about the Hollywood
image that appeals to the vast majority of teenagers as
exemplified by Beatlemania? Rosten explains that "the
movies are one of the few fields of enterprise left in
America in which <u>youth</u> is promised high rewards, in which
youth is, indeed, an <u>advantage</u> rather than a burden...
inexperience is really of little account. The would-be
movie star needs no capital, no training, no skill."[48]
To an adolescent, uncertain and inexperienced, the
picture is one with which he may strongly identify.
Furthermore, as Eisenstadt[49] points out, the adolescent
is presented with an idealistic picture of the adult
world which he finds incongruent with reality. Luck is
perceived as an important factor.

To the adolescent girl, though "her talent may
be dismal, her features vegetable, her intelligence
uninspired (she can easily say to herself) 'It might
happen to me'. Hollywood means luck."[50]

Another important factor is that the descriptions

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[47]
Ibid., p. 12.
[48]
Ibid., p. 15 (underlining is my emphasis)
[49]
Eisenstadt, op. cit., pp. 29-35
[50]
Rosten, op. cit., p. 15.

and analyses of Hollywood and its image parallel the
adolescent society in many significant respects. The
values of appearance, of clothes, of popularity, of
difference yet conformity, are strikingly similar:

> "The Hollywood is exhibitionistic. Its mansions,
> its clothes, and its conduct are devices for
> conspicuous display." 51

> "The Hollywood of today is popularly supposed
> to be a community of unconventionality, of
> individuality and of general personal freedom:
> just a gay, carefree lot of youngsters having
> a perpetual good time. But...conformity
> rules...if the fashion is unconventional
> clothing, you too must wear it." 52

The language customs of the adolescent and his
peers - 'keen', 'sharp', 'in' and 'camp' acting as
barriers between them and the adult world - are matched
by the way "Hollywood talks and thinks in superlatives.
Movie people do not 'like' things; they are 'mad about'
them..." 53   A study of either Hollywood or the adoles-
cent contraculture reveals a great deal about the other.
It is because they are so alike and because Hollywood
seems to complement the adolescent's various needs that
movies, Beatlemania and other similar phenomena have such
a great teenage appeal. The Beatles'image of four poor
young easygoing guys struggling to get to the top in an

51
   Ibid., p. 45.
52
   Ibid., p. 48. (underlining is my emphasis).
53
   Ibid., p. 48.

adult, serious world was evidently helpful in their ascent
to the top of the popular music field. How, though, were
girls aware of the Beatle image?

This brings us to a discussion of mass media.
Many of the girls whom I interviewed explained their de-
votion to the Beatles because 'they're sexy' "(What do
you mean, 'they're sexy'?) They way they sing - the moving
on the stage."[54]

Thus their appeal is not simply due to the words
and the music. Their appearance is important. How does
the adolescent know of the Beatles' appearance? Through
the millions of teenage magazines, through television,
through the movies, through personal appearances. In
other words, the mass media has played an important role
in the diffusion of this craze. Before the Beatles
landed in America Ed Sullivan had them on his television
show and Capitol Records, the American distributor of
Beatle records, prepared a million dollar publicity
campaign. Why was so much money spent?

It must be realized that the mass media caters to
the teenage market because of its financial wealth. It
is a $43 billion-plus market.[55]   The core of this market
is the twelve to seventeen year old girl, whose purchasing

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[54]
Interviews, see Footnote 26.

[55]
"...a $13 billion-plus market (with over $30 billion
in parental spending." Amusement Business, May 14, 1966,
p. 24. (advertisement).

power and actual spending give them the title 'teen tycoons' or 'more groups'.

> "They do and feel _more_ than anybody else.
> They eat _more_...they wear _more_...they
> give _more_ parties...these girls are a
> power to reckon with." 56

Because of the wealth of these teen tycoons and because of their stresses and strains, the mass media concentrate their efforts on this market and try to create a craze for their teenage products. The very sophistication of the mass media has also helped in mobilizing the craze-participants to action. Applying this to Beatlemania, the Hollywood image that they projected was received by the adolescent via radio, records, television, movies, magazines and the ability of the Beatles to travel so rapidly as to be seen by so many. It is the mass media that enables the words, the beat, the rhythm and the image to be received by the adolescent; and the mass media Madison Avenue men cajole the teenager with the most persuasive techniques due to the lucrative potential of these teen tycoons.

5. Summary

At a teenage show held in Montreal, I interviewed the manager of a popular singing group. I asked him why the Beatles and other similar groups have become so

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56
J. Bernard, _op. cit._, p. 4.

popular. His reply was:

> "It just happened. There's no way to account
> for it. God, if I knew - or anyone knew a
> formula - we would be billionaires. But
> they just appear out of nowhere." 57

The essence of this chapter has been to challenge
this interpretation of Beatlemania. Perhaps we do not
have the predictive ability to forecast the next craze
or account for every precise detail as to why the Beatles
and no other group appeared first. But it has been sugges-
ted that many aspects of Beatlemania fit in with present-
day theories of adolescence and craze-behaviour.

The _music_ and _word_ themes are analyzed and explained
in the light of reference group identification and the
various strains of sex socialization. The _dance_ accom-
panying Beatlemania is of the type that has accompanied
stressful situations in the past. The Beatles' _image_ -
their youth and inexperience achieving adult goals of
wealth and recognition; their easygoing appearance; the
climb from a lower class background to the Queen's
society - all play a role in their subsequent success.
Finally, the mass media enables this appeal to reach the
potential participants of Beatlemania.

An underlying theme in this chapter is that Beatle-
mania may serve a function of escape from stressful

57
"Gene Pitney Show" - interview on May 15, 1966 at
the Montreal Forum.

situations. It has also been implied that this can be harmful to the adolescent since problems are not dealt with directly. Not everyone, though, is a Beatlemaniac or uses Beatlemania as an escape.

Studies of mass media consumption patterns have shown that not all people react in a similar fashion. How they will react depends upon many factors. In the case of Beatlemania, what are they? This brings us to a different question. Up to now we have been trying to answer the question, "Why has Beatlemania occurred amongst the adolescents?" We now ask, "What causes some adolescents to become more involved with Beatlemania than others?" To answer this, we shall study some aspects at the core of adolescence. We shall begin with the base from which the adolescent emerges - his family.

CHAPTER III

FAMILY PATTERNS: THE EMERGING CONTRACULTURE

To comprehend adolescence in our society we must
perceive it within the context of a family - peer
continuum; adolescence is a process of moving away from
one's family of orientation. The adolescent rebels
against his family, strives for independence, yet is
anxious about lessening these affective ties. Although
the family influence is decreasing while other agencies
- the peer group, the school, camps and the "Y" - increase
their activities, the family is still a vital socializing
agency. Most important, the relationship between the
adolescent and his family focuses upon the inter-
generational conflict inherent in the concept of contra-
culture. We shall therefore study various family patterns
and relate their significance to Beatlemania. More
specifically, we shall consider the effect of the
parents' behaviour on their adolescent girls' reaction
to Beatlemania: the models which parents present to
their child; their manner of disciplining her, as well
as the interest and affection they show her. The
solidarity of the family as well as the degree to which
the adolescent is oriented towards her family will also
be discussed.

30

1. Parent Models

In every case, children pattern themselves after their parents; this does not mean they imitate them (although in many respects they do) but they interpret the examples of their parents in their own distinctive way. The child's first model of the female is his mother; soon afterwards he meets a male - his father; "Thus a boy's conception of the feminime world is strongly coloured by the model of womanhood offered by his mother."[58]

It is through this process of role-taking that the child learns, among other things, manhood and woman-hood, which become especially important during adolescence: 'Who am I? How ought I to behave? What is the opposite sex like? How do I behave towards them?' Naturally the behaviour of their parents will strongly temper the answers to these questions. For example, if the father is neither as affectionate to his daughter nor as easy to talk to as is the mother, the adolescent girl may develop a picture of men in general as being neither too affectionate nor easy to talk to. This may create a

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[58] O.W. Ritchie and M.R. Koller, Sociology of Childhood. (New York: Appleton L Century-Crofts, 1964), p. 288

strain on the adolescent girl as she develops a desire
to date boys, since the opposite sex may appear as
menacing and unknown. Those girls, then, who do not
have a close relationship with their fathers but do
have one with their mothers may not be at ease with men
and may choose as their partners those males with some
feminine attributes: the teenage girl is physically and
culturally oriented to the male sex, but within that
sphere she may choose a feminine person. I suggest
that the Beatles present a feminine image, or at the
very least that they do not present a masculine image.
As the Star Weekly Magazine states, referring to the
Beatles:"...there is nothing hard or aggressively mas-
culine about them."[59] With their long 'feminine' hair,
carefully coiffured, and with their overall feminine
appearance, the Beatles may appeal to those girls who
possess a stressful or ambiguous picture of masculinity.
These girls who feel that their mothers are more affec-
tionate than their fathers, easier to talk to, more
giving of praise, and most important, the one whom she
sides with when her parents argue, can be classified as
'identifying with their mothers'.

If the interpretation of the Beatles presenting
a masculine-feminine or sex-blurred image is valid, and

[59] Star Weekly Magazine (Toronto, Ontario), September
4, 1964, p. 1.

if those girls who identify more closely with their mother
than their father are more strained, tending towards more
feminine partners, we would expect those girls who iden-
tify with their mothers to be the greatest Beatlemaniacs.
The data supports this interpretation:

TABLE 2

IDENTIFICATION AND BEATLEMANIA

	Response		
Questions	Father	Both	Mother
	% Beatlemaniacs		
1. Which parent shows you more affection?	N* 41(46)	46(263)	56(123)
2. Which parent is it easier to _talk_ to?	33(37)	47(93)	52(291)
3. Which parent is most likely to _praise_ you?	41(82)	51(214)	53(130)
4. When your parents disagree, whose _side_ are you on?	42(63)	47(216)	55(121)

*N - number of cases involved. In all
tables, those numbers in brackets
will refer to this.

In each case, the respondent who identifies more with
her mother than her father will have the highest score on
Beatlemania. More specifically, 56% of the respondents
whose mothers showed them more affection than their fathers
were Beatlemaniacs, whereas only 41% of those girls whose
fathers were more affectionate were Beatlemaniacs. When
the respondents found their mothers easier to talk to than
their fathers, 19% _more_ were Beatlemaniacs than those who

felt their fathers were easier to communicate with (52%
and 33% respectively). Also, 53% of the respondents
whose mothers praised them most scored high on the
Beatlemania scale, whereas only 41% of those girls whose
fathers praised them the most scored as high. Finally,
and perhaps most important, it was found that when the
adolescent's parents disagreed amongst themselves and
when she sided with her mother more than with her father
- an example of identification - she was more likely to
be a Beatlemaniac than if she normally sided with her
father (55% and 42% respectively). Further evidence sub-
stantiating this interpretation is that those girls who
identify strongly with their mothers will support Group-
mania much more than they would support Simon and Gar-
funkel, for example - a very popular duo in today's hit
parade market, but who are not as feminine as the Beatles.
Although their sound is not at all the same as that of
Groupmania, the fact that their image does not comprise
any femininity - long, 'feminine' hair - would lead us to
hypothesize an inverse correlation between support of
this duo and a strong identification with one's mother.
In other words, those respondents identifying with their
fathers ought to be more likely to support Simon and
Garfunkel and less likely to support Groupmania; those
identifying with their mothers will be _less_ likely to
support Simon and Garfunkel and _more_ likely to support
Groupmania.

To test this, the following question was asked:

Among the following singers, whom do you like the **best**?

1. Frank Sinatra
2. The Rolling Stones
3. Simon and Garfunkel
4. Herman's Hermits
5. Johnny Mathis
6. The Beatles
7. Barbra Streisand

Answers to 2, 4 and 6 were classified as 'Group-mania'. This was contrasted with those who selected Simon and Garfunkel.

TABLE 3
LONG-HAIR/SHORT-HAIR GROUPS AND IDENTIFICATION
A. SHORT-HAIR

Questions	Response		
	Father	Both	Mother
	% Simon & Garfunkel fans		
1. Which parent shows you more <u>affection</u>?	27(44)	19(256)	13(118)
2. Which parent is it easier to <u>talk</u> to?	25(36)	23(91)	15(281)
3. Which parent is most likely to <u>praise</u> you?	25(80)	22(207)	14(126)
4. When your parents disagree, whose <u>side</u> are you usually on?	30(61)	18(211)	12(116)

B LONG-HAIR

	Response		
	Father	Both	Mother
	% Groupmaniacs		
1. Which parent shows you more <u>affection</u>?	52(44)	64(256)	68(118)
2. Which parent is it easier to <u>talk</u> to?	47(36)	59(91)	68(281)
3. Which parent is most likely to <u>praise</u> you?	66(80)	65(207)	63(126)
4. When your parents disagree, whose <u>side</u> are you usually on?	48(61)	64(211)	70(116)

The data supports this interpretation except in the case of which parent was more likely to praise the respondent; however, in the case of whom one is most likely to side with - father, mother or both to the same extent - the relationship is markedly significant. Only 12% of those siding with their mothers are avid fans of Simon and Garfunkel, whereas 30% siding with their fathers consider this the 'best' group. Amongst the former respondents, 64% support Groupmania, whereas 48% of the latter are Groupmaniacs.

Perhaps, though, the significant difference between Groupmania and Simon & Garfunkel is not the femininity of the former and its absence amongst the latter. Perhaps Simon and Garfunkel's music is considered more adult; and perhaps those girls who identify with their fathers become more adult at an earlier stage. In other words, the reason why those identifying with their mothers are the greatest Groupmaniacs may be the fact that they are more 'adolescent' in general and cling to adolescent values for a longer period than those identifying with their fathers.

