

RELIGION AND CIVILIZATION SERIES

DILEMMAS OF YOUTH: IN AMERICA TODAY

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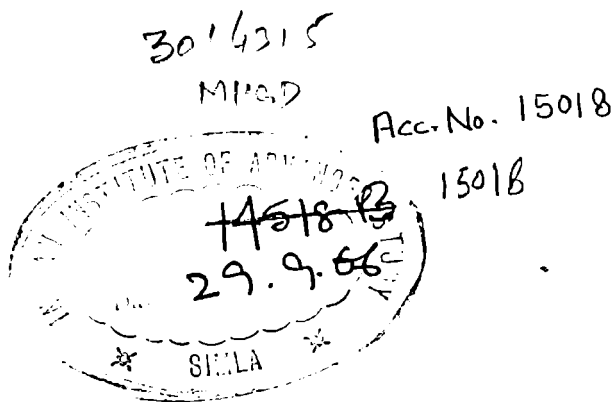
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This volume contains the series of luncheon addresses delivered at The Institute for Religious and Social Studies of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America during the winter of 1959-1960.

Each chapter in this volume represents solely the individual opinion of the author. Neither the Institute nor the editor assumes responsibility for the views expressed. We have been fortunate enough to enlist a group of authors each of whom has distinctive knowledge in his own field, and the Institute is indeed grateful for the generous way in which they have responded to its invitation.

This is a Jacob Ziskind Memorial publication.

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INTRODUCTION

"It is a wise father who knows his own child." In this proverb there is implicit a permanent problem of every society. The elders cannot easily put themselves in the place of the young. Even if they can recall, without the dimming effect of time, their own youth, their children are growing up in a changed world and facing new problems of their own. The change of scene between the generations can hardly ever have been greater than it is today.

There is in some quarters much shaking of senior heads over the waywardness of the new generation—but when has it been otherwise? There is loose talk of a "beat generation." There is lamentation over the increase in juvenile delinquency and adolescent crime. Certainly there is ground for concern—if only it were wisely directed. What is most needed is that we should understand the influences that are impinging on our youth, the complex of new conditions they have to face as they grow up in our distraught world.

To provide some perspective on these conditions, to indicate the sources of the difficulties and the tensions to which modern youth are exposed, this is the objective of the present volume in the Institute series. The authors' experience gives weight to what they have to say. Individual chapters naturally reveal the personal and professional interests of the authors. Among them there are differences of emphasis and some differences of outlook, but together they present an illuminating picture of the situation of modern youth.

Let us briefly review the main lines of the argument. First, there is the stress laid on the role of parents and the family. The personal dilemmas of youth that originate in the family setting are revealed particularly in the chapters by Robert J. Havighurst and August B. Hollingshead. Special attention is given also to the plight of the children of inadequate and "underprivileged" families. Another aspect of this problem was discussed by the late Samuel A. Stouffer

when speaking before the Institute on November 24, 1959, but his lamented death precluded the publication of his lecture in this volume. He emphasized the unhappy effects of a poor environment not least on gifted children, so that society is deprived of much talented service because the family has no interest in education. From the angle of his specialized knowledge Eli Ginzberg tells a most significant story of how the army is a mirror of regional and national deficiencies in education, while it is also a great educational force for all kinds of schooling.

Professor Ginzberg's conviction of the need for national commitment to national goals is reiterated by Harold Taylor, in the light of recent developments in Russia and the Far East. Two other educators, Charles Frankel and Walter P. Metzger, are concerned with two closely related trends, both of which may be regarded as hostile to the open mind, the pressures for conformity and the pressures against intellectuality. Another expert on education, Frank H. Bowles, discussing the oncoming influx of students to colleges, shows concern over the values so many of them associate with education. Mark A. McCloskey, in his engaging way, pleads for opportunities for youth to make life "adventuresome," but ends on an encouraging note.

Other aspects of the many-sided problems of our changing society are discussed by Alexander Reid Martin, who is concerned with new dimensions of personality needs and by John A. Hutchison, who explores the dilemma for youth of life within—as well as outside—the armed services in this age of atomic energy. Eli E. Cohen, in reviewing the new opportunities of contemporary youth, explores their relation not only to family conditions but also to the union of families in community life.

In the series of addresses on which this volume is based one major topic, the search for meaning through religion, was discussed by Tom F. Driver, but we much regret that he was unable to prepare a chapter for publication.

The reader will find here a range of probing contributions to a major issue of our times.

They are written from experience, by men sensitive to the prob-

lems faced by the young, and conscious of the responsibility that lies with the older generation, who themselves are confronted on another level with the same problems. The dilemmas our youth encounter are inherent in the community to which they belong and call for the cooperative practical intelligence of our whole society. In this respect our present topic resembles an earlier theme to which the Institute devoted a series of volumes, that of our minority groups, whose problems arose from the attitudes and habitudes of the community itself.¹ There have been encouraging developments toward the solution of this latter problem. No less should study leading to knowledgeable action for the sake of our youth be the present concern of our people and our leaders if we are to discharge our responsibilities as citizens of the Republic.

The Editor
March, 1961

¹ See, for example, *Group Relations and Group Antagonisms*, ed. R. M. MacIver, The Institute for Religious and Social Studies, distributed by Harper and Brothers, 1944, especially pp. 215-223. .

I

HOW WE POSTPONE YOUTH'S COMING OF AGE

BY

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

Adolescence, the transition from childhood to adulthood, consists of a biological constant and a cultural variable.

The biological constant is the period of puberty, from about twelve to sixteen years of age, when the boy or the girl develops into the biologically adult male or female. The timing of puberty varies little under changing conditions of diet and race. It does vary among individuals, presumably because of hereditary differences.

The cultural variable is remarkably varied. In one society, marriage may come close to the end of puberty, at fifteen or sixteen years of age, and the boy may move into the girl's home. There the young couple gradually learn to become responsible parents and workers. For them adolescence may last another five or ten years, being completed when they move into a house of their own. In another society, marriage for a man may not come until he is in his thirties and has an established livelihood, and a house for his bride, who is usually much younger. In this case adolescence closes with a late marriage, after the man has spent fifteen or twenty years to become self-supporting.

Marriage does not necessarily mark the end of adolescence. Self-support and the establishment of a separate home are surer signs of the beginning of adulthood. Marriage is a truer mark of the ending of adolescence for girls than for boys. But in societies where girls are married as children, some other event is a better indicator of adulthood.

In contemporary America marriage is often one of the events of

adolescence rather than the end of adolescence. In contemporary America the most useful social definition of the end of adolescence is that of self-support. The most useful psychological definition is that of the establishment or achievement of a sense of personal identity.

In a complex modern society such as that of the United States there is a great deal of variety in the ending of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood—variety between social classes and even among individuals of the same social class. There is also a rapid change in this phenomenon. In the United States the rate of change is more rapid and the problems are more visible and more pressing than in most other societies. Since 1900 there has been a general tendency toward the postponement of adulthood.

This tendency (toward the postponement of adulthood) is part of the massive movement of modern society toward industrialization and urbanization and is the cause of some of the major maladjustments in modern society, including the disease of juvenile delinquency. These maladjustments are found all over the world, wherever urbanization and industrialization are in progress.

Young people can be divided into three groups according to their experience of moving into adulthood. These three groups existed in 1900, as they do now, but in different proportions.

The first group is made up of those who follow a long course of educational training before they become self-supporting. These are the young people who take a four-year college course, at least, and perhaps further graduate or professional training. Since 1900 this group has increased from four per cent to twenty-two per cent of all young men, and from one per cent to twelve per cent of young women.

The second group is made up of those who normally take adult roles of self-support at about age eighteen to twenty. The young people in this group complete secondary school and then go to work at steady and satisfactory jobs. Their numbers have risen from ten or fifteen per cent of an age group in 1900 to fifty to seventy per cent today.

The third group is made up of young people who normally are self-supporting and fill adult roles at sixteen to eighteen years of age. They attend school until age fourteen or sixteen, then go to work or get married, seeking to fill adult roles as soon as possible. In 1900 this group made up about eighty per cent of young people. Many of them lived on farms. Today they make up about twenty to thirty per cent of youth. Relatively few of them live on farms.

Under the conditions prevailing in 1900 the first group had a rather long period of social adolescence; for the second group there was a three to five year transition period that led rather smoothly into adult roles; for the third group there was very little postponement of adulthood beyond the biological end of puberty.

In all societies with a complex division of labor there has been a group of young people who followed a long trail from puberty into adulthood. During the interlude they prepared themselves for the more complex adult positions, which carried high status. Whether they attended the university or learned their work in a form of apprenticeship in a law office or a business office, they had a long road to follow.

Today this group gets more formal education than before. Larger proportions are going beyond four years of college into graduate schools or professional schools which keep them in a student role until they are twenty-five or even thirty years old.

The principal change in this group since 1900 is its great increase in numbers. It now includes a fifth of the young men and about a tenth of the young women. This increase in numbers is dictated by the mounting demand of a modern society for people with technical training.

Postponement of adulthood puts these young people in a favored economic position.

Most of them come from middle class families that have taught them to postpone immediate pleasures for greater future satisfaction. They see this pattern in their own parents and identify with it. They have learned the art of sublimation of their impulses. The Kinsey studies show that these young people seek direct sex outlets later and

less frequently than young people with less education and with working class expectations. Until recently they postponed marriage until they were ready to take up an adult work role.

But a considerable number of these young people are now marrying in their early twenties. This means that for this group marriage is a part of adolescence and not the beginning of adulthood. This is probably a useful adaptation to adjust the disparity between the biological and the cultural realities.

For the young women who marry young men while the latter are still in the stage of social adolescence, the situation is on the whole acceptable. The wife becomes an adult before her husband, by taking responsibility for a home and often by having children. For her this is more satisfactory than prolonging her adolescence by taking jobs which are only makeshifts for her and by continuing the adolescent dating pattern of her teens, while she waits for her future husband to finish his training and then look around for a wife.

Thus the dilemma of postponed adulthood is being solved by this growing group of young people, through some combination of sublimation of biological urges with a redefinition of the place and function of marriage in the life cycle. This account of the causes and results of delayed adulthood for a particular segment of youth may quite rightly be criticized as optimistic. Readers may point out that it is written from a sociological point of view and omits the psychological and dynamic consequences, which may be damaging to the individual.

It is important to ask what the postponement of adulthood does to the self-esteem and to the self-direction, which are essential characteristics of the autonomous person.

In a provocative little book called *The Vanishing Adolescent*, Edgar Friedenberg argues that today the major developmental task of adolescence—the task of self-definition, or achievement of identity—is poorly achieved because adults, and especially secondary school teachers, do not treat adolescents properly. He says, "Adolescence is the period during which a young person learns who he is, and what he really feels. It is the time during which he differentiates himself from his culture, though on the culture's terms. It is the age at

which, by becoming a person in his own right, he becomes capable of deeply felt relationships to other individuals perceived clearly as such."¹ At the close of his book he says, "I believe that adolescence, as a developmental process, is becoming obsolete. The kind of personal integration which results from conflict between a growing human being and his society is no longer the mode of maturity our society cultivates."²

This argument has much to recommend it, and I shall refer to it in the discussion of the youth of the third group, whose adulthood is blocked. But for the young people in the first group who have such a long period of adolescence, I doubt that conflict between the youth and his society is necessary for the achievement of self-definition or of self-esteem.

This task is probably most difficult in a changing and fluid society, where *achieved* status is more important than *ascribed* status. In the society of today the individual with good potential and with good education has to choose between an almost bewildering variety of possible vocational identities, knowing that he must not only choose but also work hard to achieve the identity after he chooses it. Shall he become an engineer? A teacher? A lawyer? If an engineer, what kind? And shall he plan to remain a "real" engineer or shall he use his training as a base for going into business management? If he decides to become a physician, what specialty shall he train for? And shall he go into practice, research, or teaching?

Society has declined to tell him what to do. It is up to him to make the decision. The fact that he has a long period of university and postgraduate training or training on the job may make his identity more stable and more permanent than it would be if he had to make a decision at the age of twenty. The process may be long drawn out, and the young person may have to cope with some feelings of uncertainty and insecurity, but as a result he may become a person with a complex and stable identity that is well adapted to modern society.

The second and largest group at present consists mainly of those

¹ Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1959, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

who complete secondary school and then go to work. This group also includes a few who quit school a year or so before high school graduation to take a job and a few others who start college but drop out by the end of the first year.

This group makes a gradual entry into adult roles between the ages of seventeen and twenty. They regard high school graduation as a necessary step toward the kind of job they want. Their high school dating leads them rather smoothly toward marriage; more than half of the girls in this group are married by the age of twenty, and more than half of the boys are married by the age of twenty-three. For this group marriage marks the end of adolescence.

About fifty per cent of boys and about seventy per cent of girls are in this group as they grow up.

They are the modal group in a modern urban society. Their social adolescence extends from three to five years beyond their biological adolescence and seems to involve relatively little strain for them.

A three-to-five-year postponement of adulthood is easily tolerated as long as the young person is taking steps which lead surely to it. Such steps are high school graduation, apprenticeship to a trade, a steady job with promotion, engagement to be married.

In a modern complex society this type of progress to adulthood would seem to be the easiest, although it is gained perhaps at the expense of individuality, drive, and other upper middle class virtues.

In 1900 this group was much smaller than it is today—about fifteen per cent of boys and ten per cent of girls at that time.

The third group consists of boys and girls who find the path to adulthood blocked and experience great difficulty in achieving responsible adulthood. In this group lies most of the social pathology of youth today. It is made up of about thirty per cent of boys and twenty per cent of girls.

These boys and girls generally drop out of school at the age of fifteen or sixteen after a history of failure, frustration, and frequently of bad behavior. Maladjusted to school, many of them are also maladjusted to work and family life, and make little or no progress toward responsible adulthood during the next few years.

Although at present they form a pathological group, in 1900 and

during the preceding century they were the average group, with relatively good adjustment. In 1900 this group made up eighty per cent of boys and some ninety per cent of girls. They reached the end of the elementary school at age fourteen or fifteen and then went to work, mainly on farms and in homes. Some of the boys became apprenticed to learn a trade. More than half of all boys lived on farms at that time. Those who did not go to the city with a definite vocational objective remained on the farm and became self-supporting farm workers by the time they were sixteen or seventeen.

The adult work role came just as early as these boys were physically ready for it, and marriage came along at that time or a few years later. Girls of this group worked in their own homes or in other people's homes, learning the role of homemaker, and they married in their late teens or early twenties.

For this group in 1900 there was a direct transition from puberty to adult work and marriage roles. The shift was so visible that no young person could doubt where he was and whither he was going, even if he was so unusual as to be five or seven years in the process.

This group has grown much smaller, having lost most of its members to the second group, that group of young people who finish high school and then go to work. It has become a maladjusted group, who find the pathway to adulthood blocked.

At about seventh or eighth grade the members of this group begin to have trouble in school. They have been slow, dull students. The cumulation of failure and of discrimination against them in the social life of the junior high school age because they come from the wrong side of the tracks makes them realize that school will be no easy pathway to adulthood for them, as it is for most of their schoolmates.

When they reach the legal school leaving age they drop out of school. By this time many of them have a police record for minor delinquency. Others have become apathetic and intimidated, and have lost confidence in themselves.

At this point, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, they are no longer children, but they cannot find their way into adulthood through high school. About two-thirds of them are fortunate enough to break into an adult role by successful work or successful marriage. The success-

ful ones follow the pattern which was common for this group in 1900 but is difficult for them today. They go to work on the farm or in an unskilled occupation, and they make good at it. By the age of eighteen or nineteen they are well established in a work role which, although it has low social status, is nevertheless an adequate adult role. The girls are likely to be married by this age.

My colleagues and I have been studying this group whose pathway to adulthood is blocked in school. We find that, out of some twenty-five per cent of young people who are in this group, about two-thirds find a quick and fairly satisfactory way through work and early marriage. They do so in spite of the difficulty of getting work under the age of eighteen in our society. Practically every member of this successful group has a family which has given adequate affection, security, and discipline.

The remaining eight or ten per cent of the age group who drop out of school and then do not find a way to adulthood through work are indeed the failures of our society. Juvenile delinquency is heavily concentrated in this group. In nearly every case families are inadequate and have not provided their children with a base of character on which to build.

When the boys in this failing group get work, they generally prove to be untrustworthy, or aggressive and hostile, and cannot hold a job for any length of time. Nor are they successful if they enter military service. If they are not rejected on the ground of mental or personal incompetence, they are likely to be let out of the service after a few unsatisfactory months.

A remarkably high proportion of the girls who drop out of high school get married almost at once. In our study of a cohort of youth growing up in a midwestern city, we found that sixty-seven out of a total of 230 girls dropped out before high school graduation, and forty-five of them were married by the age of seventeen; six married under sixteen years of age, twenty-one at age sixteen, eighteen at age seventeen. Some of these marriages show signs of being successful. These girls have been able to achieve an adult role after failing in school. Other marriages are already clear failures, leaving the girls with only a pathetic and useless symbol of adulthood.

This tragic group of eight or ten per cent of our youth, who are not able to grow up through the school, through work, or through marriage, suffer not so much from postponement of adulthood as from a set of roadblocks which may prevent them from ever achieving adulthood. They will never achieve self-definition or identity. They have had their share and more than their share of conflict with the older generation through teachers, parents, and policemen. Whether they are apathetic and fearful, or hostile and delinquent, they have been defeated.

Any conclusion about the present condition of youth must be based on an affirmation of values. The following seem most relevant.

1. There is value in a productive adult life as a worker, parent, and citizen. Adulthood should be started fairly early in life, but age twenty-five or thirty is not too late for a person who will lead a complex life. A very high proportion of young people will live to be sixty-five or seventy, and will have a forty-year adult career, even if they start as late as twenty-five or thirty.

2. There is value in a self-directed and self-defined life. In a complex modern society a person with high ability is likely to require time to establish his identity and to prepare himself to fill the roles he defines for himself.

3. There is value in adolescence as well as in adulthood. For many young people a long, slow adolescence is a period of great happiness. In an economy of abundance there is no great social need for young people to cut short their adolescence in order to contribute to the economy.

4. There is value in growth toward adulthood. No one can be satisfied with stagnation during adolescence. Young people need assurance that they are growing up, even though growth is slow and complex.

5. There is value in physical sexual fulfilment, and this value is found most fully within marriage. Consequently marriage may very well be a part of adolescence rather than a mark of its termination for young people who need a long time to prepare for roles other than the family roles.

The following conclusions flow from the application of these values to the present-day situation of youth in America.

Educational preparation may be profitably accelerated for the small group who will need three or more years of study in a graduate or professional school. These young people might well enter college a year early or do work of college level in secondary school, to save time for their later education.

Marriage should be approved at age twenty to twenty-five for those young people who will need to study until age twenty-five to thirty. However, many of these young people can successfully sublimate their biological impulses and enrich their adolescent life and their adult life thereby.

The great majority of youth, who today complete secondary school and then go to work, suffer no difficulties because of the postponement of social adulthood for three to five years after they achieve biological adulthood. This period of growth into adulthood seems to be appropriate to them personally and desirable from the point of view of the welfare of society. During the period of adolescence educators and religious leaders should seek to help the members of this group become more self-directed, more clear about their own place and their own goals in life.

There is a group of some eight to ten per cent of youth, more boys than girls, who find the pathway to adulthood blocked. They are failures in school and failures in the world of juvenile work. Some of the girls marry early but do not make a success of marriage. This group represents a serious social problem for modern society. Juvenile delinquency is heavily concentrated in this group. School and society must somehow find a way to open the pathway to growth for them. The ordinary school and even the special school for maladjusted youth have failed to find the solution. The families of these boys and girls have failed them. This is a problem that requires radical efforts for its solution.