Ernest Smith perceives adolescence as comprising a series of transient informal institutions, each bringing the adolescent closer to adulthood.[60] Perhaps certain

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[60]Ernest Smith, American Youth Culture: Group Life in Teenage Society (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1965) see especially pp. 1-38.

family patterns, such as the mother showing the most affection, impede this progression. It could be argued that identifying with the father - the instrumental leader - who must accept the responsibility of wage-earner, brings the child closer to adulthood than the girl who identifies with her mother - the expressive leader - and thus seeks expressive behaviour such as Groupmania.

The crucial difference between the argument I have discussed and the one presently mentioned is that my theory accounts only for Groupmania, whereas the latter theory accounts for much of adolescent behaviour. I assert that those girls who identify with their mothers will prefer the Beatles and other similar _feminine_ groups. The extension of Ernest Smith's theory states that those girls who identify with their mothers will prefer adolescent fads and expressive crazes _in general_.

To find out which explanation applies, we may study the relationship between mother-identification and belonging to fan clubs. The introduction of fan clubs as a variable is valid, since fan club membership and Groupmania have in common the cultic, expressive element. My explanation would deduce no relationship between mother-identification and belonging to fan clubs, whereas the 'mother identification resulting in regression' theory would argue for a positive relationship between the two. Table 4 reveals that _no_ relationship exists:

TABLE 4

FAN CLUBS AND IDENTIFICATION

Family Pattern

Questions	Father	Both	Mother
	% belonging or having belonged to fan clubs		
1. Which parent shows you more affection?	22(46)	25(259)	24(122)
2. Which parent is it easier to talk to?	19(36)	33(93)	23(287)
3. Which parent is most likely to praise you?	29(82)	24(211)	23(128)
4. When your parents disagree, whose side are you usually on?	24(63)	24(114)	28(210)

It might be argued that the reason there is no
relationship between belonging to fan clubs and identifica-
tion is due to the fact that the more adult fan clubs
similar to Simon and Garfunkel result in a negative re-
lationship between mother-identification and fan club
membership, whereas Groupmania results in a positive
relationship; these two cross-cut one another leading to
no relationship whatever. I do not believe this is the
case, since most of the teen fan clubs are not in any way
'adult'; most of them are in the Elvis Presley style, and
I do not believe there would be any relationship between
his followers and parental identification.

It seems, therefore, that the relationship bet-
ween mother-identification and Groupmania is peculiar to
this craze, and it has been suggested that this peculiar-
ity is the 'femininity' of these groups. We note that the

duo Simon and Garfunkel, without this feminine appearance, is not as well-liked by these respondents. Moreover, there is no relationship between belonging to fan clubs and mother-identification.

It is interesting to note that the tables reveal identification with both parents to be the model pattern; of those who identify with only one parent, the vast majority identify with the mother; those girls who identify with their fathers and are at ease with the male sex are in the minority. The majority, however, seek the Beatles partly because of the latter's femininity. In other words, the Beatles present a sex-blurred image. That such a group has appeared should not surprise us, for the models of masculinity and femininity - one's parents - have been changing; with the emancipation of the female, with more mothers working, she has begun to assert herself. The previously passive role of the female wife-mother is disintegrating. There are many more equalitarian and mother-dominated families. What is the effect of this? A blurring of the sex lines. We note that men now use cosmetics, cologne and frequent hair salons; while the female asserts herself via the birth control pill, sports and working in jobs previously classified as male. Is it mere coincidence that one of the biggest fashions for women is dressy evening-wear pants?[61]

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[61] In answer to criticisms of girls wearing pants, one female answered, "You denounced us girls for wearing slacks and jeans. We would only be too glad to give them back to you if you'd begin to earn your pants." The Daily Northwestern, May 1952, p. 133.

Thus, when the adolescent girl is not at ease with her father and with the male sex, she may become an avid fan of the Beatles, a group with a sex-blurred image, appearing at a time when sex differentiation is becoming ambiguous.

2. Parental Discipline

Besides the models which parents present to their children, there are other parent-child relationships which could be relevant. One could expect to find a relationship between the extent to which the adolescent is disciplined - either in a permissive or restricted manner - and Beatlemania. We might expect restricted authority patterns to lead to Beatlemania since the child would be strained. Yet, as Smelser points out, there are other factors necessary if a craze is to occur; the situation must be conducive to craze-like behaviour. Perhaps if the parents restrict the child he will not have the ease of movement to become a Beatlemaniac. Therefore, the most permissive families may harvest the greatest number of Beatle-people. Or, since both elements of conduciveness and strain are necessary for Beatlemania, could we not expect a curvilinear relationship between Beatlemania and authority patterns as the product of these elements?

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY CONDUCIVENESS AND STRAIN

a = conduciveness
b = strain
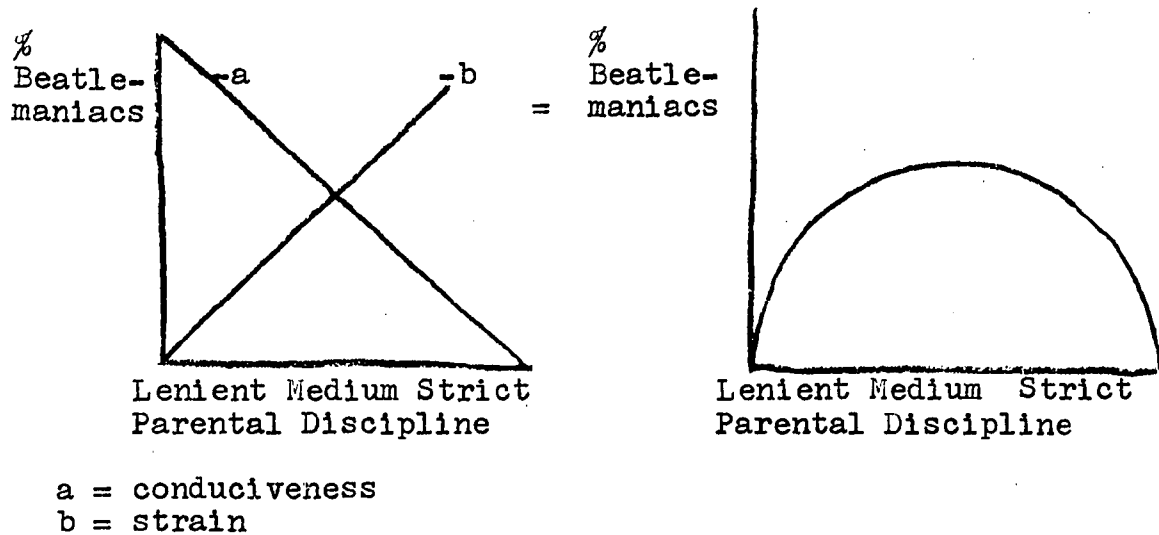
I have suggested three possible relationships between

Beatlemania and authority patterns:

1. a positive linear relationship
2. a negative linear relationship
3. a curvilinear relationship

The date reveals the first possibility to be correct; there

is a positive relationship between Beatlemania and parental

discipline.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIA AS
DETERMINED BY PARENTAL DISCIPLINE

| | Parental Discipline Scale (0-7) | | |
	Lenient (0-2)	Medium (3-5)	Strict (6-7)
% of Beatlemaniacs	43(181)	52(213)	68(40)

We note that the strain of strict parental discipline does

not stifle the potential Beatlemaniac. This may be due to

the fact that the conducive element is always present.
With the increasing amount of time spent outside the
home, at school, clubs and other peer-centred activities,
the adolescent is generally free enough to become in-
volved with the Beatles. Add the strain resulting from
a strictly authoritarian family and a Beatlemaniac may
result. It is interesting to note that when there is
some 'medium' level of discipline in the family, the like-
lihood of Beatlemania is increased, but amongst the
extremely strict families there seems to be a much
sharper rise in the appearance of Beatlemaniacs due to
this added strain. It is conceivable, however, that a
family who disciplines the child in a strict manner may
also show much interest and affection, which may relieve
the strain. What is the effect, then, of parental inter-
est on Beatlemania?

3. Parental Interest

Although parental interest and love is a diffi-
cult variable to operationalize, questions concerning the
parents' knowledge of the child's friends, parents' re-
action to academic performance, and participation in
mealtime conversation were used as indices. It was
found that the less the parental interest, the greater
the likelihood of Beatlemania.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED
BY PARENTAL INTEREST
Parental Interest Scale (1-4)

% Beatlemaniacs	Low (1-2)	High (3-4)
	55(101)	45(244)

It is clear that lack of interest is a strain increasing the likelihood of Beatlemania.[62-a]

4. _Parental Love and Authority_

By combining the measurement of parental interest and family authority patterns, we can categorize the families as follows, using Williams' method:[62]

TABLE 8

PARENTAL DISCIPLINE AND LOVE

		Discipline (Authority)	
		Low	High
Parental Love	Low	Ignoring to self-centred parent I	Authoritarian to exploitative parent II
	High	Permissive to over-indulgent parent IV	Democratic to over-protective parent III

From what has already been discussed, it follows that those children in Category II will be the greatest Beatlemaniacs since there is very little love but much authority, resulting in great strain. Perhaps, though, Category I would comprise as many Beatlemaniacs as II, since they receive no love - strain - and are given complete freedom of movement. One would expect more Beatlemaniacs amongst Category III children than amongst those girls who fall into Category IV, since

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[62] Murray A. Strauss, "Measuring Families", Handbook of Marriage and the Family, Harold T. Christensen, ed.(Chicago: Rand McNally & Co.) pp. 343-344.

62-a. It is noted in Table 7 that the N is about a hundred less than the total N of the sample. The 100 respondents not reported here either ommitted the questions or answered "don't know",with respect to parental interest.

in the former case there is a strain: strict authority
patterns.

The date in Table 9 reveals no difference between
Categories I to III; however, in Category IV, the one case
where there is <u>no</u> strain, we note a marked decrease in
the number of Beatlemaniacs.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY PARENTAL DISCIPLINE AND INTEREST

Parental Discipline	Low	High
Low Love	55(53)	56(48)
High Love	33(82)	53(159)

It seems, therefore, that any combination of
parental strain resulting from authority and interest
will affect Beatlemania to the same extent. It is only
the combination of <u>absence</u> of strains that reveals a
marked change in the distribution of Beatlemaniacs.

5. <u>Family Solidarity</u>

Beside the models which parents present to their
teenage daughters, the affection they show her, and their
manner of disciplining her, there are other aspects of
the family which may be considered. A more general factor
would be family solidarity, which Luther Jansen defines
as "the closeness of family members to each other and is
assumed to be observable in a number of different types

of interaction."[63], such as interest in each other's

welfare and co-operation with each other. It is

interesting to note that he does not look at family

rituals as he feels that "it is not the living together

so much as the attitude of the individuals who engage

in joint activity toward their being together."[64] Yet

Bossard and Boll mention that family rituals are excellent

indices of family solidarity. They explain that:

> "A family ritual is...a prescribed form
> procedure, arising out of family interaction,
> invoking a pattern of defined behavior...
> clusters particularly around such things as
> holidays, anniversaries, meals, vacations,
> religious worship and collective ways of
> using their leisure time." [65]

However, since these family rituals may be imposed upon

the children, the family solidarity scale was constructed

more from Luther Jansen's point of view than that of

Bossard and Boll.

It can easily be understood that the well-knit

family would have less strain since there is "predictability

of behavior response"[66] and an "ability to resist major

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[63] Luther T. Jansen, "Measuring Family Solidarity",
American Sociological Review (Vol.27, 1952),p.273.

[64] _Ibid._, p. 732.

[65] J. Bossard and S. B. Boll, _The Sociology of Child
Development_ (New York: Harper and Brothers,1960),pp.305-306.

[66] _Ibid._, p. 306.

crises, (a) smoothness of operation...family pride...
co-operation and continuity of family planning."[67] Thus,
it follows that a girl from a well-knit family would be
less of a Beatlemaniac than one from a loosely-knit
family, since there is less strain. The data reveals no
significant relationship.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY FAMILY SOLIDARITY

	Family Solidarity Scale (1-6)	
	Weak(1-3)	Strong(4-6)
% Beatlemaniacs	51(164)	48(269)

However, when we 'spread out' the entire scale a
trend is suggested by the data in support of this inter-
pretation. The relationship, however, is not very strong.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS BY FAMILY SOLIDARITY

	Family Solidarity Scale (1-6)					
	Weak 1	2	3	4	5	Strong 6
% Beatlemaniacs	53(40)	51(43)	51(81)	49(118)	46(80)	46(71)

It is interesting to note the effect of the three
different strains on Beatlemania - restrictedness, lack
of parental love, and weak family solidarity: a 40%
explanation is given by the extremes of these variables.
Amongst those most strained, 71% are Beatlemaniacs,

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[67]Ibid., p. 295.

whereas amongst those least strained, 31% are Beatle-maniacs.

TABLE 12

BEATLEMANIA AS A RESULT OF FAMILY STRAIN:
STRICT PARENTAL DISCIPLINE, LOW PARENTAL
INTEREST AND WEAK FAMILY SOLIDARITY

Family Solidarity	Weak	Strong
Low Love/High Authority	71(24)	38(26)
Low Love/Low Authority	56(34)	53(19)
High Love/High Authority	50(30)	53(131)
High Love/Low Authority	35(34)	31(48)

Family solidarity only has an effect as a differentiating variable in the case of low love and strict parental discipline. It has already been explained that those girls from families characterized by low love and strict discipline would have a high probability of becoming Beatlemaniacs. Yet Table 12 suggests that those girls brought up with little love and much authority, but in a home that is closely-knit are not likely to become Beatlemaniacs.