II

SOME CRUCIAL TASKS FACING YOUTH: PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENCE, PEER GROUP, AND EARLY MARRIAGE

BY

AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD

Introduction

Rather than focus specifically on the problem of youthful marriages, I have chosen to discuss the broader question of adolescence in our society. However, I hasten to add that this paper is limited to four major points: First; I will make a brief statement of my viewpoint of adolescence. Second, I will present some elementary social science principles pertinent to the topic. Third, I will call your attention to some emotional and social problems associated with peer group relations during the adolescent years. Fourth, I will point out some intergenerational problems that are critical in this phase of the life cycle. It is here that I will touch briefly on the problem of early marriages.

A Definition of Adolescence

From the viewpoint of the sociologist, *adolescence is the period in the life of a person when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him (male or female) as a child and does not accord to him full adult status, roles, and functions.* In terms of behavior, adolescence is defined by the social roles a young person is expected to play, is allowed to play, is forced to play, or prohibited from playing because of his status in society. It is not marked by a specific point in physiological development such as puberty, since its form, content,

duration, and period in the life cycle are differently determined by various cultures and societies. Sociologically, the important thing about the adolescent years is the way the maturing individual is regarded by his society. The development of the breasts and other secondary manifestations of physical adolescence in the female, and the less obvious physical changes in the male connected with sex maturation, such as rapid growth, voice changes, the appearance of labial, axillary, and pubic hair, derive their significance for the sociologist from the way they are regarded by the society in which the adolescent lives.

The phrase "adolescent behavior," as we use it, refers to the social action patterns of young people. We believe that adolescent behavior is a type of transitional behavior which is dependent, in part, upon the society, more particularly, upon the position the individual occupies in the social structure, and, in part, upon biopsychological phenomena. This is not to assert that anatomical, physiological, and psychological processes, connected with this phase of the life cycle, have less influence on behavior than the social system. The sociologist merely takes the position that their functional importance for the maturing individual is defined by the culture in which he lives.

Culture and Social System

Before proceeding further it may be well to state what this social scientist means by the terms "culture" and "social system." Culture is what human individuals as members of a society learn, share, and transmit. Individuals in social situations are sharers, bearers, and creators of culture. In this sense individuals and culture are inextricably interwoven into the matrix of a society's social system.

The concept of "social system" is more inclusive than that of culture. A social system is composed of the organized interactions which relate one individual to another individual, individuals to groups, individuals and groups to institutions, and institutions to other institutions. Organized relations which tie persons together are expressed in the social roles individuals perform in society. The web of social relations and the conjoint role activities of persons enables

a society to maintain itself. A society is more than its constituent parts—individuals, culture, and social system. Like an automobile that is in working order, a society is able to run. But unlike an automobile, it is able to maintain itself, to reproduce itself, and to continue to do so indefinitely.

Three Elementary Principles

Interrelations between persons, culture, and social system may be illustrated by calling attention to three elementary sociological principles that are pertinent to this discussion. These principles may be stated categorically as follows: First, individuals learn how to behave socially by direct personal association with other individuals who have been enculturated in a social system. Second, the content of what individuals learn is provided by a particular society's culture. Third, the ways an individual participates in the social system determine, in large part, what is learned. I will discuss briefly each principle, in turn, and give an illustration of it.

The first principle, to repeat, states that *social behavior is learned by individuals in association with other members of their society*. The sociologist relies upon this principle to explain uniformities in the everyday behavior of persons. The complex of norms and ethical imperatives found in every society fall under this principle. They may be illustrated by the proper use of language; or by common understandings of how males, as well as females, should dress, talk, and act in specific situations.

The second principle emerges from the first. It states that *the content of what the individual learns is provided by his society's culture*. This principle may be illustrated by reference to the requirements every professional person has to meet before he can become a member of his profession. Physicians, for example, are licensed by the state in which they practice. Before they can be licensed as doctors they are required by law, as the instrumentality through which the society exerts its power over what physicians should be taught, to complete a stipulated curriculum. The rationale behind the licensing law is the idea that physicians should be trained in

specific subjects that the society, working within the institution of organized medicine, considers indispensable for medical practitioners to have learned. Now, this is my point: what is learned by physicians-to-be is provided by the specialized culture of the society in which a medical student's training is taken. Physicians learn the required essentials to be licensed as medical doctors by participation in specialized aspects of the society's culture. Thus, principles one and two are brought to bear simultaneously.

The third principle is implied in the second. It is also necessary, if we are to understand differences as well as uniformities in social behavior. This principle states that *what the individual learns is shaped by his participation in a social system*. To understand the learning process, as it is related to the development of social behavior, we must study an individual's participation in his society and discover the sociocultural influences that have been brought to bear on him throughout his life.

The interdependence of these basic social science principles may be illustrated by reference to the use of narcotics by a few individuals out of the total number of individuals in any given community. The use of narcotics is learned by a particular person in association with other individuals who have learned how to use a given narcotic drug by previous associations with one or more persons who previously learned how to use it from some other person. Information regarding how to obtain and use cocaine, let us say, is not picked out of the air, nor is there evidence that it is conditioned by some organic drive, urge, need, or constitutional predisposition. Individuals learn about cocaine as well as other drugs, where to get them, and how to use them, from other human beings. The early use of narcotics depends on individuals learning how a drug is obtained, how it is taken, what it is supposed to do, and so on. The use of drugs in our society is a clandestine subcultural pattern. Like all cultural patterns it is learned, and transmitted in the communication process within the larger society. Early use may lead to addiction. To explain addiction in individual cases, probably requires the collaboration of physiologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists.

Reflection upon the three principles I have discussed indicates that if we are to understand social behaviors in all their ramifications we need to determine the consistencies and inconsistencies which exist in a particular social system. To do this the sociologist analyzes a society's culture and studies carefully the way an individual participates in the sociocultural matrix around him. This is particularly important, because it is through the participation process that individuals learn what they may, may not, can, or cannot do within their society. What individuals learn by participating in some aspects of a society's culture may be prohibited by other aspects of it. Thus, some working rules that are designed to control the social behavior of persons and groups may be juxtaposed to other working rules. In this sense, society provides the person with the essential elements of conflict.

Adolescents are particularly vulnerable to conflicts in the socio-cultural matrix which surrounds them in our society. The adolescent is no longer a child; but he has not reached adult social, legal, or economic status. As a quasichild, yet simultaneously a quasiadult, he is faced with many dilemmas. He must act, and react to adults, other adolescents, and to the social situations in which he finds himself. Adolescents, as well as adults, often find themselves in the position of a Hoosier industrialist who made a fortune in recent years. To bolster his self-esteem he set out upon a lion hunt in East Africa. While hunting alone one afternoon, he suddenly flushed two lions at the same time. He took careful aim and killed the older one before the lion had time to charge. The second one, a young male, charged. As the lion sailed through the air, the hunter fired and missed. Fortunately for him, the lion miscalculated and jumped too far. While the hunter recovered, the lion scrambled to safety. Back in camp, his companions told him, "Brother, you'd better practice your marksmanship, or you're going to get killed!" For the next two weeks, he practiced and became quite good with his rifle. Feeling ready to go back after his lion, he returned to the place where he had flushed the two lions. He looked around for the young lion, and sure enough, upon a slight rise, there was the lion—practicing short jumps!

Like the hunter and the hunted, adults and adolescents often fail to see the other party's interest in the social situation in which they are involved. This, perhaps is the crux of the often discussed "adolescent problem." From the viewpoint of adolescents, the question is "Why are adults so stupid?"

Some Emotional Problems

Young persons can sympathize with the anguished cry of Sir Walter Raleigh, "Fain would I climb, but fear I would fall," for adolescence is a time of hope and fear; of dreams of success, and tortures of failure. Caught in cross-currents of anticipation and insecurity, the adolescent searches for a solution to his developing emotional needs, and the demands society makes upon him.

By midadolescence, a young person is on the threshold of a dilemma: he must withdraw from his parents in the interest of becoming an independent individual, but he must remain within the family and continue to receive its support. When this time comes he shrinks from intruding on the feelings of his parents, and he rightly feels they must not pry into his. Thus, his deeper personal problems are seldom shared with his parents. Moreover, he receives little support because our society teaches us to hide our emotions. Especially our fears, for to fear is to be weak, and the weakling is not a hero. Adolescent worries do come out at home, but they are not necessarily the ones that bother adolescents—or their parents—most. Parents may hear anxiety expressed about their children not passing courses at school, or not making the team, or the cast of a school play. It is socially acceptable to express these kinds of anxiety.

An adolescent's real anxieties are behind his back, and he may fear that they are going to jump on him. They may take the form of a suspicion that he will be snubbed by boys with whom he would like to associate. Some worries of this kind creep into the lives of most teenagers, while with others, they become a real problem. For example, Tom believes his age mates are "leaving him out," of their clique activities. Tom is a shy lad of sixteen, who is worried sorely because his classmates have ignored him. When he entered high

school, he was asked to join some group activities, but his fears and his family got in his way. He thought he had real reasons for not going to a school dance in his sophomore year; and not going skating with a mixed group on another occasion. The fact is, Tom could not dance, and his skating is poor. Today, his classmates do not deliberately leave him out, or dislike him, they merely overlook him.

Tom's feelings of insecurity are traceable, in large part, to a family situation that is beyond his control. What makes his case so difficult is that his parents do not know his problem or theirs. Tom is a victim of his mother's anxieties. She wants him to succeed, but she is making him fail. How, you may ask? In the first place, Tom can never do anything well enough to suit his mother. In the second place, he must not "overexert" himself or he will "damage his heart." (His maternal grandfather died from a coronary at forty-seven.) His mother gives him few chances to go places, and to do things on his own. He goes with the family; actually this means the mother, the father, and his sisters.

What Tom's mother has not learned is that, even before the teenage years, boys and girls have to do things for themselves. They do not want to tag along with their parents to every movie, or on every drive.

Hidden anxieties like Tom's are common among adolescents, but are seldom noticed by adults. This is unfortunate, for excessive shyness is just as troublesome to its owner as the kind of mixed-up emotions that impel a boy or girl to do unreasonable things. Worry that one will not be able to make good, as well as the anxiety that comes from being unloved and misunderstood, can break out in stealing, or lying, or generally ungovernable behavior. It's as if such an adolescent said, "All right! I'll show them I don't care!" The bravado acts that result bring the youth into conflict at home, at school, or with the law.