6. Family Orientation

A girl from a well-knit family might not tend towards Beatlemania to the same extent as one from a loosely-knit family because she is more family-oriented. In other words, the degree to which the adolescent is either oriented towards her family or towards her peers

may affect Beatlemania. The data reveals a negative relationship between orientation to one's family and participation in Beatlemania.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY FAMILY ORIENTATION

	Family-Oriented Scale(0-2)		
	Low (0)	Medium (1)	High (2)
% Beatlemaniacs	54(70)	50(191)	45(146)

This relationship may be due to the fact that those who are family-oriented are from closely-knit families. When family solidarity is introduced as a control variable we may find that the relationship between family-orientation and Beatlemania will disappear.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED
BY FAMILY ORIENTATION WITH FAMILY SOLIDAR-
ITY AS A CONTROL

Family Solidarity	Weak	Strong
	% Beatlemaniacs	
Family Orientation		
Low	54(46)	56(34)
Medium	50(84)	49(122)
High	50(32)	44(110)

Amongst loosely-knit families there are no differences between the degree to which the girls are oriented towards their family and their reactions to Beatlemania. However, among those girls from closely-knit families, the degree to which the teenager is

oriented towards her family does affect whether or not she is a Beatlemaniac. The most significant finding is the small percentage of Beatlemaniacs among those highly oriented to their closely-knit families.

7. <u>Summary</u>

Different aspects of family life have been focussed upon to illuminate some salient factors involved in Beatlemania. A crucial strain noted was that of strict parental discipline, which, coupled with lack of parental love, increases the probability of its occurrence. Loose family solidarity also increased the strain, making the likelihood of Beatlemania more probable. Other elements of family life leading to Beatlemania are one's orientation - whether peer or family - and the models which parents present to their children. This latter finding - a rather novel one - suggests the importance not only of the obvious sociological-interactional factors such as dominance or authority patterns, but also the more subtle psychological factors such as sex-typing and identification.

It was found that where the adolescent girl identified most strongly with the mother, she might not have a clear view of the male - of masculinity - and might feel more at home among certain males with a more feminine appeal - the Beatles' hair, tight clothing and general appearance. If it has been a female, the mother, who has been the most affectionate to the adolescent girl, who has

praised her and helped solve her problems, as well as being the one with whom she sides when her parents argue, would she not tend towards someone similar in an attempt to solve a problem basic to her adolescence - dating? Is not a 'crush' on a Beatle a form of dating?

Family patterns are related to Beatlemania. During adolescence the youth begins to emerge as a separate entity distinct from his family. As he strives for his independence, conflicting expectations from his family, his peers and himself lead to much anxiety.

Focussing on the family affords us the opportunity to study aspects of the parent-child conflict; we are able to view Beatlemania as the emerging contraculture with all its inherent strains. Let us now turn to the core of this contraculture: the members and their behaviour.

CHAPTER 1V

POPULARITY: THE CORE CONTRACULTURE

During adolescence, there are strong bonds of solidarity among the adolescent peer groups, keeping the members together. The adolescent strives for friendships amongst his peers; he wants to be popular. Beatlemania, we have pointed out, is the expression of the youth contraculture. Since the youth culture is peer-centred,[68] we would expect those girls who are peer-oriented to have the greatest percentage of Beatlemaniacs.

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY PEER-ORIENTATION

	Peer-Oriented Scale(0-2)		
	Low (0)	Medium (1)	High (2)
% Beatlemaniacs	43(127)	45(163)	60(118)

It seems that those highly peer-oriented are the most proportionately numerous Beatlemaniacs, but there is no difference between those girls with a slight or average peer-orientation.

A central hypothesis in Johnstone's thesis concerning mass media is that "indulgence in the mass

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68
   J. Coleman, The Adolescent Society, (New York:
Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 5, 8, 11 and 138.

media as a leisure time pursuit may be explained by reference to a status position of a given individual within both his immediate peer group and in a wider social system of his high school."[69] More specifically, we would expect Beatlemania to be related to one's popularity within the adolescent contraculture. There are three aspects to the concept of popularity that are to be discussed:
1) popularity with the opposite sex.
2) popularity with one's friends.
3) popularity within the school.

Although each is related to the others, it will be useful to distinguish between them.

1. <u>Dating</u>

Dating (popularity with the opposite sex) is of crucial importance to the teenage girl, especially since a large number are highly motivated to date. The data shows that 53% of those who are date-motivated are Beatlemaniacs, whereas only 46% of those not motivated to date are Beatle fans (N = 166 and 271 respectively). We would expect this difference to increase when we control the actual dating activity of the respondent - that is, the girl who is date-motivated but does not date would be strained, which might lead to Beatlemania.

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[69] J. Johnstone, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 8.

TABLE 16

BEATLEMANIA AS DETERMINED BY
DATE-MOTIVATION AND DATE-FREQUENCY

Date Frequency	Daters	Non-Daters
	% Beatlemaniacs	
Date-motivated	52(79)	55(87)
Not date-motivated	49(59)	45(210)

This table shows the apathy of the girl who neither dates
nor is motivated to date. The largest percentage of Beatle-
maniacs are among those who are date-motivated but do not
date. Yet it is not significantly greater than among those
who are motivated to date and who, in fact, actually do.
Frequency of dating does not seem to have an important
effect on Beatlemania; perhaps, however, there is a
relationship between frequency of dating and the function
that Beatlemania serves. Beatle music may serve different
functions, depending upon one's dating patterns. For
those dating frequently it may serve as music for dancing
and a way of expressing their feelings for boy friends;
for those not dating, but desiring to date, it may serve as
an escape - a 'crush' on a Beatle. As Coleman points out:

> "When he is in a system that fails to give
> him status, and allow him a positive self-
> evaluation, the adolescent often escapes to
> a world where he need not have such a
> negative self-evaluation, the world of mass
> media." 70

70
   James Coleman, op. cit. p. 243.

Thus, Johnstone classified two types of mass media:
'experiential', which media are used either to provide
contact with social networks, to prepare one for future
social interaction or to help one play his role or to
provide a group activity; the second type, the 'transcen-
dental', is used for escape, a kind of tension reduction.
Beatlemania can be classified as both; the girl who dates
frequently may not be strained and may enjoy dancing to
the Beatles' music; in this case Beatlemania is experien-
tial. However, the girl who dates infrequently may fall
into the transcendental category. Thus, dating may affect
Beatlemania not only in the respondent's involvement - is
she a Beatlemaniac or not? - but also the extent of this
involvement.

In order to determine the meaning of the Beatles
for the respondents, the following question was asked:

"When you hear your favourite group sing, what
statement describes your feelings the best?

1. I love them so much, I wish one of them would
marry me.

2. I feel like screaming every time I hear them.

3. I go into a daze and think of them.

4. I like to dance to their music.

5. I like to listen to their music.

6. I don't have a favourite group.

Respondents in 1, 2 and 3 were considered transcendental,

whereas 4 and 5 were classified as experiential. This
seems to be valid, especially since many more in 1, 2 or
3 daydream than in 4 or 5, daydreaming being a form of
escape.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE OF DAYDREAMERS AS DETERMINED
BY TRANSCENDENTAL-EXPERIENTIAL FUNCTIONS

Mass Media Functions

% Daydreaming	Transcendental (1-3)	Experiential (4-5)	No Function
Low(0-1)	42	63	55
Medium(2)	14	15	18
High (3-4)	44	22	27

The transcendental category scores much higher on the
daydreaming scale than does the experiential classification.
In other words, those respondents using Beatlemania in a
transcendental manner daydream much more (44%) than do those
using Beatlemania in an experiential manner (22%).

In Table 18, frequency of dating does not affect
the function of Beatlemania to a great extent, however,
relating frequency of dating to both Beatlemania (Table
16) and its function (Table 18) it appears that if one
does not date but is motivated to date, there is a slightly
greater likelihood of the respondent being a Beatlemaniac
in a transcendental manner. This table, furthermore,
points out clearly the effect of date-motivation. Those
who are motivated to date will be more likely to use
Beatlemania in a transcendental manner.

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE USING BEATLEMANIA
AS AN 'ESCAPE' - TRANSCENDENTAL

Date Frequency	Daters	Non-daters
	% Transcendental	
Date-motivated	25(79)	29(86)
Not date-motivated	10(58)	13(207)

Why, though, do actual dating patterns not have a greater effect than is shown in Tables 16 and 18? This is rather surprising in the light of many theories on adolescence. Ehrman, for example, points out that infrequent dating results in strain. This is due to the fact that happiness is related to a positive view of sex and satisfactory self-ratings concerning sex, which in turn is related to frequency of dating. The one who dates often is more sexually experienced than the infrequent dater.[71] That a very great strain exists at the base of our dating system is pointed out by Margaret Mead:

> "...youth in our society are in a predicament
> for they are allowed - even encouraged - to
> mix freely in dating, and in other formal and
> informal contacts, especially in school, but
> at the same time they are subjected to strong
> traditional taboos upon premarital sexual
> intercourse."[72]

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[71] W. Ehrman, Premarital Dating Behavior (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1960), pp. 336-337.

[72] Ibid., p. 3.

Perhaps the reason why there is no difference between those who date and those who do not is that beginning to date does not relieve any strains, and may, in fact, increase them. The girl who begins to date is faced with a competitive ambiguous rating-dating game. Moreover, the exercise of control in this romantic complex is by the adolescents themselves, especially the girls. This is because of the 'Casanova complex' in which the male tries to 'make' as many girls as he can; the girl, on the other hand has a 'suspicious-brake complex': she has been taught to be suspicious of and to act as a brake on the advances of the male.

It is true, therefore, that a girl who desires to date but does not, will be strained. But it does not follow that once she dates the strain is relieved; however, if she does not consider dating important there may be no strain. This is why desiring to date may act as a crucial factor in determining whether or not Beatlemania will be used in a transcendental manner.

It must be understood why Beatlemania is able to provide a release of tension for the anxious teenager. A girl in love with the Beatles need not worry about when and how to apply her brakes against the aggressive male. The generally ambiguous situation no longer exists. She does not have to ask herself: "Am I being too reserved or am I a runaway fool? Have I gone far enough to show my

affection or have I gone too far to keep my respect-
ability?"[73] She does not have to worry about Ringo[74], for
he will not make advances towards her. By having a love
affair via her imagination an ambiguous situation becomes
clearly structured.

I have suggested that the girl in the American
romantic complex may be greatly strained. If, though,
she does not involve herself with it - if she is not
motivated to date - she will not be strained. Once she is
motivated to date, not dating or beginning to date may be
equally as stressful to the adolescent. It would be
likely, however, that once a girl dates a boy for a
substantial period of time, much of the tension will be
relieved. This is because the male sex will not appear
an unknown to the girl; and the unknown may cause more
fear and tension than actual knowledge of the worst. But,
more important, the reason why there will be less tension
for the girl is that the problems of the double standard
are to an extent relieved; there are less ambiguities.
This is because some sexual intimacy with love is impli-
citly allowed in our romantic complex. The girl who
'goes steady' need not worry about the aggressive male
exploiting the female, for they are 'in love'. We would
therefore expect that among those girls who go steady there
would be fewer Beatlemaniacs than among those girls who

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[73]
Ibid., p. 66.

[74]
Ringo is one of the members of the Beatle group.

do not.

The data substantiates this. Though there is not
a great effect on Beatlemania by the frequency of dating,
the _kind_ of dating does matter. Those who do not go
steady may have more of a superficial relationship with
the opposite sex, leading to greater anxieties. This
discussion of the effect of dating on Beatlemania ties in
with the content analysis of Beatle music described in
Chapter II. The girl, anxious about dating, identifies
with the Beatles who sing of their dating problems, but
who shrug them off in a manner appealing to the teenager.
This gives the girl security in that she is not alone with
these problems; moreover, she is told that they are
surmountable. Finally, she does not worry about the
Beatles' advances, for there will be none.

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY 'GOING STEADY' AND DATE-MOTIVATION

Attitude towards dating	Motivated	Not Motivated
	% Beatlemaniacs	
Going steady	48(79)	51(71)
Not going steady	60(79)	43(127)

We note that the respondents who do _not_ go steady, but
are date-motivated are the greatest Beatlemaniacs.
Amongst those date-motivated and going steady, 12% less
than in the former category are Beatlemaniacs. Further-

more, it can be observed that date-motivation has no
effect once the respondent is going steady.

It seems, therefore, that the frequency of dating
does not greatly affect Beatlemania. What is important
is one's orientation towards dating as well as the kind
of dating involved. The more one is motivated to date
but is not going steady, the greater the likelihood of
Beatlemania. Because our dating system is competitive
and ambiguous, because of the double standard, and
because marraige is in a sense the main career of the
female, a great strain results. Those who do not 'go
steady' are at a special disadvantage, since going steady
tends to be the preferred dating status, and since it
resolves much of the strains and ambiguities - sex with
love in our romantic complex is permissible. Yet those
who do not go steady and are not motivated to date have
the fewest Beatlemaniacs. They have less strain since
they are so apathetic.

2. Friends

The peer group, it has been noted, is very impor-
tant to the adolescent. Conceivably it would have an
effect on Beatlemania. There are, however, divergent
opinions as to what this effect would be. The diffusion
theory[75] suggests that the most popular girls would be

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[75] See, for instance, E. Rogers, Diffusion of Innova-
tions (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

Beatlemaniacs, since they have the most channels to receive and spread such a fad. This would be conducive to craze-like behaviour. Could we then apply Kornhauser's mass society theory[76] that the least integrated girls would be the greatest Beatlemaniacs, since they have no constraints? Or it may be that neither the most nor the least integrated person is most likely to join something like Beatlemania; perhaps there is a curvilinear relationship between integration with one's peers and Beatlemania.[77] This may result from the combined effects of the strain and the conduciveness.