The Peer Problem

Although many adolescents are full of anxieties about their personal appearance and their progress at school, their number one

personal problem is to be accepted by their age mates. In the childhood years, two or three friends often chum together, but in adolescence, to be a member of a special set becomes extremely important. This is especially observable among girls; girls are more concerned with the details of social life, such as manners and clothes, than boys. However, whether or not an adolescent gets into the set he aspires to is dictated by a good many things other than his own desires. The boy or girl has to dress according to the group's standards; he or she has to do the things others do. This means that cliques form with close reference to the social and economic status of their members' families.

There is snobbishness involved in cliques; but the need to be safely inside protecting walls is so common at all ages that the adolescent can scarcely be blamed for wanting the backing of his peers. Younger children have the home to back them up. But the teenager, though not ready for complete independence, is often impatient of the kind of support his family gives. He needs to have the support of his intimates. His criterion of success is acceptance by his pals.

The heartaches among adolescents, who long to be accepted in cliques they admire and emulate but who are not, are always touching, and sometimes pitiful. To be included in a clique, gives one a distinction not attached to most groups formed around school activities. To be a member of the band, or the debating society often is less rewarding to an adolescent than to be singled out as socially acceptable by being included in a particular clique or "bunch." There are cliques of varying degrees of prestige, and to be accepted in a second or third best set is better than to stand alone on the outside. Failure to be accepted in a definite group may have long lasting effects on personality, for it undermines an adolescent's estimate of himself as a person.

A clique may be crystalized into a self-perpetuating fraternity, sorority, or secret society. Socially, membership in a high school fraternity or sorority proves to the school world that a boy or girl has enough prestige to be chosen by the organization; but the popularity of the chosen individuals may be shortlived. Nevertheless, to the teenager, who is so intent on feeling secure in the world of his age

mates, the thing that has most meaning is membership in a particular group.

The anxieties adolescents express in social situations are related closely to family background. Many parents are not aware that what a teenager selects out of his social environment as meaningful to him, depends in large part on what his upbringing has been. The values he has learned in his family permeate his feelings, and his values in turn enter into whom he seeks as companions. Where a family has a wholesome social life of many kinds, the adolescent does not think he has to dust off his company manners for visitors. When friends of all ages have been in and out of a house frequently, there is little chance of teenagers developing social awkwardness. If an adolescent's home is one where he can take his problems, where he feels proud, and secure, he is less likely to fall into the unhappy situation of becoming friendless, and isolated from his age mates. A home to be proud of, does not mean to an adolescent broad lawns, large rooms, and fine furniture, but a place where he feels comfortable in his surroundings, and with his family; a place where he is glad to bring his friends.

A crucial question is: What happens when an adolescent feels cut off from the support and comfort of his age mates, as well as his family?

The time is then ripe for him to act out his frustration in behavior that takes him still further from his goal, namely, to "be somebody" in his own right. A frustrated, rejected youth may join with others who also feel unwanted and find an outlet for troubled emotions in savagely delinquent acts. Or, he may retire within himself, crushed, and cynically pretend that he does not care. To seek either refuge means that the maturation process is sidetracked. In our society, which delays so long the time when youths are accepted in adult society, it is important to recognize the adolescent's need for acceptance by others who are going through the same biological, social, and emotional phases of growth.

Parents can forestall many anxieties in an adolescent boy by helping build interests that will make him acceptable to his peer group. Boys who fail to show the usual interest in dating, who greatly prefer

taking girls' parts in theatricals, or who concentrate unusual attention on whether their Sox, tie, and handkerchief all match, have often developed these tendencies in self-defense, because they found themselves outdistanced in the things boys are expected to do.

Before I turn from consideration of peer group problems during the adolescent years, I would like to point out that the kind of social and emotional problems mentioned above are not as obvious to parents, to teachers, or to adolescents as a divinity school student's description of the neck line of Marilyn Monroe's blouse was to his fellow students. He reported it had a biblical cut: "low and behold." On the contrary, the interpersonal problems of adolescents are usually subtle; often they are hidden deep in the personality structures of the adolescent, and of their parents.

Intergenerational Problems in Adolescence

This leads me to a discussion of adult-adolescent relations. Here the major problem revolves around the need of the adolescent in our society to gain independence from parental domination. Many parents do not recognize this problem, for they do not want their teenage children to make decisions. Thus, they cannot support the child's desire to become an independent person, secure in his own right. Many parents do not realize that when their emotional needs run counter to those of a child, trouble is going to result for both. Nevertheless, an adolescent requires guidance in his efforts to reach self-reliant adult status in his own eyes, and in the eyes of his peers. Parents are in the best position in our social system to furnish such guidance.

The crux of adult status is to play adult occupational roles, and to have a mate. There is wide variation in our society in the age when a young person may fulfil these roles. On the whole, the lower the socioeconomic level of the parents the earlier in life these roles are filled with social approval.

While the need for parental approval in the occupational area is strong in both boys and girls, the form it takes varies markedly with the different roles our society expects of the two sexes. Girls

need their mothers' assistance to help them understand the roles they are expected to play as adults. Mothers who have gained some understanding of the plight many women find themselves in today, when women's occupational responsibilities are no longer clearly defined, can do a great deal toward helping their daughters not to mistake career glamor for happiness, and a house for a home.

Sometimes girls protest over the unfair advantages men have over women in our society. This may be a coverup for failure to see satisfactions in the feminine role they are expected to play. If an older girl carries her hankering to be a boy to the extent of insisting on boys' types of clothing and contempt for the kinds of adornment most girls like, her behavior can work mischief with the normal adjustment to the opposite sex that should come during adolescence. In such a case, it is worth inquiring why her feelings about becoming a woman have gone awry. Perhaps her mother is unhappy because of a poor marriage relationship, is overburdened with child bearing, or has turned into a despairing household drudge. Even though her mother may not express her feelings, observation of any one of these situations is enough to turn a girl against a similar future. Or, it may be that her father wanted a son, and has tried to make her into an acceptable substitute for one. In order to live up to his desire for comradeship with her, she may have tried to please him to such an extent that she has cast aside many of her normal interests.

Georgia is an example of this. She was the second girl in the family when a boy was desired. Her name is a modification of her father's. The two sisters do not get along together; Georgia is exaggeratedly careless about her clothes; this infuriates her fastidious sister. Georgia longs to be popular with boys. She does not appeal to them, because she does not fit in with what a girl is "supposed" to do or say. She plans to become a forest ranger. Her father might have headed off her absorption in him if he had realized where it might lead.

Boys, too, have their problems about fitting into their traditional roles as males. Not only do they want to achieve great things, but they early become aware that much is expected of them. Some worry

a good deal over how they are going to "make good." The more secure a boy is in his relationship with his father, the readier he is to accept the responsibility of manhood. In the absence of a father, or of an understanding father, teenage boys have a great need of other men they can admire. Teachers, counsellors, the men for whom they work, heroes they read about, all exert more influence on them than they realize. A normal adolescent boy looks to a hero figure he admires.

When the interests of a boy, rather than his looks or his build, are responsible for deviations in his behavior from what is commonly expected of boys in a particular status group, tensions may be severe at times if his interests include activities that are thought of as on the feminine side, a boy may be considered a "sissy." For example, Francis, who turned his radio on Saturday afternoons to the Metropolitan Opera, lived in dread of his friends finding it out. In some circles this would have been considered cultural, but in the neighborhood where Francis lived interest in grand opera was hooted at by the boys. This boy has learned to appreciate grand opera. He has been exposed to it on records and the radio since he was a small boy. His mother gave up the dream of an operatic career to marry. Francis may be said to be the product of a fond mother's hope for a son with musical tastes. Thus, a problem may be building up for Francis and his mother. A problem that began before Francis was born.

Heterosexual Relations

The development of wholesome attitudes toward heterosexual relations during the teenage years is crucial to the maturation of both women and men. Before adolescence, the really strong and deep love relationship is to parents. If relations between parent and child have satisfied the child's emotional needs, the adolescent is in a good position to make the transition to a love relationship with the opposite sex.

Parent-child love relations are different in boys and girls. A girl and a boy love their father and their mother in different ways,

responding to the things in them that are characteristic of men and of women. Most children have a closer relationship with their mothers than their fathers. This first strong attachment to someone of their own sex may be one explanation for the inability of some women to break away from this one-sex love, to the heterosexual love involved in marriage. It may be related, also, to the fact that large numbers of women who do marry, want to live near their mothers, and depend on them, almost more than they do on their husbands.

The boy's dependence on his mother in infancy means that he starts out by having a close attachment to someone of the opposite sex. This may be a help to him when he reaches the time to make a transition to an interest in girls. But it may also be a hindrance, especially if his mother has, without knowing it, taken advantage of the affection he feels for her, and encouraged him to hold so fast to her that he finds it hard to let go.

There is a period between a boy's early childhood and his youth when his father is of great importance to him. In order to establish the manliness that a boy seeks, he turns to his father as his object of admiration, and gains immeasurably if his father is able to give him strong backing. The maleness of his father's interests offers the boy a chance to get free of the constant and overpowering association with women which characterizes our society. For example, count the hours that boys spend in close companionship with or under the supervision of their mothers and women teachers, from infancy through adolescence. Compare them with the smaller number of hours usually spent with their fathers and other men. Women dwell for untold hours upon such things as neatness, cleanliness, manners, and other matters alien to small boys. Perhaps this explains some of men's hostility toward women observable in adult life.

The exaggerated disdain of boys for girls often spoken about as though it were a definite characteristic of the pre-adolescent period may be a protective device, grown out of our way of life, to strengthen boys' solidarity and he-man-ness. And at the same time it may serve as a protest against a home and school environment

shaped by feminine tastes. Lucky is the boy whose father is close enough to his son so that they have interests in common and can share the fun of fishing, hunting, or baseball, together.

Girls, likewise, need to have close relationships with their fathers. While they are building an image of the man they would like to marry—and girls in their teens begin, quite consciously, to measure the boys they meet against an ideal marriage partner—they are depending greatly on the father, or father-figure in their lives, such as an uncle or guardian, to fill in that picture. And fortunate are the girls who have fathers admirable enough to sit for their portraits!