TABLE 20

HYPOTHETICAL DATA CONCERNING POPULARITY AND BEATLEMANIA

	Popularity		
	Many Friends	Few Friends	No Friends
Diffusion Theory	60	50	40
Mass Society Theory	40	50	60
Combination Theory	45	60	45

Table 21 suggests that the diffusion theory holds: the more popular the girls, the more likely they are to be Beatlemaniacs:

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS DETERMINED BY PEER POPULARITY

	Number of Friends			
	0	1-2	3-4	5 or more
% Beatle-maniacs	44(27)	48(272)	50(130)	58(12)

[76] W. Kornhauser, Politics of Mass Society (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1959).

[77] I am indebted to Professor Pinard for this suggestion.

However, the number of cases in the first and last cells
may be far too few for the differences to be markedly
significant; furthermore the effect of popularity on
Beatlemania is partially erased when a third variable is
introduced - sense of loneliness.

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS DETERMINED BY
PEER POPULARITY AND SENSE OF LONELINESS

Feelings of Alienation	Lonely	Not Lonely
Peer Popularity:	% Beatlemaniacs	
Popular	61(23)	47(114)
Unpopular	45(67)	49(231)

Once the respondent is not lonely, popularity has no
effect. The greatest Beatlemaniacs are those who feel
lonely but have a number of friends. This may be surpri-
sing to those who would imagine the greatest Beatlemaniac
would be the respondent who is lonely and unpopular, for
there would be a great strain.

It seems that the diffusion theory, the mass
society theory and the combination theory all play a role
in determining the results of Table 22. It is the lonely
person who is strained but popular, with channels to
spread and receive the fad - so conducive to craze-like
behaviour - who is the greatest Beatlemaniac. As Smelser
points out, strain and conduciveness must both be present;
but this does not result in a curvilinear relationship.

Popularity amongst one's peers is conducive to
Beatlemania. When this is accompanied by the strain of
a sense of loneliness, the likelihood of the girl becoming
a Beatlemaniac is increased. Yet which factor is a greater
strain - a sense of loneliness or dating dissatisfaction?
The data suggests that there are more Beatlemaniacs among
those girls wanting to date (strain) and having many girl
friends (conducive) than among those girls who are lonely
(strain) and popular among their own sex (conducive).
Thus, 60% of those date-motivated and popular whith their
own sex are Beatlemaniacs, whereas only 51% of those date-
motivated but unpopular are Beatlemaniacs (N= 48, 116
respectively). If they are not strained in the dating
area, fewer girls are Beatlemaniacs, whether or not they
are popular amongst their own sex.

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED
BY PEER POPULARITY AND DATE-MOTIVATION

Orientation to dating	Date-Motivated	Not Date-Motivated
	%Beatlemaniacs	
Popular	60(48)	44(88)
Unpopular	51(116)	46(179)

In this case, strain and conduciveness have independent,
cumulative effects. This table shows the importance of
both strain and conduciveness.

Up to this point, it has been asserted that popular-
ity amongst one's friends is conducive to Beatlemania. Yet

the factor of popularity among one's own sex may result
in a strain. Thus, the data reveals that when parents
restricted their daughters as to choice of friends, 59%
were Beatlemaniacs, whereas only 44% of those not
similarly disciplined were Beatle fans.

3. School

Johnstone points out that participation in school
events and school popularity can have an independent
effect on consumption patterns of mass media.

He found many more rock 'n' roll fans from the
non-elites. If the Beatles' craze is similar, we would
expect more Beatlemaniacs from those not in the centre
of school activities. As Johnstone asserts, "Overall
media usage is more often an out-group than an in-group
activity."[78]

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY POSITION IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

	School Position		
	Centre	Middle	Outside
%Beatlemaniacs	45(69)	48(166)	52(201)

The data reveals that the further away one is from the
centre of school activities, the greater the number of

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[78] Johnstone, op. cit., p. 94

Beatlemaniacs. Yet the difference between the out-group
and the in-group is not that great. The differences are
increased when we consider one's _motivation_ to be in the
centre of school activities.

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED BY
POSITION IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AND 'POSITION -MOTIVATION'

School Position	Centre	Outside
	%Beatlemaniacs	
Centre-motivated	41(54)	47(207)
Not centre-motivated	-(0)	54(160)

The smallest percentage of Beatlemaniacs are amongst
those in the centre where they want to be. The greatest
Beatlemaniacs are those outside the centre who do not
want to be in the centre. This finding contradicts
Johnstone's statement that the greatest popular music
craze fans will be those outside the centre but wanting
to be in the 'in-group', since they would be greatly
strained. [79]

In Table 25 we see the status-aspirants (those
not in the centre but wishing to be there) as having
neither the most nor the least number of Beatlemaniacs.
This may be due to the fact that they want to be in the
centre and are trying to adopt the tastes of the in-group;

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[79] _Ibid._, pp. 64-65.

in other words, the in-group serves as a <u>reference group</u> for these status aspirants. Johnstone reports that those in the centre tend to have more 'adult' music tastes. In my survey, 46% of those in the centre preferred the music of Frank Sinatra, Barbra Streisand, Johnny Mathis and Simon and Garfunkel, the latter being a relatively new group with a new, more 'adult' sound.[80] Only 25% of the non-elites liked these singers.

However, those girls who are not in the centre and do not <u>want</u> to be are the greatest Beatlemaniacs, perhaps because it is <u>not</u> an in-group activity. Johnstone points out:

> "The rock 'n' roll 'movement' as symbolized
> by Elvis Presley represents a <u>protest</u>
> against the middle class adult-dominated
> and high school centred youth culture."[81]

The Beatles craze appears similar in this respect. The data, therefore, supports the hypothesis that the further away the adolescent is from the centre and the less she wants to be in the centre, the more likely she is to be a Beatlemaniac.

Summary

A three-dimensional view of popularity - dating,

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[80]It is adult in that it resembles music designed for the adult market - i.e. a 'quieter' sound.

[81]Johnstone, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 79. Underlining is my emphasis.

friendliness, school position - is presented to help in
analyzing the differential participation in a popular
music craze. Dating is of utmost importance to the
teenage girl who begins to be aware of the opposite sex
and develops certain senses and feeling about the male.
Due to the ambiguity of the situation, the competitiveness,
the double standard and the importance placed upon dating,
a great strain results. Three reactions to dating have
been discussed, and their effect on Beatlemania explained.
A girl may be indifferent to boys, date different boys
from time to time, or go steady with one boy. The
situation most stressful to the adolescent and as a
consequence most apt to lead to Beatlemania is the super-
ficial dating of various boys.

The critical factor is not the frequency of dating
but the motivation to date - accompanied by the kind of
dating - whether the girl is going steady or not.
Moreover, the dating factor is related not only to whether
the girl is an avid fan of the Beatles or not, but also
to the function the Beatlemania serves for the girl.
Thus, those who are dissatisfied with their dating pattern
tend to use the Beatles as dating partners via their
imaginations - whereas those who are not as strained
utilize Beatlemania as background for their other
activities: as, for example, music to dance to while with
their boyfriends.

Besides popularity with the opposite sex, the number of friends a girl has plays a role in determining Beatlemania. But whereas the dating situation results mainly in strains, popularity amongst one's peers is conducive to Beatlemania. It was found that the greater the strain of dating and the more friends one has, the more likely the emergence of a Beatlemaniac.

Finally, it is noted that the non-elites non-status aspirants are the greatest Beatlemaniacs, followed by the non-elites status aspirants, with the elites having the fewest Beatlemaniacs.

The fact that those not in the centre, but wishing to be there, are neither the fewest nor the most numerous Beatlemaniacs indicates their marginality from both the out-group and the in-group: they are between these two and their tastes reflect this. The out-group have the most Beatlemaniacs. Add to this the fact that the greatest Beatlemaniacs are those whose parents discipline them strictly, as was discussed in Chapter III, and Beatlemania appears to be an evasion of parental and school authorities.

Combining these three aspects of popularity - dating, friendships and school position - the greatest percentage of Beatlemaniacs are those not well integrated into the social structure of the high school nor aspiring to be in the centre, yet popular among their own peer groups and highly motivated to date. These constitute

the core of the youth contraculture as expressed by
Beatlemania. In this chapter we have focussed on the
core of the contraculture: the adolescent and his peers.
Let us now consider in more detail the individual
adolescent. What is the essence of adolescence? How
does this process of emerging adulthood affect
Beatlemania?

CHAPTER V

ATTITUDE TOWARDS SELF: ESSENCE OF ADOLESCENCE

Studies on adolescence would lead us to believe that involvement with Beatlemania will vary according to one's conception of self. The reason for this is that the development of a picture of oneself is a vital process of adolescence. As Friedenberg notes, adolescence is the search for a clear and stable self-identity. It is "the period during which a person learns who he is and what he really feels."[82] Conflict is implicit because "adolescence is conflict"[83]; "he must pass through a transition from the status and conduct of a child to the responsibilities of the adult."[84] During this time of change in physical growth, shape, and complexity as well as in roles and statuses, the awareness of self becomes increasingly important; he becomes aware of himself - his physique and roles - aware of the opposite sex and of the relationships between the two. Throughout this period he is trying to define himself vis-a-vis others. But this difficulty is multiplied because:

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[82]
E. Friedenberg, op.cit., p.29.

[83]
Ibid., p. 32.

[84]
Frank, L. K. "Introduction: Adolescence as a Period of Transition", National Society for the Study of Education, 43, Part 1, p. 1.

"adolescents lack reserves of self-esteem
to sustain them under humiliating conditions.
They cannot easily assimilate an attack on
their dignity...for it produces...intense
anxiety."[85]

1. Self-esteem

Thus, it was hypothesized that those girls with
high self-esteem, which concept Rosenberg defines as "the
feeling that one is 'good enough'"[86], would be less involved
with Beatlemania than others, since they would be less
strained. Or, those girls with lower self-esteem,
implying "self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction and self-
contempt"[87] would be the greatest Beatlemaniacs.

The data substantiates this, as can be observed
in the following table:

TABLE 26

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED
BY HIGH-LOW SELF-ESTEEM

	Self_Esteem Scale (1-6)	
	Low(1-3)	High(4-6)
% Beatlemaniacs	54(199)	45(231)

Yet when we divide the self-esteem scale into three
groups - high, medium and low, the highest percentage of
Beatlemaniacs is not amongst those with the lowest self-
esteem, but those with a medium score.

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85 E.Friedenberg, op.cit., p.29.

86
Morris Rosenberg, Society and the Adolescent Self-
Image (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965),
p. 31.

87
Ibid.

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED
BY HIGH-MEDIUM-LOW SELF-ESTEEM

Self-Esteem Scale (1-6)

	Low(1-2)	Medium(3-4)	High(5-6)
% Beatlemaniacs	47(102)	53(221)	43(107)

This curvilinear relationship may be due to the fact that
those with the lowest esteem are too introverted to utilize
this media, whereas those with the highest self-esteem scores
are not strained enough to have a need for intense involvement
with the Beatles. The reason that those of low self-esteem
are not Beatlemaniacs is not really due to the fact that they
are not strained and do not seek escape; rather, their escape
would be more inward. It seems, then, that those of low
self-esteem are not the most numerous Beatlemaniacs, but do
daydream the most; also, amongst those of low self-esteem
who are Beatlemaniacs we would expect them to use this
media in more of a transcendental manner than the other
groups.

TABLE 28

SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

	Low(1-2)	Medium(3-4)	High(5-6)
%Daydreaming Frequently	58(98)	45(215)	38(108)

The data reveals that 22% of low self-esteem use Beatlemania as an escape, whereas only 18% of medium self-esteem and 13% of high self-esteem use Beatlemania in the same manner. We conclude that those of low self-esteem are less Beatlemaniacs, not because they are not strained, but because they are not oriented towards a peer-centred activity for a release of these strains; they escape in other ways, such as daydreaming.

Self-esteem seems to have an effect on Beatlemania; however, this effect may be indirect. It may be due to the popularity of the respondent. The adolescent's evaluation of self may vary according to his perception of acceptance by his peers; he wants to be like and be liked by his peers. Thus, if the popularity variable is controlled the effect between Beatlemania and self-esteem may disappear.

TABLE 29

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED
BY SELF-ESTEEM WHEN PEER-POPULARITY IS
HELD CONSTANT

	2 friends or less	3 friends or more
Self-Esteem Scale	% Beatlemaniacs	
Low	41	59
Medium	55	46
High	42	45

We note that amongst those with few friends, the curvilinear relationship holds, but amongst the popular girls a negative linear relationship between self-esteem and Beatlemania

results. The table seems to substantiate the interpre-
tation that there are few Beatlemaniacs amongst those
with very low self-esteem since they prefer more isolated,
rather than group-centred, escapes. We note that amongst
those of low self-esteem the number of friends is
critical; thus, if the respondent has many friends, she
is likely to be a Beatlemaniac; if on the other hand the
low self-esteemed respondent is unpopular, she does not
tend to become a Beatlemaniac.

Moreover, there are double the number of low-
esteem respondents who are unpopular than low-esteem
respondents with many friends. Thus, peer-popularity does
have an effect on self-esteem: the less popular one is,
the lower one's self-esteem. Yet self-esteem does have an effect

independent of popularity:whether one is popular or not,those
with the highest self-esteem have the fewest Beatlemaniacs.
Eric Fromm suggests that low self-esteem may
result from an authoritarian family, where the child is
treated without dignity.[88] If this were so, parental
discipline may be affecting Beatlemania via self-esteem,
and not because the respondents are so greatly constrained,
as I have suggested earlier.

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[88]
    E. Fromm, _Escape from Freedom_ (New York: Holt,
Rinehart & Winston, 1941).