Girls are likely to be, in one sense, their fathers' favorites. There need be no jealousy in a man toward his daughters, but often there is a fairly sizable amount of it in relationships between fathers and sons. But there may be a pitfall in this fondness of fathers for daughters. Sometimes a father tries to save his daughter for a man who never comes. In his unconscious anxiety over a young man taking her away from him, he may ridicule the boys she dates. This can make her more critical of men than is healthy. And there are still fathers who "see red" at the idea of their sixteen year old daughters having a "boy friend"—this in an age when "boy friends" is an accepted norm among teenagers.

The adolescent generally approaches heterosexual maturity by indirection. Many girls project their romantic yearnings on men they see, but never meet. The passionate and mass devotion of bobbysoxers to a current movie star or TV crooner is an expression of this aspect of teenage feminine love life. This is an age when almost any male figure, if personable enough, whether a clerk in the neighborhood drugstore, a tenor in the church choir, or a high school teacher, may be the object of a romantic devotion. In Elmtown, a pudgy girl, whom the boys ignored around the high school exerted herself every evening for months to reach the bus early enough to get the seat behind the driver. She tried to talk to him, but with little success, so discharged her feelings by gazing at the back of his bald head. This may seem amusing to adults, but it was far from laughable to the girl. I believe it satisfied a

normal need in the girl, at a time when she was not ready for the relationships involved in adult heterosexual life.

Boys, of course, go through the same phase. Although they may be less whole souled in their preoccupation with romantic love than girls, their talk among themselves is as much of girls as of sports. But, "girl crazy" as most boys are, at one time or another, they share their love for their "dream girl" with their occupational dreams. Love and marriage are not the be-all and end-all to them that they are to most girls at this stage of heterosexual development. A young man has two passions: sex and success. I suspect the former is stronger in the adolescent years. But our society emphasizes the latter.

The impulses arising in connection with sex are managed usually according to the patterns of social behavior that have been built into a boy or girl in previous years. By the process of interpersonal participation in social life each learns the attitudes of the groups with whom he associates. If an adolescent's associations in the home, his play groups, and at school, have taught him the values that helped him to handle his other strong feelings, the chances are that he will be able to cope with his sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. Adolescents who get into trouble with sex are likely to be so unhappy and insecure that they seek the reassurance of being needed physically by someone, or their behavior is a blundering attempt to make up for frustration in other areas of life. An adolescent does not observe in vain the affectional behavior of his parents, and others with whom he has been in close association. If he has seen his father and mother deferring to each other's wishes, and sometimes sacrificing their own wishes in favor of other people's desires, then it is likely that he will think of these ways as proper and he will follow them in his relations with others.

Conclusion

In closing, I want to emphasize that the emotional problems of the maturing boy or girl are worked out, for the most part, on the

proving ground of the teenage years. Unfortunately, parents cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, prevent or wholly do away with the psychic wounds left by experiences their children pass through. But they can be enormously helpful if they provide the best social climate they know how, and give an example of sturdy facing up to life. The family, if it has done its job well, has prepared the adolescent for intimacy with others. Parents who see their boys' and girls' personalities showing the warmth and spontaneity that help to insure their finding friends, may expect them eventually to form lasting love relationships. These parents do not need to be anxious about the problems of adolescence.

III

FRUSTRATED ASPIRATIONS AND THE TRAGIC USE OF LEISURE TIME

BY

ALEXANDER REID MARTIN

I was originally asked to talk of "Frustrated Aspirations" under the overall heading of "Dilemmas of Contemporary Youth." This gave me such an extremely wide field that I felt the need to limit my frame of reference. Accordingly, I included "Leisure Time" in the title. This refers to a rapidly growing portion of everyday living, which is testing the worthwhileness of our basic ideals and principles, is necessitating radical and complex sociopsychological readjustments, and, in my opinion, must be taken into account in all our deliberations upon human welfare. I do not think we can consider the aspirations of youth apart from this free and unstructured time and the use they make of it. Hence my title, "Frustrated Aspirations and the Tragic Use of Leisure Time."

The tragic use of leisure time which Bishop Raven of the Royal Chapel regards as Public Health's greatest challenge, forms part of a vicious circle; it leads to but almost stems from the frustration of healthy aspirations, and thus perpetuates an unhealthy pattern of growth. On the other hand, the wise use of leisure time forms part of an upward spiral; it not only leads to but also stems from greater fulfilment of healthy aspirations and thus perpetuates a healthy cycle of growth. Therefore, a positive corollary to the present title would be "Fulfilled Aspirations and the Wise Use of Leisure Time."

Then I had a selfish motive for introducing leisure time into my presentation. This arose from the needs of a committee of which I am chairman. That is the national standing Committee on Leisure Time and Its Uses of the American Psychiatric Association.

Merely to provide youth with time, resources, facilities, and opportunities for leisure is not enough. Leisure time can be fruitful and lead to fulfilment of healthy aspirations only if youth is capable of leisure, if youth can occupy his leisure, can "work his leisure," as the Greeks say. In other words, the wise and creative use of leisure time depends entirely upon youth's capacity for leisure and his inner resources.

But what has happened to youth's innate capacity for leisure? What limits it? What makes leisure inwardly possible or inwardly impossible? How much of leisure time is modern youth capable of spending in true leisure? What can we do to improve his capacity? How can we help him to develop, cultivate, and exercise his inner resources?

Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis wish to share the responsibility for answering these questions with other disciplines. There is unquestionably great psychological resistance to the concept of leisure, strongly perpetuated by cultural influences. Lord James of Rusholme, High Master of Manchester Grammar School, recently said, "The re-discovery of leisure should be the chief aim of our schools and universities." The function of leisure in growth, in creativity, in self-fulfilment—that is, in fulfilling our highest aspirations—has been denied and lost in the present social scheme of things. The need to understand the nature and effect of this negation and loss—the urgent need to rediscover leisure and restore it to its rightful and dignified place in the psychobiological and spiritual scheme of things—this all calls for a multidisciplinary approach. In this approach the need for help from Religion will, I hope, become obvious as I proceed.

Let me add another reason for introducing leisure into these de-liberations.

While the conditions of our times have forced Psychiatry to adopt a leisure frame of reference as another approach to psychopathological phenomena, this may prove to be a blessing in disguise. We now begin to realize that for years Psychiatry has been dealing with these leisure problems but always and only implicitly, in a different frame of reference and in a different semantic content. For instance, we have been dealing with many of our psychopathological

problems in terms of compulsion, and compulsion, let me remind you, is the antonym for Leisure.

Also, the inclusion of Leisure in our thinking is beginning to reveal many of Psychiatry's blind spots. For years we have thought in terms of repression; the repression of conflicts and strivings, the repression of sexuality and emotions, but never as far as my research has carried me has there been any explicit reference in psychiatric literature to the repression of our innate capacity for leisure.

Natural aspirations are inextricably bound up with our creativity. So let us consider the creative process in man in this leisure frame of reference, and try to appreciate Medicine and Psychiatry's role. Philip S. Hench, Nobel Prize man in Medicine, said, "Medicine above all arts and skills seeks to preserve and restore the creative capacity of man."

The creative process forms part of and vividly epitomizes the biological growth process. It follows a rhythmic pattern. 1. There is a phase of conscious work, struggle, and effort. This is followed by 2. a leisure phase, a relaxation of conscious effort, abandonment of logical work and reason, a period of "leaving it alone." Then, after a variable time, but only during this leisure phase, 3. the inductive leap suddenly occurs, the creative flash, the new discovery, the imperishable intuition. During this peak experience, as Maslow calls it, "We not only discover something, we become something as well." Following this creative flash comes 4. a period of conscious effort to improve and refine what emerged during the creative flash. Psychologists name these phases 1. preparation, 2. incubation, 3. illumination, 4. verification. One and 4. are part of the work process and 2. and 3. part of the leisure process. Thus, in the whole biological growth cycle, work and leisure complement each other. Growth of total being, growth of awareness, greater creativity, and the fulfilment of healthy aspirations depend upon the maintenance of this cycle.

Self-fulfilment, creative living, fulfilment of aspirations are not achieved through leisure alone, but are impossible without it.

Because the world of work forms our one and only frame of reference, our present culture has glorified the work phase of this cycle to the almost complete denial of the leisure phase. Psychological

and psychiatric research has concentrated on the work phase and has grossly neglected the leisure phase of the creative process. I feel we can improve our understanding of many personality and cultural problems if we assume that any neglect of this innate propensity, any repression which makes leisure inwardly impossible, represents a repression of a vital and fundamental aspect of the real self.

Freud, being immersed in the philosophies that dominated the Industrial Revolution, was a victim of a workaday frame of reference. He did not take Leisure into his explicit consideration, but built his entire theory on repression of sexuality.

I think it is fair to assume that repression of the innate capacity for leisure results in greater negation of the real self than repression of sexuality. Youth, by nature will have his phases of conscious work and effort and his phases of leisure which, like sleep, will come without effort. We can appreciate how repression of this leisure phase invariably will include repression of the healthy sexual curiosity and play of early life and thereby will account for some of youth's severest frustrations, inner conflicts, and vicious circles.

Carrying this line of reasoning further, I would like to stress the consequences to youth that develop from repression of this leisure phase. Insofar as this amounts to a negation of self, there is negation of autonomy. To that extent he is cut off from his own authority and his own aspirations. When his own true leisure is denied expression he then has no time that he can call his own. Henceforth all time belongs to Them! He is less self-determined, and more culture-determined. Many of his aspirations are superimposed and synthetic. These synthetic aspirations are compulsive, excessive, insatiable, and in almost constant explosive conflict. Many of the most serious dilemmas of contemporary youth arise from frustration and conflicts connected with these compulsive aspirations. There has been a strong tendency to regard these compulsive aspirations as instinctive, rather than acquired. Youth's difficulties are further compounded when these compulsions become converted into virtues and are in some way or other glorified by the culture. Too much leisure time, too much money is being used today by youth in efforts to satisfy these compulsive aspirations.