TABLE 30

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED BY
SELF-ESTEEM WITH PARENTAL DISCIPLINE HELD
CONSTANT

Parental Discipline	Weak	Strict
Self-Esteem Scale	% Beatlemaniacs	
Low	44	50
Medium	48	59
High	38	53

This table reveals the independent effects of self-esteem
and parental discipline. It seems that self-esteem is
not merely an intervening variable but a variable
independent of other crucial ones, with effects of its own.

2. <u>Stability of Self-Image</u>

Besides the actual self-image one has of oneself,
the extent to which it remains constant affects Beatlemania.
Adolescence, it was mentioned earlier, is a period of self-
evaluation and re-evaluation. The adolescent is constantly
changing his opinion of himself. This leads to anxieties
as to who he actually is, was, and will be. It is
significant that only ten per cent of the respondents can
be considered highly stable. Most significant is the
marked negative relationship between stability of self-
image and Beatlemania.

TABLE 31

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY STABILITY OF SELF-IMAGE

	Self-Stability Scale(1-4)			
	Unstable			Stable
	1	2	3	4
% Beatlemaniacs	55(174)	54(121)	41(99)	29(42)

The instability seems to lead to a great strain with Beatle-
mania acting as a release.

3. Age

During adolescence one's self-evaluation may be
constantly changing, resulting in an unstable self-image.
Two questions become pertinent. Firstly, at what age will
this self-image be most unstable? Secondly, will the age at
which one has the most unstable self-image be the central
age of Beatlemaniacs?

The bulk of the sample is between thirteen and
sixteen years of age, with some seventeen to nineteen year-
old girls. The most unstable among these are the thirteen
to fourteen year-old girls, where 72% have an unstable
self-image, contrasted with 68% of the fifteen year-olds
and 60% of the sixteen to nineteen year-olds who fall in
this category. Moreover, those of thirteen and fourteen
have the largest percentage of Beatlemaniacs: 60% of the
thirteen and fourteen year-olds, contrasted with 46% of
fifteen year-olds and only 38% of the sixteen to nineteen
year-olds are Beatlemaniacs. (N= 159, 179 and 98
respectively).

Since those of thirteen and fourteen are the greatest
Beatlemaniacs, and are the most unstable in self-image, and
since it was shown in Table 31 that girls who are unstable
in this respect tend to become Beatlemaniacs, could the
predominance of Beatlemania among thirteen and fourteen
year-old girls be due to their instability? Or does age
have an effect on Beatlemania independent of this instab-
ility?

If instability is the crucial factor, we would
expect no relationship between Beatlemania and age in those
cases where the respondents are stable.

TABLE 32

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED BY
AGE WHEN STABILITY OF SELF-IMAGE IS HELD
CONSTANT 89

Stability of Self-Image	Low	High
Age	% Beatlemaniacs	
13 & 14	68(114)	42(45)
15	51(122)	35(57)
16 to 19	39(59)	36(39)

Table 32 reveals that among the ages 13 to 15 there are
more Beatlemaniacs when the respondents are unstable than
when they have a stable self-image. Among those 16 to 19
there is no significant difference between those stable
and unstable; in either case the percentage of Beatlemaniacs

89
Since there would not enough cases in each cell
with the stability scale divided into four parts as in
Table 30, the stability scale was divided into two.

is low. Furthermore, among those who are unstable, the
younger the girl the more likely will she become a
Beatlemaniac. In this case, age has an effect indepen-
dent of stability. Yet among those with stable self-images
the effect of age on Beatlemania is drastically reduced.
Stability does appear to be an intervening variable
between age and Beatlemania, although age still has some
effect independent of stability: the 13-14 year-old teenage
girls are the most avid Beatle fans. This is interesting
since this has not always been the case with past popular
music crazes. We note by casual observation that supporters
of Rudy Vallee were around 20 years of age, whereas Sinatra
fans were around 18. Johnny Ray and Elvis Presley were
mobbed by girls of about 16 and 17, and perhaps some 15
year-olds. But in my sample the most avid Beatle fans are
13 and 14; Beatlemaniacs of 10 or 11 are also very possible.[90]
Why is it, then, that the minimum age of participants in
these music crazes has continuously decreased?

I suggest that this is a reflection of adolescence
in general: a girl is becoming an adolescent at an earlier
age. Thus, Reuel Denny is surprised at "the twelve-year-
old suburban girl whose shopping list read 'water pistol,
brassiere and permanent'."[91] The adolescent becomes

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[90]It was reported to me by a public school teacher that
the day a popular Montreal disc jockey, Dave Boxer, was
married, girls of 10 to 12 were crying hysterically.

[91]Reuel Denny, "American Youth Today", The Challenge of
Youth, ed. E. Erickson(New York:Anchor Books Inc.1965)p.159.

sophisticated at an earlier age; she is less under parental
supervision than formerly; she matures earlier; she
experiences more via television. The very fact that
the schools have increased in efficiency means that a child
knows more at a given age than ever before. She begins her
critical self-evaluation at an earlier age. Although she
matures earlier, however, she must remain dependent for a
longer period of time because of the growing need to remain
in school for an increasing number of years. Finally, as
pointed out in Chapter II, the teenager of today is a
wealthy teen tycoon, having more money at an earlier age
than her counterpart of ten years ago.

Summary

'Who am I?' is the recurrent question that the
adolescent constantly asks himself. Anxieties about this
and about his future lead to many strains. Yet it has
been implied in much of the literature that self-esteem
affects adolescent behaviour as an intervening variable.
The data suggests, however, that there are independent
effects resulting from one's evaluation of self. Also,
the extent to which one's self-image remains constant
has a significant effect on Beatlemania. We conclude
that among the respondents with the highest evaluations
of themselves, and the most stable self-images, there will
be the fewest Beatlemaniacs. Among those with few friends,

the girls with a medium self-evaluation, but unstable self-image, will be the greatest Beatlemaniacs; whereas among the popular girls those with a low self-evaluation and marked instability will have the greatest percentage of Beatlemaniacs. We conclude that self-esteem is both an independent and intervening variable, as well as an element of conduciveness and strain. A low evaluation of self results in strain, leading to Beatlemania, but too low an evaluation does not seem to orient the respondent to a peer-oriented escape such as Beatlemania.

Finally, we considered the age of the respondent, its effect on Beatlemania and the role of self-stability as an intervening variable between age and Beatlemania.

Having considered the youth contraculture as it emerges, the core of this contraculture and the essence of adolescence, let us consider social class and religion and their effect on Beatlemania.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADOLESCENT CONTRACULTURE: STRATIFIED OR NOT?

It is a well-proven sociological proposition that the labels 'class' and 'religion' on a person affect his behaviour in many situations. What about the adolescent? Will the girl from a low socio-economic level tend to become an avid Beatlemaniac? Or can we hypothesize that the higher the socio-economic position of a girl the greater the tendency towards her becoming a Beatlemaniac? How does religion affect Beatlemania? Are there any difference between those girls of different religious affiliations and their responses to popular music?

1. Social Class Position

Let us begin by considering the social class position of the respondent, which for the adolescent is determined by her family's status position. We have already seen in Chapter III how the family can affect involvement in Beatlemania. Yet the family may have still another greater effect. As Hollingshead, Warner and others have pointed out, the social position of one's family strongly affects adolescent behaviour. Since Beatlemania is an important aspect of adolescent behaviour it would not be surprising to find that lower class and middle class participate differently in Beatlemania.

Yet there have been comments contradicting this. The <u>New York Times,</u> in a discussion of Beatlemania, noted that it was "classless" [92] The apparent contradiction between Hollingshead and the Times does not actually exist. By mentioning its classlessness, the <u>New York Times</u> may have meant that, contrary to most fashions, which originate in the upper class and 'trickle down', this originated in the lower class. This does not deny Hollingshead's inference that different classes listen to music in different ways. Thus Johnstone and Katz[93] point out that class-one's neighbourhood-determines the type of music preferred. More specifically, they point out that amongst those in the upper classes, 73% preferred 'happier' songs, whereas amongst the lower class only 47% preferred 'happier' songs, the remainder choosing 'blues' songs. Furthermore, they state that those who were of a lower class were "relatively more interested in popular music".[94] In his doctoral thesis, Johnstone found a much greater majority of Elvis Presley fans in the lower than in the middle classes.[95] Given that more girls in the lower classes prefer popular music and given that they were greater and far stronger

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[92]New York Times, op. cit. p. 124

[93]J.Johnstone and E. Katz, "Youth and Popular Music" American Journal of Sociology, Vol.62 , May 1957,p.p.563-568.

[94]Ibid., p.566

[95]J. Johnstone, op. cit., pp. 78-80.

supporters of the Presley craze, we might expect them to be the greatest Beatlemaniacs.

The data, however, is rather surprising. Table 33 reveals no relationship between father's occupation and Beatlemania. This might be due to the fact that the girls did not adequately describe their fathers' occupations to permit adequate coding; yet when we consider father's education and Beatlemania, there is still no relationship, (Table 34).[96]

TABLE 33

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

		Beatlemaniacs Score on NORC Scale	
	UNDER 49	50- 69	70- up
% Beatlemaniacs	50(247)	51(114)	50 (44)

TABLE 34
PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS
DETERMINED BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

	No High School Degree	High School Degree or Better
% Beatlemaniacs	50(213)	49(222)

It is difficult to explain that class may, in fact, have no effect on Beatlemania; the youth culture may cross-cut class lines. Or perhaps the areas from which the sample

[96] Though it will be seen that religion affects Beatlemania, the various class lines within any religion reveal no variation in response to Beatlemania.

was extracted were not adequate, in that very few upper class children were investigated.

It might be argued that we ought not to have expected a relationship between class and Beatlemania. If the lower classes did prefer Beatlemania, and if Johnstone is correct in his findings that they prefer 'blues' songs, it would follow that Beatlemania is 'blue'. Yet in Chapter II, I explained that this was definitely not the case; the songs are sung in a happy-go-lucky manner. Therefore we would not expect the lower classes to prefer Beatlemania since this would contradict the finding that Beatlemania is not 'blue'.

However, the findings are still surprising. Different social classes bring up their children in their distinct ways, which affect Beatlemania. Furthermore, we can resolve the dilemma concerning our expectation that the lower classes would prefer Beatlemania, their preference for 'blues' music, and the 'easygoing' music of the Beatles. Johnstone asserts that the lower classes prefer music that is 'blue'. He determined whether a song was 'happy' or 'blue', by asking the respondents to fill in the last word of a song lyric with words such as 'sad', 'bad' or glad'. This has nothing to do with the way they are sung, the main point of my analysis. Thus, many of the words in the Beatles' songs are sad, but they are sung happily.

To determine whether Beatlemania and class are
not related or whether my measurement of the class variable
is inadequate, let us consider the relationship of father's
occupation and father's education against the amount of time
the respondent listens to hit parade music in a day. John-
stone has shown conclusively that the lower the socioeco-
nomic level of the respondent, the more time she spends
listening to hit parade music. The data reveals no rela-
tionship between father's education and the amount of time
spent listening to hit parade music, and only a slight
relationship between father's occupation and popular music
listening time. Among those girls whose fathers are in
the lowest occupational groups, 41% listen to popular
music 2 hours or more a day, whereas 39% of the 'middle
class' children and 34% of the 'upper class' listen to
this type of music as frequently.

One may therefore conclude that since there is such
a slight relationship between class and Beatlemania in my
study, whereas Johnstone asserts a strong relationship
between class and popular music, my measurement of class
may be inaccurate. Yet, it is also possible that Beatle-
mania diverges from popular music in general with respect
to its class appeal. It is such a proposition that may
warrant a further study of this factor.

2. Religious Affiliation

What would be the effect of religious affiliation
on Beatlemania? Would there be any difference between

Protestant, Catholic and Jewish? Rosenberg points out
that "Jewish girls are significantly more likely than
Protestant girls...to value highly being good looking,
attractive in appearance."97 This value, high in the
adolescent value hierarchy, is a central one to Beatle-
mania. This can be tested by finding out if the strongest
Beatlemaniacs are the ones who read teenage magazines.
The central theme of these magazines is how to be
attractive, to be popular, to have fun. The magazines
are in general divided into two parts: the confessional-
girl problems and the cultic stories concerning their
idols.98 Since these magazines emphasize the value of
appearance, we would expect the Beatlemaniacs to read
more of these magazines than the non-Beatlemaniacs.

TABLE 35

PERCENTAGE OF MAGAZINES READERS AMONG
BEATLEMANIACS AND NON-BEATLEMANIACS

	Beatlemaniac	Non-Beatlemaniac
Number of magazines read in a month		
3 or more	30	11
1 or 2	54	43
none	16	46

97M. Rosenberg, op.cit. pp.265-266.

98Charles Brown, "Self-Portrait: the Teen-Type
Magazines" Annals of the American Academy of Political and
Social Science, November 1961, pp. 13-21.

84% of the Beatlemaniacs, as compared with 54% of

the non-Beatlemaniacs, read these magazines. Since,

according to Rosenberg, the value of appearance is

highest amongst the Jewish adolescents and since it is

central to Beatlemania, we conclude that the Jewish girl

is the greatest Beatlemaniac. Furthermore, Bernard

Rosen [99] points out that the Jewish adolescent is in many

instances influenced more by his peers than by his family.

Evidence has already been presented that those who are

peer-oriented will most likely become Beatlemaniacs. In

the light of this discussion the data in Table 36 is

rather surprising.

TABLE 36

PERCENTAGE OF BEATLEMANIACS AS DETERMINED
BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Religious Affiliation		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish
% Beatlemaniacs	55	63	33
Total Cases	(285)	(16)	(123)

Amongst the Jewish teenagers there are the fewest

Beatlemaniacs. Since there are so few Catholic respon-

dents and since they do not differ significantly from

the Protestants, these two groups were categorized as one,

with Protestant-Catholics having 55% Beatlemaniacs and

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[99] See footnotes 105 - 108.