So, clinically we try to differentiate between a. healthy, wholesome, natural aspirations associated with growth, creative self-expression, self-development, and b. synthetic, compulsive aspirations associated with repression of the leisure phase of growth, between c. true and healthy pride in one's real self, and d. false pride in some heroic sized image of one's self.

Clinically we must also distinguish between external cultural repression and internal self-imposed repression of our innate capacity for leisure.

During childhood and early youth, our culture initiates and then perpetuates many patterns of living which seriously repress our natural leisure. Obviously, the younger the individual, the greater their effect. As years go on, if they persist, these patterns become built in, that is, incorporated and internalized. They then become self-perpetuated and the individual becomes his own worst enemy.

I would like to mention five of these leisure-repressing patterns of living which we frequently find in clinical practice in our exploration of the inner world. These are self-perpetuated, but their initiators and perpetuants can be recognized in the outer world. These patterns do not exist in a pure isolated state but they are invariable and inseparably interrelated and vary in intensity.

Bear in mind that they are exaggerated, aggravated, and intensified patterns of everyday living. We should all become familiar with these patterns and their manifestations in our young people, in ourselves, and in our culture. Otherwise, we may unwittingly, inadvertently, and unconsciously perpetuate them:

1. The compulsive pattern
2. The conditional pattern
3. The superintellectual pattern
4. The frictionless pattern
5. The fear of the unconscious

1. *Compulsive pattern*

To gain some initial understanding of compulsions, I suggest that you read your Thesaurus and look for the antonyms of "leisure."

Here are some of them: haste, urgency, drive, flurry, plunge headlong, dash off, work against time, work under pressure, hardpressed, urged, whipped, flogged, and goaded.

We find our patients driven by conflicting inner compulsions. Under those imperative "I must," "I should," "I ought," they relentlessly pursue their objective. The compulsion to work, the compulsion to conform, the compulsion to rebel are each in its own way admired, glorified by the culture as great virtues. Such sustained effort under compulsion blocks leisure and creative growth. Youth cannot fulfil his true aspirations and function creatively under the tyranny of the compulsive shoulds or the domination of the compulsive oughts. Ogden Nash states the situation clearly when he says, "Too many of us are suffering from hardening of the oughteries." It is only when the individual becomes able to relax his compulsive, imperative drives, that he can have his leisure and reach a greater degree of self-fulfilment.

With every repression of true self and autonomy, the individual has to set up some external authority toward whom he reacts compliantly or defiantly, but he never really acts. He places himself in the lap of the gods and his gods are the gods of work, who condemn all leisure and know nothing of grace or free and unmerited love. He cannot enjoy impractical pleasures and therefore avoids them, or else he indulges in them defiantly, defensively, apologetically, or furtively, and then suffers from a morbid sense of guilt. His life consists solely of rendering under Caesar what is Caesar's, or else rebelling against Caesar, because he does not, or cannot listen to his own true self.

In the outer world, wherever we find compulsion we find rebellion, either overt or covert. These are reactions. The same holds for the individual and his inner world. For example, in the inner drama, when the individual is a victim of an inner compulsion to work, his rebellion may be quite overt, and expressed in "impractical activity" and compulsive recreation, or covertly this rebellion may take the form of inactivity, passivity, and idleness. These latter are reactions and must not be confused with leisure. Leisure is a form of action. Idleness, laziness, inactivity, passivity are fre-

quently confused and equated with leisure when, in reality, they are the very opposite. It has been said, "The idle man has the least leisure."

2. *Conditional pattern*

Work and leisure naturally complement each other in the healthy growth process. But with a great many individuals, their natural work-leisure cycle becomes completely subordinated to a socially motivated leisure cycle. They now operate on a debit credit, reward and punishment system, where work becomes the payment or the penalty and punishment for leisure, and, on the other hand, leisure becomes a reward for work. *All* their play, leisure, relaxation are thus exclusively conditional, and felt to be only rightfully forthcoming on condition that they pay for it with labor and sweat.

These people feel with Longfellow's blacksmith that you "have to earn your night's repose." Nothing comes as a blessing. For them free and unmerited love is inconceivable, all the give and take of life is exclusively conditional, all relationships are on a bargaining basis. *All* living and *all* working become their means of getting a claim on God, fate, fortune, or some human being; the gift outright becomes impossible and there can be no gracious giving or receiving because the old revered phrase, "By the grace of God," has no meaning whatsoever. They have great feelings of guilt if they are not doing something practical, sensible, and useful. They can overcome this feeling of guilt somewhat if they place all these activities under the heading of necessity—TV and theater are necessary for education, or vacations are necessary for health. Unless they give logical purpose and good reason for what they do, their feeling of guilt persists.

3. *Superintellectual pattern*

Here we find glorification of the mind at work and complete contempt and rejection of the mind at play. These individuals convince themselves that solely through intellectual work, intensive

thinking-through, logical reasoning and figuring out, they can reach any solution and find all the answers.

It was perhaps this compulsive thinking that St. Paul called the vanity of the mind. In reality, this eventuates its sterility, for without the leisure phase, the great inductive leap will never occur.

Albert Einstein warned against what he called "a matter-of-fact way of thinking which lies like a killing frost on all human relations." Goethe spoke of the dedication to intellectual work "that ends in bankruptcy."

Obviously, intellectual work, reasoning, and figuring out are necessary and are to be respected, but they are not enough. Free play of the mind, as well as free play of the body and the feelings—in other words, free play of our whole being which can only take place when we are at leisure—is an essential and natural phase of every creative process.

4. *Frictionless pattern*

In contrast to the other patterns, the frictionless pattern can be more easily traced to its roots in childhood and youth. It results from early repression of the leisure phase of growth which in the young naturally expresses itself in bodily interpersonal activities, "like puppies in a basket" and in physical play, contact sports, competitive games and recreation, all of which can be seen as healthy friction. With successive years this healthy, playful competitive friction becomes less limited to the palpable physical life and begins to include the developing intellectual life. However, cultural repression of these natural physical manifestations and pursuits of leisure in early life set the pattern for the individual's attitude toward later forms of healthy interpersonal friction.

The conflict of healthy play, competitive sport and recreation helps to serve the leisure function of refinement, self-fulfilment, self-improvement. Edmund Burke had in mind this kind of healthy, wholesome competing to improve, when he said, "He that wrestles with us strengthens our nerves and sharpens our skills. Our antagonist is our helper." Then again, we have strong confirmation

that interpersonal play is an essential and self-fulfilling element in leisure from St. Thomas Aquinas, "Sports are not means to ends, but are sought for their own sake." "Playful activities are not for an ulterior end, but in themselves contain the end, as when we sport for the pleasure of it, though at other times we take recreation to make ourselves fit for work." "Sport, play, and recreation uphold the cause of their own delight and suffer no anxiety, for there is no waiting for something to arrive."

Acceptance of this healthy friction has particularly strong implications for youth in our modern American culture, where there is so much heterogeneity. In expressing their uniqueness and autonomy, they accept the inevitability of healthy friction and conflict with others. All such healthy interpersonal friction provides the "spark of life" and the warmth and fire of our emotional being, out of which issues imagination, inspiration, and creativity.

The frictionless pattern results from parental misunderstanding, misguidance, and consequent early interference with an essential leisure process. This is perpetuated by a culture which regards "friction," "conflict," and "competition" as dirty words. The young individual is protected and discouraged from the healthy interpersonal friction of body contact and rough and tumble play and sport. He is not allowed to "test his metal." This sets a pattern. In his later intellectual upbringing, again due to misguidance and misconception and indulgence, he is denied, protected, and withdraws from the healthy refining friction and conflict of parental discipline. Later he is discouraged and protected from the healthy conflict of vigorous argument and disagreement with others. Well aware of the extent to which this frictionless pattern prevails in our culture, Arthur Schlesinger of Harvard referred to it as the "bland leading the bland."

In our clinical experience, it is amazing to note the extent to which these people have a complete inability to grasp the concept of healthy friction, healthy conflict, healthy struggle, and healthy competition. Furthermore, they have a complete blind spot for the fact that all inanimate phenomena, that is, heat, light, sound, electricity, can be produced only by friction and that in the highest and human

levels of biological evolution, the procreative act is impossible without it.

The following couplet may help to clarify the prevailing picture:

Reactive smooth Togetherness remains in total dark.

'Tis active Friction's brisk rough rub creates the vital spark.

Two consequences we can keep in mind, the dynamics of which I have to over-simplify: a. Repression of this healthy interpersonal friction, playful conflict and struggle, which are natural manifestations of leisure, through accumulation will lead to the later possibility of explosive and destructive friction. We can see how fear of this explosion would lead the individual to alienate and detach himself further and further from interpersonal activity and competition.

But what I specially want to discuss is a second consequence of this frictionless pattern. Not only does it result from early cultural interference with the natural leisure pursuits of youth, but in turn, it tends to make leisure less and less possible. With each avoidance of healthy conflict, sport, and struggle with others, the individual comes to feel increasingly weaker. In other words, with each inhibition of the healthy friction of interpersonal growth, negation of self and autonomy deepens. Psychiatry sees in this frictionless living which is glorified by our culture as "togetherness" and overemphasis upon "we" thinking, one perpetuating cause for modern man's feeling of weakness and his inability to face the conflicts in himself. This compounds his self-negation. In early life he is deprived of healthy bodily and mental conflict in the outer world by overprotection, detachment, and isolation from others. Then later in the inner drama, he avoids his inner conflicts by self-negation, by isolation as it were from himself. Feeling weak, he senses his conflicting emotions and impulses as overpowering and uncontrollable. This further compels him to inhibit leisure and his consequent communion with his real self. So he is compelled to find something to do, compelled to work, compelled to play, compelled to keep going. If and when he competes, he competes out of a compulsive need to prove himself, rather than the natural inclination to improve himself.

William Faulkner clearly saw the connection between creativity

and the facing of one's own inner conflicts which occur during leisure. He tells us that avoidance of this communion with the real self is done to avoid pain, but the end result is sterility. In his 1950 Nobel Prize acceptance speech, he said, "The young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the human heart *in conflict with itself*, which alone can make good writers, because only that is worth writing about, worth the agony and the sweat."