Jews having only 33%.

One assumption underlying the reasoning as to why
Jewish teenagers will most likely be Beatlemaniacs does'
not, in fact, hold. The Jewish girls do not value
appearance more highly than the Protestants do. The
reverse is true. 41% of the Protestant-Catholics, as
compared with only 31% of Jewish highly value 'sharp
clothes'. Yet this does not account fully for the vast
differences between the religious affiliations. More im-
portant are the Jewish family patterns, which differ
significantly from those of the Protestant-Catholics.
The different family patterns among the Jews are less
strain-producing and less conducive to Beatlemania. In
Table 37 a list of family patterns leading to Beatlemania
is presented with the Protestant-Catholic and Jewish
percentages summarized.

TABLE 37

PERCENTAGE OF PROTESTANT-CATHOLICS AND
JEWISH IN VARIOUS FAMILY PATTERNS

	Religious Affiliation	
Family Patterns	Protestant-Catholic	Jewish
Mother is more affectionate	33(279)	21(120)
Mother is easier to talk to	74(268)	61(120)
Mother is parent respondent 'sdies with'	34(274)	22(121)
Very strict discipline	11(285)	3(123)
Low parental interest	31(231)	25(97)
Weak family solidarity	37(282)	39(123)
Low family orientation	20(280)	18(121)

Aside from weak family solidarity and a low family orientation, where there are slight differences between religions, the percentage of Protestant-Catholics' family patterns leading to Beatlemania is higher than those amongst the Jewish teenagers.

As self-conception was being discussed it was shown that those with high self-esteem as well as a stable self-image had the fewest Beatlemaniacs. In both cases of self-esteem and self-stability the Jewish respondents have a higher percentage: 32% of the Jewish girls have high self-esteem whereas only 21% of the Protestant-Catholics fall in this category,(N=120,280 respectively), 38% of the Jewish girls are relatively stable in their self-images, compared with 30% of the Protestant-Catholics,(N= 123.285 respectively).

In addition to the lower percentage of Beatlemaniacs, among the Jewish teenagers, is the different function that Beatlemania and other mass media serve. 23% of the Protestant-Catholics use Beatlemania in a transcendental manner, whereas 8% of the Jewish girls use it in the same way, (N= 280,122 respectively). The escape tendency in general is less frequent amongst the Jewish respondents, of whom 30% daydream often compared with 45% of the Protestant-Catholics who daydream to the same extent, (N= 123, 285 respectively).

It seems, therefore, that no one factor accounts

for the fewer Beatlemaniacs amongst the Jewish girls; [100]

some of their values, family patterns, self-conceptions

and escape-orientations differ markedly from those of the

Protestants and Catholics. Yet there are other differences

between these religious affiliations that might lead us to

the conclusion that Jews are the greatest Beatlemaniacs.

In Chapter IV we discussed the predominance of Beatlemaniacs

amongst those girls who are date-motivated but who are not

going steady. The Jewish girls have a slightly higher mo-

tivation to date. In addition they date more often in the

beginning stages, but fewer tend to go steady.

TABLE 38

PERCENTAGE OF DATING PATTERNS AS
DETERMINED BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Religious Affiliation	
Dating Patterns:	Protestant-Catholic	Jewish
date-motivated	38(282)	43(122)
dates at least once a month	56(285)	68(123)
going steady	51(232)	23(100)

Would we not expect the Jewish girl, therefore, to be the

greatest Beatlemaniac? To answer this we must first

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[100]The author tested numerous factors with respect
to religion and Beatlemania without any one explanation
coming to the fore.

answer why the Jewish girl goes steady less frequently than the Protestant-Catholics. David Boroff explains that the Jewish girl is strongly marriage-oriented. Oscar Handlin in his article, "The American Jew", pointed out:

> "The Rabbis...invested marriage with the
> highest communal significance...(and)
> ...pitied the spinster."101

Because these girls are marriage-oriented, the prospect of dating steadily at a very young age presents a problem: marriage may result from dating someone steadily, yet the girl is too young. Parents are worried and the data substantiates this: though they discipline the child less than do the Protestant-Catholic parents and regulate the amount of dating, they set rules for their daughters against going steady far more than do the Protestant-Catholics.

TABLE 39

PERCENTAGE OF PROTESTANT-CATHOLICS
AND JEWISH FAMILIES HAVING DATING RULES

	Religious Affiliation	
	Protestant-Catholics	Jewish
Very strict parental discipline	11(285)	3(123)
Rules concerning the amount of dating	28(284)	21(123)
Rules against going steady	26(284)	35(123)

101Oscar Handlin, "The American Jew", Understanding Minority Groups, ed. J. B. Gittler (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964), pp. 58-64.

Why, though, are the Jewish girls not the strongest Beatlemaniacs? Perhaps it is because they are not <u>expected</u> to go steady at a young age; the Protestant-Catholic may be motivated to go steady more than the Jew and may be more strained if they do not. In Chapter IV we noted that when the respondent was date-motivated but did not go steady, 60% were Beatlemaniacs. When we introduce religion as a control-variable, we note that 80% of Protestant-Catholics, contrasted with 41% of Jews who are date-motivated, but do not go steady, are Beatlemaniacs, (N=39, 39 respectively). It seems, therefore, that the Jewish girl is not as strained as is the Protestant-Catholic girl if she does not go steady.

It should be noted that Jewish girls are not only less involved in Beatlemania than the Protestant-Catholics but also are relatively indifferent to popular idols in general. 20% of the Jewish respondents as compared with 35% of the Protestant-Catholics consider knowledge of popular singers and movie stars important among their crowd. David Boroff, in his article "Jewish Teen-Age Culture," states that one is unlikely to observe "many Jewish teen-agers among the rabid enthusiasts who wait outside theatres for their rock 'n'roll idols (as they are) less cultis-tic."[102]

We observe that 73% of the Protestant-Catholics

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[102]David Boroff, "Jewish Teen-Age Culture", <u>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</u>, November 1961, p. 80

compared with 57% of the Jewish respondents read at least
one teen magazine a month; moreover, 21% of Protestant-
Catholics read at least three magazines a month, whereas
only 10% of the Jewish girls read the same amount. This
is evidence that the Jewish girl is less cultistic, since
these magazines stress the cultic element and since so few
of the Jewish girls read them.

What is it about the Jew that results in such
differences in family patterns, self-esteem, dating, value
hierarchy and orientation to mass media? It is certainly
not due to their religiosity; only 4% go to synagogue
often, whereas 32% amongst Protestant-Catholics go to church
frequently. Has it something to do with ethnic identity?
This "Referential identification", as Bernard Rosen calls
it:

> "...involves not only a recognition that one
> is a member of a...religious group because of
> one's ancestry, nor only a recognition that
> the majority group defines as belonging to a
> ...religious group. It also involves a positive
> desire to identify oneself as a member of the
> group, and a feeling of pleasure when one does
> so identify himself." (see footnote 105)

Being Jewish may form a frame of reference for the
respondent. 'Being Jewish' it appears is more than simply
being in a religious group, supporting religious practices
and beliefs. It involves a 'way of life'. It is surprising
that there is no adequate account of the Jewish family and

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[103]William Kiphar, The Family, Society and the
Individual (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1961).

its patterns. For example, in an article entitled "Ethnic
Family Patterns: The American Jewish Family", no actual
patterns are described or related; there is rather a
simple discussion of the vacuum in studies of this kind.
More recently a book by Kephar, The Family, Society and
the Individual,[103] sets as'de over a hundred pages on what
he calls "Minority Family Types". In this section he
discusses the family patterns of the Amish, the Negro
and the Italian, with no mention of the Jew. This dearth
of material on the Jews extends further than the family.
Coleman, in his discussion of adolescence, hardly mentions
religion but when he does he mentions it as a very minor
factor.[104] Ernest Smith does not even consider religion.
Implied in their theses is the unimportance of religion
as a central factor in the description and explanation of
adolescence and of its youth culture. This youth culture
is perceived as a very general common culture, holding
the adolescent together with his peers and cross-cutting
such factors as religion. The data presented here suggest
that this is not a valid assumption. Although many of the
values deemed important among Jewish cliques and crowds
are similar to those of the Protestant-Catholics signifi-
cant differences still remain. Bernard Rosen, in
Adolescence and Religion: The Jewish Teenager in American

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[104]J. Coleman, op. cit. See Especially pp.84,112-113
where it is stated that "...religion was almost unrelated
to membership in the leading crowds..."(p.112). Also "...
religion plays a far smaller part in structuring these
adolescent communities than does family social status in
the community..."(p.113).

Life, does not seem to realize this. He asserts that especially with mass media tastes the Jewish adolescent is remarkably similar to the Protestant-Catholic:

> "Through the media of mass communication, radio, television and periodicals, uniform modes of thought behavior have become available to everyone...More and more people are wearing, thinking and doing the same things...Possibly in no other group is the pressure toward uniformity as strong as among adolescents...One area in which the impact of social-wide influences is perhaps most obvious and at the same time excruciantingly painful to the adolescent is that associated with dating, amusement and sports."[105]

> "The general society exerted pressures upon the Jewish adolescent...(1) pressure toward uniformity-conformity (2) pressure toward secularization and (3) pressure toward equalitarianism. They made it psychologically difficult for Jewish adolesecents to be different from the dominant majority". [106]

Yet the data suggests this is not so. But Rosen's study is typical of the studies on the Jew and his world. His book does not fully describe or explain the "Jewish Teenager in American Society", which is the title of his book. It merely describes the differences between Jewish teenagers rather than between the Jew and the outside world, which would be a more meaningful avenue of study. A typical finding of his is that "...adolescents who reported their

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[105]Bernard Rosen, Adolescence and Religion:The Jewish Teenager in American Society (Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1965)pp. 143-144; 147.

[106]Ibid., p. 200.

parents as having relatively tradionalistic expectations
were far more likely...to feel they ought to be more
religious than adolescents...whose parents' expectations
were non-traditional."[107]

A study by Meyer Greenberg, "The Jewish Student at
Yale: His Attitude Toward Judaism", however, points out
the importance of aspects of the religious variable in
studying adolescent behaviour. More specifically,
religious affiliation has a far greater effect on adoles-
cent behaviour than a review of the relevant sociological
literature would have us believe. Moreover no one factor
can explain the lack of participation in Beatlemania,
amongst the Jewish girls.[108] I have suggested that the
concept of ethnic identification would be useful here,
but unfortunately there is no data available concerning
the respondents' recognition of membership in a group
separate from the majority group, nor the feelings
underlying this membership. Yet there is no doubt of
the importance of the concept of religious and ethnic
identification in an analysis of adolescent behaviour.

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[107]Ibid., p. 75.

[108]See footnote 100.

Summary

It was originally expected that there would be a strong relationship between social class and Beatlemania but little or no relationship between religion and Beatlemania. Surprisingly, the reverse was true: lower, middle and upper classes were involved in Beatlemania to the same extent, although lower class girls listen to hit parade music slightly more than middle or upper class girls. With respect to the religious affiliation of the respondents, Jewish girls had a much lesser propensity to Beatlemania than Protestant-Catholics. We noted that this was connected to their family life, mass media tastes, dating patterns, self-conceptions, and values; in other words, their general 'way of life' was different. This finding is particularly striking in that it challenges the trend in adolescent studies which suggests the existence of a cohesive, well-knit, unstratified youth culture. This does not, however, derogate from the basic conclusion of this study: a definite youth culture exists and has become more distinct. The final chapter will consider Beatlemania in the context of this proposition.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Beatlemania may be considered in two ways: as an aspect of the youth culture, or as a collective behaviour episode. Naturally, any comprehensive study of this phenomenon must consider both approaches. In this study the emphasis has been on the former at the expense of the latter. Collective behavioral studies such as Smelser's Theory of Collective Behavior have not been greatly relied upon for two reasons: firstly, Smelser's work is a very comprehensive synthesis of the materials available on the craze. He suggests that crazes such as Beatlemania arise as a result of a combination of strain, conduciveness, generalized belief, precipitating factors, mobilization for action, and absence of social controls. Yet, reliance on his scheme is limited to an ex post facto analysis. For this study, its usefulness is somewhat attenuated by the imposition of Smelser's prearranged categories to the data; the data must be fitted to the theory rather than vice-versa.

Secondly, the value of a study of Beatlemania is found in its international expression of a youth culture for the first time. By analysis of Beatlemania one is analyzing the ever-developing youth culture. In the

1950's, the concept of the youth culture was questioned.
By the end of the 1950's it was conceded that there were
certain values and behavioral traits held by youth in
general distinct from the adult world; and so the teen
market emerged. In 1955, teen magazines aimed solely at
the teens began to circulate. They differed from previous
teen magazines in that they were not aimed at both the
teen and adult or young-adult market. They were concerned
solely with the teenager.

Besides developing their own literature and their
own market, the youth developed their own language, and
Beatlemania put it to music; it solidified this already
emerging culture. It differed from previous music in
that it did not espouse the common theme of love songs
previous to this phenomenon - that of self-pity. Its
emphasis was on a kind of haphazard happiness, a collec-
tive coolness, and a fun-going fantasy in face of failures:
the answers to the problems of adolescence is denial that
any problems exist. In thereby emphasizing the cherished
values of youth today, the Beatles were well received.
Yet their audience did not share equal adoration for them;
the family life of the adolescent and her relationship
with her peers were the critical factors. That family-
peer tensions exist and affect the adolescent is not
surprising, for such has been the case prior to Beatle-
mania. It is the overriding effects of the peers on
adolescent beahviour that is unusual. Moreover, their

effect is not solely on the adolescent herself, but also
on the adult world: the one-way direction of influence
from parent to youth that is the traditional view has
now become a two-way road. Not only has a youth culture
emerged but it has profoundly influenced the adult world.
Nightclubs such as "Arthur's" have sprung up all over
America; these clubs are plush, expensive and exclusive
for the adults; but are patterned after the youth music,
dance and image. It is suggested such a trend will
continue, and will not be limited to one area - that of
music.

A youth culture is developing as a powerful force
in today's world. But the importance of Beatlemania to
this movement must not be minimized: a youth world
exists, united by Beatlemania - its national anthem.

APPENDIX: 1. QUESTIONNAIRE

Age_____   School_____

Grade_____

Sex_____

STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL ACTIVITIES
Conducted by
McGILL UNIVERSITY

This questionnaire is part of a study being carried out in a few selected high schools, to learn about the interests and attitudes of high school students. We think you will find the questionnaire quickly, without spending too much time on any single question. Answer the questions in order without skipping.

Feel free to answer exactly the way you feel, for no one in this school will see the answers. Remember, you do NOT write your name on this questionnaire. When finished, hand the questionnaire to the research worker from McGill University who will take them directly to the University for statistical tabulation.

Remember, this is an attitude questionnaire and not a tests. There are no right or wrong answers. Most of the questions can be answered by a check in front of the question ( ). Specific instructions are given where needed.

If you come to a problem raise your hand, and the research worker who has given you the questionnaire will come to your desk and answer your questions.

You may start immediately.

NB: Questions begin at No. 8 on page 1.

For example:
(Please fill in)

113. Who is your favourite Disc Jockey?
    ____1. Dave Boxer
    ____2. Mike Stevens
    ____3. Dean Hagopian
    ____4. Michel Desrochers
    ____5. None of the above
    ___6. Other, Name, if any_____

8. If school were not compulsory, and it were completely up to you, would you (check one)
    ____1. stay in school until graduation
    ____2. leave school before graduating
    ____3. don't know

9. How much time, on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school?
    ____1. none, or almost none
    ____2. less than 1/2 hour a day
    ____3. about 1/2 hour a day
    ____4. about 1 hour a day
    ____5. about 1-1/2 hours a day
    ____6. 2 hours a day
    ____7. 3 or more hours a day

10. How often do you go to the movies?

    ____1. never, or almost never
    ____2. about once a month or less
    ____3. about once every two or three weeks
    ____4. about once a week
    ____5. about twice a week
    ____6. more than twice a week

11. With whom do you go most often?
    ____1. by myself
    ____2. with a date
    ____3. with a group of boys and girls
    ____4. with members of my family

12-15. Rank the following four activities in the order that you best like doing them, (Rank from 1-4; 1 is highest, 4, is lowest)
    ____1. watching TV
    ____2. going to the movies
    ____3. listening to the radio or records with friends
    ____4. listening to the radio or records by yourself

16. Which one of these things would be the hardest for you to take?
    ____1. your parents' disapproval
    ____2. teacher's disapproval
    ____3. fight with a friend

17. Let's say that you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school and then finally you were asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of the group. Do you think that you would
    ____1. definitely join anyway
    ____2. probably join
    ____3. probably not join
    ____4. definitely not join

18. Do you date?
_____ 1. no
_____ 2. yes, about once a month
_____ 3. yes, once every two or three weeks
_____ 4. yes, about once a week
_____ 5. yes, about twice a week
_____ 6. yes, about three or four times a week
_____ 7. yes, more than four times a week

19. If yes, do you go steady with one girl/boy?
_____ 1. yes
_____ 2. no

20. If yes, how long have you been going steady with her/him?
_____ 1. less than a month
_____ 2. 1-3 months
_____ 3. 4-6 months
_____ 4. 6 months - year
_____ 5. 1-2 years
_____ 6. more than 2 years

21. How many times would you like to date?
_____ 1. less often than you do now
_____ 2. about as much as you date now
_____ 3. more than you date
_____ 4. much more than you date now

22. About how often do your friends date?
_____ 1. never
_____ 2. about once a month
_____ 3. about once every 2 or 3 weeks
_____ 4. about once a week
_____ 5. about twice a week
_____ 6. about 3 or 4 times a week
_____ 7. more than 4 times a week

23. How important is it for you to date often?
_____ 1. very important
_____ 2. quite important
_____ 3. not very important
_____ 4. not at all important

24 A lot of times, people make plans and then find that
the plans cut into something else. Suppose your
family had planned a trip to the States for a vacation
during the summer holidays. If you go along with them
it means you can't go away with your friends to visit
some of your old camp friends in Toronto, as you've
been planning to do. What would you do?
_____ 1. go to the States with parents
_____ 2. go to visit camp friends.

25. A close friend is (for girls) a girl you confide in;
    (for boys) a boy you confide in, spend a lot of time
    with, whom you like and, in turn, likes you. Do you
    have any close friends as such?
    ___1. yes
    ___2. no

26. If yes, how many?

    _____

27. Would you say you tend to be a lonely person?
    ___1. yes
    ___2. no

28. Would you say that you are the sort of person who finds
    it easier or harder to make friends than most people?
    ___1. easier
    ___2. harder

29. Suppose the circle below represented the activities
    that go on here at school. How far from the centre
    of things are you? (Place a check where you think you
    are.)
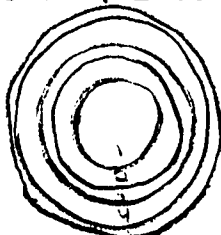
30. Now, in the circle below, place a check where you
    would like to be.
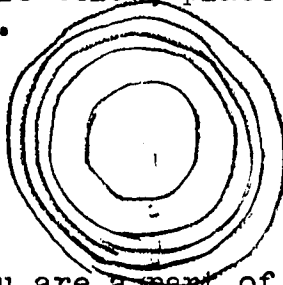
31. Would you say you are a part of the leading crowd in
    this school?
    ___1. yes
    ___2. no

32. If no, would you like to be part of the leading crowd?
    ___1. yes
    ___2. no
    ___3. don't care

33. Is it easier for a girl to get to be important and
    well-known among the students in the school by making
    friends with a very popular girl, or by dating a very
    popular boy?
    ___1. making friends with a very popular girl
    ___2. dating a very popular boy

What are your feelings about the following statements?
(Nos. 34-49)

34. I feel that I am a person of worth or at least on an equal plane with others.
___1. strongly agree
___2. agree
___3. disagree
___4. strongly disagree

35. All in all, I am inclined to think I am a failure.
___1. strongly agree
___2. agree
___3. disagree
___4. strongly disagree

36. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
___1. strongly agree
___2. agree
___3. disagree
___4. strongly disagree

37. Most of the time I would rather sit and daydream than do anything else.
___1. strongly agree
___2. agree
___3. disagree
___4. strongly disagree

38. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
___1. strongly agree
___2. agree
___3. disagree
___4. strongly disagree

39. At times I think I am no good at all.
___1. strongly agree
___2. agree
___3. disagree
___4. strongly disagree

40. On the whole I am satisfied with myself
___1. strongly agree
___2. agree
___3. disagree
___4. strongly disagree

41. I daydream a good deal of the time
___1. strongly agree
___2. agree
___3. disagree
___4. strongly disagree

42. I wish I could have more respect for myself
    ____1. strongly agree
    ____2. agree
    ____3. disagree
    ____4. strongly disagree

43. I guess you would call me a "dreamer".
    ____1. strongly agree
    ____2. agree
    ____3. disagree
    ____4. strongly disagree

44. I feel that nothing, or almost nothing, can change the opinion I currently hold of myself.
    ____1. strongly agree
    ____2. agree
    ____3. disagree
    ____4. strongly disagree

45. Some days I have a very good opinion of myself; other days I have a very poor opinion of myself.
    ____1. strongly agree
    ____2. agree
    ____3. disagree
    ____4. strongly disagree

46. I certainly feel useless at times.
    ____1. strongly agree
    ____2. agree
    ____3. disagree
    ____4. strongly disagree

47. I have noticed that my ideas concerning myself seem to change very quickly.
    ____1. strongly agree
    ____2. agree
    ____3. disagree
    ____4, strongly disagree

48. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
    ____1. strongly agree
    ____2. agree
    ____3. disagree
    ____4. strongly disagree

49. I prefer to pass by school friends or people I know but have not seen for a long time unless they speak to me first.
    ____1. strongly agree
    ____2. agree
    ____3. disagree
    ____4. strongly disagree.

50. Does your opinion of yourself tend to change a good
    deal, or does it continue to remain the same?
    _____1. changes a good deal
    _____2. changes somewhat
    _____3. changes very little
    _____4. does not change at all

51. Do you often find yourself daydreaming about the type
    of person you expect bo be in the future?
    _____1. very often
    _____2. sometimes
    _____3. rarely
    _____4. never

52. How much time do you generally spend listening to hit
    parade music?
    _____1. none or almost none
    _____2. 1/2 hour or less a day
    _____3. about 1 hour a day
    _____4. about 2 hours a day
    _____5. 2-1/2 hours a day, or more

53.. At any time, did you ever feel the Beatles or any other
    group like them, such as the Rolling Stones, Herman's
    Hermits, Dave Clark Five, the Byrds, etc...were:
    _____1. great
    _____2. O.K.
    _____3. nothing special

54. Have you ever (check as many as apply)
    _____1. gone to a rock'n roll type show and screamed
            for your favourite singing group?
    _____2. had a "crush" on at least one of the groups such
            as the Beatles?
    _____3. written a letter to your favourite singer from
            these groups?
    _____4. dreamed about them?
    _____5. none of the above apply to me.

55. What statement would you say you agree with concerning
    the Beatles?
    _____1. they're great
    _____2. they're O.K.
    _____3. they're nothing special
    _____4. they aren't any good

56. How many tten or Beatles magazines do you generally
    read in a month?
    _____1. over 8
    _____2. 5 - 8
    _____3. 3 - 4
    _____4. 1 - 2
    _____5. none

57. A beatle lover is someone who loves Beatle music,
     thinks they're great, screams when she/he hears them,
     thinks about them a lot and would like to see them
     in person. Do you think that in the last year or so
     you have <u>ever</u> felt like this about the Beatles or
     other similar singing groups?

     ____1. yes
     ____2. no

58   Do you have a favourite singing group right now?
     ____1. yes
     ____2. no
     If yes, what is the name of the group?_____

59. Among the crowd you go around with, which of the things
     below are important to do in order to be popular with
     the group?
     ____1. be a good dancer
     ____2. have sharp clothes
     ____3. have a good reputation
     ____4. stirring up a little excitement
     ____5. have money
     ____6. smoking
     ____7. know how to dress properly
     ____8. know what's going on in the world of popular
             singers and movie stars

60. Among the following singers, whom do you like the best?
     ____1. Frank Sinatra
     ____2. The Rolling Stones
     ____3. Simon and Garfunkel
     ____4. Herman's Hermits
     ____5. Johnny Mathis
     ____6. The Beatles
     ____7. Barbra Streisand

61. Do you belong to any fan clubs?
     ____1. yes
     ____2. no, but I used to
     ____3. never

62. When you hear your favourite group sing, what statement
     describes your feeling the best?
     ____1. I love them so much, I wish one of them would
             marry me
     ____2. I feel like screaming every time I hear them
     ____3. I go into a daze and think of them
     ____4. I like to dance to their music
     ____5. I like listening to their music
     ____6. I don't have a favourite group

64. Do you have a favourite record right now?
    ___1. yes
    ___2. no
    If yes, what is it?_____

65. How many Beatle or other similar singing groups'
    records have you bought in the last month?
    (circle the number of records bought)
    0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 or more

66. If you are, or were, a Beatle fan, answer this
    question: The Beatles arrived in America in 1963.
    It is now 1966. If you like the Beatles, at what
    point between 1963 to 1966 did you truly begin to
    like them? Make an "x" along the line:

1	2	3	4	5

    beginning   middle
    of 1963   1964   1965   of 1966

67. Are your parents living?
    ___1. both living
    ___2. only mother living
    ___3. only father living
    ___4. neither living

68. Are your parents divorced or separated?
    ___1. yes
    ___2. no

69. What is your father's occupation? What does he do?
    Be as specific as you can. (If he is dead, say what
    his occupation was).