5. *Fear of the unconscious*

All have heard of free association—that is, the process of relaxing conscious control and censorship, of giving thoughts and feelings spontaneous expression and letting come what will. Freud advocated this as one means of revealing what goes on within us that is outside our conscious awareness and control. However, such flow of free, spontaneous self-expression meets built-in resistance, and Psychoanalysis in great part consists in helping the individual to recognize and overcome this acquired resistance to his freedom of expression.

What has this to do with leisure? *Free association is in every respect and in essence a leisure process.*

The individual's ability to have true leisure and to move toward self-fulfilment is commensurate with his freedom from compulsions and particularly his freedom from that compulsive conscious control which blocks emergence of thoughts, feelings, impulses from the unconscious. Compulsive conscious control which prevents the natural leisure phase from asserting itself stems from fear of the unconscious.

In many ways, our upbringing and our culture determine and perpetuate this fear of the unconscious. For instance, there has been great cultural glorification of the conscious, logical, sensible self, with negative, contemptuous, and rejecting attitudes toward the unconscious part of ourselves. Prior to Freud, what took place unconsciously was regarded as meaningless, illogical, absurd, and ridiculous. Freudian psychology, which has dominated so much of our thinking in the past half century, showed us the rich significance of all unconscious processes, but it also inculcated a strong fear of

this part of our lives. Freud led us to believe that everything that went on unconsciously was inevitably and immutably antisocial, immoral, perverse, destructive, and impossible for man to admit to himself.

To relax our compulsive conscious control, that is, to associate freely and let come what will, would reveal to us our real selves, our inner strength and resources. But it would also bring us face to face with our contradictory emotions and motives and other human frailties. This would destroy our illusions and our prideful image of ourselves. Thus, fear of the unconscious protects our illusions and our synthetic and olympian aspirations, but it perpetuates our incapacity for leisure and stifles creative growth.

I have briefly outlined five everyday patterns of living which strongly perpetuate our tragic use of leisure time and seriously frustrate the healthy aspirations of our youth.

The question now arises, what can we do to offset these patterns? What attitudes should Education emphasize and perpetuate that will make for higher creativity and greater fulfilment of youth's aspirations? This is another way of asking—How should we educate for the wise use of leisure? How should we educate for life off the job?

I believe the following directives will foster attitudes which will increase our capacity for leisure and lead to greater realization of the creative potential of our youth. In the fostering of attitudes, we will remember what the late James Plant had to say, "Attitudes cannot be taught, they have to be caught."

1. We should acquire wholesome respect for the leisure phase of life with continued attempts to feel, understand, and define its function in life and human progress. We must rediscover leisure.

Leisure is not just the opposite of work in the sense of being opposed to work. In work there is a focusing, a contraction of faculties, a concentration, and an acuteness of consciousness. During leisure, there is a widening of consciousness, an unfocusing, a broadening and expanding, a greater diffusion of the consciousness. Using the analogy of the action of the human heart: work, effort,

and exertion represent the systolic phase of the creative process and leisure represents the diastolic phase of the creative process. George Eliot said, "There must be systole and diastole in all inquiry." During leisure, we shift as it were from a high power microscope to a low power microscope. With this relaxation and the widening of the field to include what previously had been peripheral, subconscious and unconscious, great unifying patterns are suddenly recognized.

2. We must reaffirm our faith in man's unconscious processes as innately healthy, constructive, and indispensable to all creativity. Professor Abraham H. Maslow said, "Those individuals subject to the peak experiences have a certain permeability—that is—a closeness and an openness to the unconscious and a relative lack of fear of their unconscious." We must not displace Freud, but rather, go beyond and supplement his contributions, and avoid emotional adherence to his conception of the unconscious as instinctively and immutably amoral, antisocial, bestial, and destructive. We must then differentiate between healthy and unhealthy unconscious processes.

We must take into account the new conceptions and the new beliefs about the unconscious that have been voiced by such authorities as Karen Horney, Erich Fromm, Ashley Montagu, George Russell Harrison, Arnold J. Toynbee, and the great religious, philosophical, and scientific minds of the day.

Let me quote Toynbee, "Thanks to our unprecedented experience of two World Wars, we have probed the subconscious depths, the Psyche, and have acquired new conceptions. The subconscious may be likened to a child, a savage, even a brute beast, which is at the same time also wiser, more honest and less prone to error than the conscious self. It is one of those statically perfect works of creation that are the Creator's stopping places, whereas the conscious human personality is an infinitely imperfect approximation toward a being of a commensurably higher order. The subconscious, not the intellect, is the organ through which man lives his spiritual life; *it is the fount of poetry, music and the visual arts*. In this enthralling voyage of exploration, the first objective would be to seek insight

into the workings of the heart for, 'The heart has its reasons, which the reason does not know.'

Reliance on the unconscious means greater respect for the immeasurable, intangible, and imponderable. This involves a great capacity for faith. In this connection, creative revelation or peak experience has been likened to the religious experience, and we can remind ourselves that some of the greatest creative minds of our time, and of former times, were deeply religious men.

3. We must accept the new scientific principles of physical indeterminacy and break away from *sole* adherence to the mechanistic determinism of Newtonian science and from the belief that man is subject to exact and predictable mechanical laws. It is just those who are *compelled* to adhere strictly to the laws of physical determinism who are completely unable to know what true leisure is all about and thereby remain uncreative. In this connection it is surely significant that for years the Soviet Union tabooed the new principles of physical indeterminacy.

Arthur H. Compton had the following to say:

For a considerable period after the Second World War, the teaching of the scientific principle of indeterminacy was under a ban in Russia. Marx had taught that man is a machine that obeys the exact mechanical laws, the scientific idea of physical indeterminacy was dangerous. Who knew? It might open the way to the belief that man has some special kind of value, or even to belief in God.

As we enter a period of greater and greater leisure time, the philosophic shift in man's thinking has been away from reliance upon rigid, fixed physical laws. In other words, man is beginning to acquire an inner strength whereby he can face the idea of physical indeterminacy and unpredictability and the way is opening up again, as Compton said, for us to be free to shape our own destiny, and in this undertaking, we will find our greatest freedom and creative growth. We will recognize the tragic implications of the phrase "dead certain" and can take as a kind of motto that wonderful line from Graham Greene's Broadway play, *The Potting Shed*: "When you are *not* sure, then you are alive."

4. We must cultivate a humbleminded attunedness to nature and to our own nature. This would mean loving and listening to children and particularly loving and listening to the child in one's self. Acceptance of the unconscious which accompanies leisure goes along with a great capacity for humility—and a love for the beginning of things.

5. We must encourage a more poetic approach to life as one way of offsetting and avoiding the compulsive materialism and the compulsive literal-mindedness characteristic of so many who cannot truly enjoy their leisure time. This compulsive literal-mindedness goes along with rigid-mindedness and a resistance to relaxing, wondering, marveling, contemplation, and the other components of leisure necessary for creative growth. We must, of course, always be prepared to take things literally, but this is not enough. There is also something that transcends the material and the literal, which we admit when we say that man cannot live by bread alone. This inclusion of a poetic approach to life as part of a full or total educational process and as making youth fit for leisure was advocated by Heraclitus, when he exhorted us to "listen to the essence of things." This is what Goethe meant by "living in the all." And Van Dyke, when he told us to "listen to stars and birds and babes and sages with an open heart—and let the spiritual, unbidden and unconscious, rise up through the common." And Emerson who reminded us that "the invariable mark of wisdom is the ability to see the miraculous in the common."

6. According to Ernest Jones, we should encourage the following in our whole educational approach to make man fit for leisure and thereby to foster creativity: "A credulous attitude which betokens an uncritical, excessive, open-mindedness towards environmental stimuli. This must go hand in hand with a similarly uncritical open-mindedness towards the ideas pressing forward from the pre-conscious." Jessamine West, the authoress, has leisure in mind when she emphasizes what she calls "openness of mind" as essential to creativity.

7. We must develop clearer conceptions of progressive education so that we recognize that real work and real play do not overlap. Some proponents of progressive education are inclined to balk at the idea of hard work, agony, sweat, and tears. They look upon competition, struggle, conflict, and friction as dirty words. They strive to convert work into play. They fail to see that intense work, healthy friction, competition, and conflict complement play and leisure in every creative process. Their misconceptions and confusion mainly arise from their failure to differentiate compulsive work and play from healthy and natural work and play.

8. We should denounce that puritanical glorification of work which regards all leisure as something to be paid for, to be earned, or to be looked upon as a reward for labor and sweat. This gospel of work which characterized the early days of the Industrial Revolution, still strongly permeates our culture. The proponents are still with us, they falsely equate leisure with sloth, idleness, and laziness. As Margaret Mead says, "The belief that Leisure has to be earned will die hard."

9. We should disavow what we can call Pavlovian Philosophy, which today dominates all Soviet thinking. This philosophy places *all* life on a conditional basis and completely negates all unconditional love and unconditional giving. If you take the right road, you get a piece of cheese; if you take the wrong road, you get a shock. Thereby we all become highly conditional beings. Life is just one damned maze after another, with no exits. The gift outright, free and unmerited, becomes inconceivable, and thus there is no conception of leisure, sleep, and play as blessings to be enjoyed, but only as rewards to be earned. It is interesting in this regard that in 1937, Plant expressed the fear that totalitarianism threatened play. Without Grace, considered either in its narrow or exalted sense, there can be no true leisure and no true play. Hence, where such a Pavlovian conditional philosophy dominates, there can be no great creativity, but there will be brilliant improvisations. Advances can

be expected in applied sciences and applied research, but not in basic science or basic research.

10. Education should consider a holistic rather than a dualistic approach to man's nature, behavior, and growth. This basically assumes that, although assailed by inner conflicts, the whole, or healthy man, the *Homo Dei* as Thomas Mann puts it in *The Magic Mountain* is "Lord of all counter positions."

Such a holistic conception would transcend the present-day narrow and limited conception of a workaday world, and would provide an entirely new frame of reference in which work and leisure would in no sense oppose each other. Neither would have preference, primacy, or supremacy, but their perfect complementation would be recognized as essential to growth. One main direction of that growth would be toward greater and greater consciousness of our wholeness.