70. How much formal education did your father have?
    ___1. some public school
    ___2. finished public school
    ___3. some high school
    ___4. finished high school
    ___5. some college
    ___6. finished college
    ___7. attended graduate school or prefessional
          school after college
    ___8. don't know

71. Does your mother have a job outside the home?
    ___1. yes, full time
    ___2. yes, part time
    ___3. no

72. Which parent shows you more affection?
    ___1. father much more
    ___2. father somewhat more
    ___3. both about the same
    ___4. mother somewhat more
    ___5. mother much more

73. Which parent is easier for you to talk to?
    ___1. father, much more
    ___2. father, somewhat more
    ___3. both about the same
    ___4. mother, somewhat more
    ___5. mother, much more

74. Which parent is most likely to praise you?
    ___1. father, much more
    ___2. father, somewhat more
    ___3. both about the same
    ___4. mother, somewhat more
    ___5. mother, much more

75. Who would you say makes most of the decisions in the
    home, such as: to take a trip, to go to a certain
    restaurant, what television show to watch?
    ___1. my father, always
    ___2. my father usually
    ___3. my mother, always
    ___4. my mother, usually
    ___5. both about the same

76. When your parents disagree, whose side are you usually
    on?
    ___1. father, much more
    ___2. father, somewhat more
    ___3. both about the same
    ___4. mother, somewhat more
    ___5. mother, much more

77. In most cases would you say your father is the
    ___1. boss at home
    ___2. decides things by asking your mother
    ___3. does not decide things

78. Who generally makes the most important decisions
    concerning you - whether you can go somewhere, do
    something, and the like?
    ___1. your father
    ___2. your mother
    ___3. both
    ___4. neither of them do

79. In most cases would you say your mother is the
    ___1. boss at home
    ___2. decides things by asking your father
    ___3. does not decide things

80. Below is a list of items on which some parents have rules for their teenage children, while others don't. Check each item that your parents have definite rules for:
    ___1. time for being in at night on weekends
    ___2. amount of dating
    ___3. against going steady
    ___4. time spent watching TV
    ___5. time spent on homework
    ___6. against going out with certain boys
    ___7. against going out with certain girls
    ___8. eating dinner with the family
    ___9. no rules for any of the above items

81. How often do your parents punish you?
    ___1. never
    ___2. rarely
    ___3. sometimes
    ___4. often
    ___5. always

82. Do you get any money from your parents?
    ___1. no
    ___2. I get money when I need some
    ___3. I get a regular allowance. How much per week?___

83. Which statement would you say applies to the way in which your parents discipline you?
    ___1. very strict
    ___2. firm
    ___3. lenient - usually allowed to have own way
    ___4. sometimes strict and sometimes lenient

84. Do all the members of the family eat the evening meal together?
    ___1. always
    ___2. often
    ___3. sometimes
    ___4. rarely
    ___5. never

85. If your family usually, or often, eats together, how often do you participate actively in mealtime conversations?
    ___1. always
    ___2. usually
    ___3. sometimes
    ___4. rarely
    ___5. never

86. As far as you can tell, how interested are the other family members in what you have to say on these occasions?
    ___1. very interested
    ___2. fairly interested
    ___3. not interested
    ___4. don't know

87. In the last 2 or 3 years has your family gone on a trip together?
___1. yes
___2. no

88. Do you enjoy doing things as a family?
___1. often
___2. sometimes
___3. rarely
___4. never

89. Do you ever confide in your parents about something important?
___1. often
___2. sometimes
___3. rarely
___4. never

90. When you were about 10-11 years old, did your mother know most of your friends?
___1. knew who all were
___2. knew who most were
___3. knew who some were
___4. knew none, almost none

91. When there are birthdays, anniversaries or holidays, do you spend them
___1. always with my family
___2. usually with my family
___3. sometimes with my family
___4. usually with my friends and my parents
___5. we don't usually celebrate these days

92. When you were about 10-11 years old, did your father know who your friends were?
___1. knew who all were
___2. knew who most were
___3. knew who some were
___4. knew none, almost none

93. When you were in grade 6 or 7 did your mother usually pay attention when you brought home a report card with high grades?
___1. paid no attention
___2. paid attention

94. When you were in grade 6 or 7 did your father usually pay attention when you brought home a report card with high grades?
___1. paid no attention
___2. paid attention

95. When you were in grade 6 or 7 did your mother usually pay attention when you brought home a report card with low grades?
___1. paid no attention
___2. paid attention

96. When you were in grade 6 or 7 did your father usually pay attention when you brought home a report card with low grades?
   ___1. paid no attention
   ___2. paid attention

97-100. Different people strive for different things that you have probably thought about. Among the things that you strive for during your high school days, just how important is each of these? (Rank them from 1 to 4; 1 for the most important, 4 for the least)
   ___1. pleasing my parents
   ___2. learning as much as possible in school
   ___3. living u0 to my religious ideals
   ___4. being accepted by, and liked by other students

101. How happy would you say you are?
   ___1. extremely happy
   ___2. somewhat happy
   ___3. more happy than average
   ___4. average
   ___5. unhappy
   ___6. extremely unhappy

102. What is your religion?
   ___1. Protestant
   ___2. Catholic
   ___3. Jewish

103. Generally speaking, when you were in public school, what was the religious affiliation of most of the people in the area where you lived? (If you lived in more than one neighborhood think of the neighborhood in which you lived the longest).(Protestant, Catholic, Jewish).
   1. almost all were_____
   2. about 1/2 were_____and 1/2 were_____
   3. about 3/4 were_____and 1/4 were_____

104. How often do you attend Church or Synagogue?
   ___1. every week
   ___2. 1 to 3 times a week
   ___3. never

105. When you were a child, were you teased, left out of things, or called names by other children because of your religion?
   ___1. yes
   ___2. no

106. When a new clothing style or singing fad comes out,
how soon do you change to the new style?
___1. I am usually one of the first in my group to change
___2. I change about the same time that most other
people in my group change
___3. I usually don't change until most of my friends
have changed.
___4. I don't follow the change at all
___5. clothing styles or singing fads don't matter to me.

107. About how many evenings a week do you spend at home?
(Circle the number of evenings)
0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

108. Do you smoke?
___1. yes, regularly
___2. yes, occasionally
___3. no

109. Do you drink beer and/or liquor?
___1. yes, regularly
___2. yes, occasionally
___3. no

110. Have you ever taken anything from a store without
paying for it?
___1. yes
___2. no

111. If yes, approximately what was its value?
___1. $3 or less
___2. about $10
___3. about $20
___4. more than $25

112. How many brothers and sisters do you have?(total)
___1. none
___2. one
___3. two
___4. three
___5. four or more

School_____ 109

2. SCALES AND INDICES

A. BEATLEMANIA SCALE (0-8)

This was contrived from the combined responses to the eight questions listed below. If a respondent answered six out of eight, seven out of eight or eight out of eight positively, she was considered a Beatlemaniac. "Positive" responses indicate an adoration of the Beatles and like groups. If respondent answered 5 or less out of 8 positively, she received a negative score.

1. At any time, did you ever feel the Beatles or any other group like them, such as the Rolling Stones, Herman's Hermits, Dave Clark Five, the Byrds, etc. were:
   * ___ 1. great
   ___ 2. O.K.
   ___ 3. nothing special

2. Have you ever (check if it applies)
   * __ gone to a rock 'n' roll show and screamed for your favourite singing group?
3. * __ had a crush on at least one of the groups such as the Beatles?
4. * __ written a letter to your favourite singer from these groups?
5. * __ dreamed about them?

6. A Beatle lover is someone who loves Beatle music, thinks they're great, screams when she/he hears them, thinks about them a lot and would like to see them in person. Do you think that in the last year or so you have _ever_ felt like this about the Beatles or other singing groups?
   * ___ 1. yes
   ___ 2. no

7. Among the following singers, whom do you like the best?
   ___ 1. Frank Sinatra
   * ___ 2. The Rolling Stones
   ___ 3. Simon and Garfunkel
   * ___ 4. Herman's Hermits
   ___ 5. Johnny Mathis
   * ___ 6. The Beatles
   ___ 7. Barbra Streisand

8. Which statement would you say you agree with concerning the Beatles?
   * ___ 1. they're great
   ___ 2. they're O.K.
   ___ 3. they're nothing special
   ___ 4. they aren't very good

B. PARENTAL DISCIPLINE INDEX (0-7)
   A high score indicates strict parental discipline.

   1. How often do your parents punish you?
      ___1. never (score 0)
      ___2. rarely (score 1)
      ___3. sometimes (score 2)
      ___4. often (score 3)
      ___5. always (score 4)

   2. Which statement would you say applies to the way in
      which your parents discipline you?
      ___1. very strict (score 3)
      ___2. firm (score 2)
      ___3. lenient - usually allowed to get own
           way (score 0)
      ___4. sometimes strict and sometimes lenient
           (score 1)

C. PARENTAL INTEREST INDEX (1-4)
   (adapted from M. Rosenberg op. cit.,pp. 316-318)
   "Positive"responses indicate much parental interest.
   For the respondent with no positive responses to the
   following three questions, score 1; for 1 positive
   response, score 2; for 2 and 3 positive responses,
   score 3 and 4 respectively.

   1. When you were about 10-11 years old, did your
      father or mother know most of your friends?
      * 1. knew who all were
      * 2. knew who most were
      ___3. knew who some were
      ___4. knew none, almost none

   2. When you were in grade 6 or 7, did your father or
      mother usually pay attention when you brought home
      a report card with low or high grades?
      ___1. paid no attention
      * 2. paid attention

   3. A positive response is considered a positive score.
      1. As far as you can tell, how interested are the
         members of your family in what you have to say?
         * 1. very interested
         * 2. fairly interested
         ___3. not interested
         ___4. don't know

D. FAMILY SOLIDARITY INDEX (1-6)
   "Positive" responses indicate a closely knit family.
   1. Do you enjoy doing things as a family?
      * 1. often
      ___2. sometimes
      ___3. rarely
      ___4. never

2. Do you ever confide in your parents about something
   important?
   * __ 1. often
     __ 2. sometimes
     __ 3. rarely
     __ 4. never

3. If your family usually, or often, eats together, how
   often do you participate actively in mealtime
   conversations?
   * __ 1. always (score 2)
     __ 2. usually (score 1)
     __ 3. sometimes
     __ 4. rarely
     __ 5. never

4. When there are birthdays, anniversaries or holidays,
   do you spend them
   * __ 1. always with my family
     __ 2. usually with my family
     __ 3. sometimes with my family
     __ 4. usually with my friends and parents
     __ 5. we don't generally celebrate these things.

E. FAMILY ORIENTATION SCALE (0-2)
   "Positive" resonses indicate high family orientation.

1. Different people strive for different things that you
   have probably thought about: Amount the things you
   strive for during your high school days, just how
   important is each of these? (Rank them, from 1 to 4;
   1 for the most important, 4 for the least).
   * __ 1. pleasing my parents (score 1 if ranked
                                4 or 3)
     __ 2. learning as much as possible in school
     __ 3. living up to my religious ideals
     __ 4. being accepted by, and liked by other
            students.

2. Let's say that you had always wanted to belong to a
   partifular club in school, and then finally you were
   asked to join. But, then you found out that your
   parents didn't approve of the group. Do you think
   that you would
     __ 1. definitely join anyway
     __ 2. probably join
     __ 3. probably not join
     __ 4. definitely not join.

F. PEER-ORIENTATION
    "Positive" responses indicate high peer-orientation.

    1. Which one of these things would be hardest for you
       to take?
       __ 1. your parents' disapproval
       __ 2. teachers' disapproval
       __ 3. fight with a friend.

    2. A lot of times people make plans and then find that
       the plans cut into something else. Suppose your
       family had planned a trip to the States for a vacation
       during the summer holidays. If you go along with them,
       it means you can't go away with your friend to visit
       some of your old camp friends in Toronto, as you've
       been planning to do. What would you do.
       __ 1. go to States with parents
       *__ 2. go visit camp friends.

G. DAYDREAMING SCALE (0-4)
    "Positive" responses indicate high daydreaming.

    1. Most of the time I would rather sit and daydream than
       to do anything else.
       *__ 1. agree
       __ 2. disagree

    2. I guess you could call me a "dreamer".
       *__ 1. agree
       __ 2. disagree

    3. I daydream a good deal of the time.
       *__ 1. agree
       __ 2. disagree

    4. Do you often find yourself daydreaming about the type
       of person you expect to be in the future?
       *__ 1. very often
       *__ 2. sometimes
       __ 3. rarely or never

H. SELF-ESTEEM SCALE (1-6)
    "Positive" responses indicate high self-esteem.
    Scale Item 1 was contrived from the combined responses to
    the questions listed below. If a respondent answered
    1 out of 2 positively, he received a positive score for
    Scale Item 1. If he answered none positively, he received
    a negnative score for Scale Item 1.

    1. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal
       plane with others.
       * __ 1. strongly agree
       __ 2. agree
       __ 3. disagree
       __ 4. strongly disagree

2. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
    __ 1. strongly agree
    __ 2. agree
    __ 3. disagree
    __ 4. strongly disagree

Scale Item II was contrived from the combined responses to
two self-esteem questions. One out of 2 or 2 out of 2
positive responses were considered positive for Scale Item II.

1. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
    * __ 1. strongly agree
    * __ 2. agree
    __ 3. disagree
    __ 4. strongly disagree

2. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
    __ 1. strongly agree
    __ 2. agree
    * __ 3. disagree
    * __ 4. strongly disagree

Scale Item III

1. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
    * __ 1. strongly agree
    * __ 2. agree
    __ 3. disagree
    __ 4. strongly disagree

Scale Item IV

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
    * __ 1. strongly agree
    * __ 2. agree
    __ 3. disagree
    __ 4. strongly disagree
Scale Item V

1. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
    __ 1. strongly agree
    __ 2. agree
    * __ 3. disagree
    * __ 4. strongly disagree

Scale Item IV was contrived from the combined responses to
two self-esteem questions. One out of 2 or 2 out of 2
positive responses were considered positive.

1. I certainly feel useless at times.
        __ 1. strongly agree
        __ 2. agree
   * __ 3. disagree
   * __ 4. strongly disagree

2. At times I think I am no good at all.

        __ 1. strongly agree
        __ 2. agree
        __ 3. disagree
        __ 4. strongly disagree

I. STABILITY OF SELF SCALE (1-4)
   "Positive" responses indicate high stability.

Scale Item I

   Does your opinion of yourself tend to change a good deal,
or does it always continue to remain the same?
        __ 1. changes a great deal
        __ 2. changes somewhat
   * __ 3. changes very little
   * __ 4. does not change at all.

Scale Item II

   I have noticed that my ideas about myself seem to change
very quickly.
        __ 1. strongly agree
        __ 2. agree
        __ 3. disagree
        __ 4. strongly disagree

Scale Item III

   Some days I have a very good opinion of myself; other days
I have a very poor opinion of myself.
        __ 1. strongly agree
        __ 2. agree
        __ 3. disagree
        __ 4. strongly disagree.

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