We could extend this conception of the whole man to include the idea of "global man." "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet" reflects the old dualistic philosophy. In the East we see this too often expressed in compulsive passivity, excessive preoccupation with the Self, overindulgence in contemplation, wondering, marveling, and negation of activity and "the other fellow." In the West, we see this dualistic philosophy too often expressed in compulsive activity, excessive preoccupation with "the other fellow" and the outer world, dedication to work and effort, and negation of leisure and of the real Self. However, the man of the future, holistic or global man, will realize and accept in himself the complementation of these two great dynamic patterns of living as essential phases of the growth process and this will find expression in greatly increased creative activity and growth.

Perhaps we are beginning to see the creative effects of this Oriental-Occidental complementation in the contributions of Oriental scientists doing basic research in this country. For instance, Nobel Prize men Cheng Ning Yang and Tsung Dao Lee doing basic research on subatomic particles staggered the world by discoveries which upset a hitherto fundamental principle of Physics called

“parity.” Teru Hayashi doing basic research on the physics and chemistry of muscle has made outstanding discoveries and contributions. Hayashi’s adherence to a holistic philosophy is implicit in the following statement he made to John Pfeiffer (*New York Times*, November 24, 1957): “The public thinks of the basic investigator as if he were one-sided, *not a whole man*. Actually, he has a far wider range of interests beyond Science than most specialists, far wider than people realize.”

Conclusion

I have tried to show that serious perversions and frustrations of Youth’s natural aspirations stem from cultural failure properly to evaluate the formative function of leisure in healthy personality-development. I discussed five common patterns of everyday living with special reference to their repressive influence upon Youth’s innate capacity for leisure and their consequent effect upon creative growth and aspirations. I then emphasized the need for fundamental changes in educational attitudes and policies. These comments on education in themselves contributed nothing new but I pointed them all in a new direction, because it seemed to me that modern living demanded that all those interested in human welfare should focus sharply upon leisure.

Centuries ago Aristotle said “the goal of education is the wise use of leisure.” Recently, ex-President Herbert Hoover told us “the future of this civilization will not depend upon what man does on the job but what he does in his time off.” Josef Pieper, the eminent German theologian, reminded us that “man’s imperishable intuitions come to him during his moments of leisure.”

Are we too set in our ways to take this wisdom to heart? Oliver Lodge said that the last thing a deep sea fish discovers is salt water. So we, too, remain unaware of our habitual ways of thinking.

I have shown that we are totally immersed in a philosophy which permeates and governs all our thinking and behavior—a philosophy whose sole and entire frame of reference is the world of work, and this world is rapidly becoming smaller and will shrink to a twenty

hour work week within the next decade, according to Boris Pregel, past president of the New York Academy of Science.

So contemporary Youth is crossing the threshold of a totally new world equipped with an obsolete philosophy. He is a victim of outmoded sequences and patterns of living which keep him wholly unprepared for his forthcoming adventure in free time.

Youth has always had to overcome the outmoded sequences of the previous generation. This continues as a healthy evolutionary struggle the more adults realize that they are the carriers and the victims of the outmoded philosophy.

Carefully study the following by Socrates, written in 450 B.C.:

Our youth now loves luxury. They have bad manners and contempt for authority. They show disrespect for their elders and love idle chatter in place of exercise. Children are now tyrants—not the servants of the household. They no longer rise when elders enter the room. They contradict their parents, chatter before company, gobble up their food and tyrannize their teachers.

Today, almost 2,500 years later, we see the same symptoms and will find they are caused by the same conflicts within the social body, *i.e.*, Youth's conscious and unconscious struggle against outmoded sequences. We realize, however, this very great difference:

The accelerative rate of evolutionary change and growth causes the gap between successive generations to become wider and wider. In plain language, it is becoming ever more difficult to keep up with the times. This makes the conflicts within the social body increasingly more extreme and more acute and puts greater and greater demands upon adults and youth to bridge the gap. Never at any time in the history of Western culture has this been more the case than today when we consider the tremendous gap created almost overnight between a rapidly shrinking old workaday world and a new world where Youth has more free time than he knows what to do with. Where, formerly, we looked for our greatest dilemmas and frustrated aspirations among exploited, underprivileged "poverty-stricken" Youth, almost overnight we have been forced to turn our attention to "leisure-stricken" Youth.

We know how to make our Youth fit for work and will continue to do so. But now we must also educate to make our Youth fit for leisure, with the firm belief that only those fit for work *and* leisure will survive as creative individuals. The others will exist as sterile robots.

Youth naturally seeks adventure. Technology has provided abundant time and facilities for adventurous exploration of the outer and inner world and has thereby created wonderful opportunities to become more aware. Julian Huxley regarded this growth of awareness as a biological entity. From the holistic standpoint, Eros is the personification of our basic drive toward greater and greater awareness of our wholeness. Surely this growth of awareness represents Youth's highest aspiration.

When we are at leisure this does not mean that we are idle, that we sit passively by and leave it all to Nature. Rather, we open up to receive. We stop, look, and listen to see and hear what Nature—and our nature—is doing and we go along with it. For St. Thomas contemplation, wondering, and marvelling are active processes which serve our leisure. We are never passive as we wait for Spring, but are respectfully vigilant.

In our everlasting search for Truth, whether in the outer world or in ourselves, we will use every mental and physical effort to locate her and track her down. But we cannot force her ultimately to reveal herself. Always in the end, Truth comes to us when we relinquish our conscious efforts, relax, and let leisure prevail.

Swedenborg said, "Every revelation is a cloudy view of the Divine Truth." He was reminding us that we never reach the absolute Truth and that happiness comes in the continuing search. In education for the wise and creative use of leisure time, we should overcome our great overemphasis on the happy ending and dedicate ourselves *not* to the pursuit of happiness, but to the happiness of pursuit.

In bringing us to understand and appreciate the inestimable value of leisure for our creative life, no one source can give us greater inspiration than the Bible. Again and again expressed in vivid, inimitable language, we are reminded of the nature of and the need

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for leisure in our wholesome growth and self-fulfilment. There are two quotations which come to mind that will exemplify what I have tried to say. They are both from the Psalms:

“They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles.”

And from the eleventh verse of the Sixty-Fifth Psalm in the Septuagint, “Have leisure, and know that I am God.”

IV

CHANGING EDUCATIONAL VALUES

BY

FRANK H. BOWLES

I am going to talk today about what I think of as the most spectacular development of postwar America—the rush to college—by which I mean the development which has, during the past decade drawn to college hundreds of thousands of individuals who in an earlier decade would never have been able to enter college, either because of lack of opportunity, or lack of interest, or lack of money. The big rush is still ahead and it is even more spectacular in prospect than our present rush in retrospect. Most of us who are professional educators talk about this as a problem in terms of dismay, but actually we view it with excitement. I think our excitement comes from the knowledge that we are dealing with the raw material of change, and, we are eager to see what will happen. The problems are, of course, tremendous—physical expansion, faculty expansion, new financing—to mention only those that are only operational consequences of growth. Then there are new programs to be devised to meet new needs, standards to be re-set in terms of new pressures, some to go up and some to go down. These are among genuine substantive changes to come, but there is still another group of changes beyond them involving emotion and understanding; the meaning and the purpose of college, its values for students, its contributions to the society of the next generation. All these and many more are outward aspects of what we call the enrollment problem.

The growth of demand for education in our country is one of the most striking phenomena in our history. It has been a constant factor for many years. First, the need for universal literacy, then for elements of culture, which we can equate to completion of the common

school, then for basic general education, which we can equate to high school education. Each generation has demanded another increment of education and received it, and now the demand has reached the level of advanced knowledge and speciality, that is, of college, and here it has exploded. The strange thing is that we really do not understand why this explosion has taken place. We know only that it has happened. It was unexpected, and, what was worse, it came upon us at a time when we were totally unready. It came with such suddenness that our educational system, and particularly secondary education, was not only unprepared for it but was desperately in need of time to readjust and recuperate. This unpreparedness was important and requires explanation. Explanation begins with the comment that the basic relationship between secondary school and college in this country was established between 1910 and 1930. It was a relatively placid relationship—many of us went to college under it without realizing there were any problems between the school and college, and indeed, there were very few. Then between 1930 and 1940 there occurred an educational revolution. During this revolution the percentage of the population in the United States attending high school doubled. What had been a not inconsiderable, but by no means complete, high school system reaching rather less than half of the eligible students, suddenly became a program which was accessible to very nearly every student in the land who might want to go to high school. As one result, and perhaps one of the most important results of this revolution, the entire existing relationship between high school and college was swept away. Only some private schools, many of them struggling with now forgotten difficulties, remained as symbols of and memorials to the relationship which had once existed. Oddly enough, I think that very few people knew at the time that this was happening. I am, I believe, one of the few individuals still connected with the admissions business who was working during that period, and I can remember only that my colleagues and I knew that a change was taking place and that we were being forced to alter our ways of doing business but we did not know what had caused the change, nor were the changes and ways of doing business based upon

any reasoned analysis of the situation. They were, instead, palliative, adopted for empirical reasons.

The war and postwar commotion in our business delayed recognition of what had happened, and, after the war, the schools continued to operate in their prewar context while the colleges strove to get back to their prewar status until finally they were forced to admit that this was impossible. Thus, the schools were misled, or misled themselves into continuing to prepare for colleges which had been so changed by the war that they no longer existed in this prewar context and, in the process, opened themselves to severe and searching criticism. Belatedly, the attempt to rebuild a school-college relationship has begun again, and may soon begin to diminish the volume of criticism.

As I have already suggested, we do not really understand what has happened, and our reactions to the rush and its consequences have been a form of symptomatic treatment. We do not know what its causes were, nor do we know what changes in purpose have impelled college enrollment fifty per cent above the norm that we might otherwise have expected, nor do we know why it has developed the way it has in terms of concentrations in programs and institutions, nor do we know what results it is likely to have.

It is quite possible that the main cause of this rush may be prosperity. At any rate, it is certainly clear that it began about the time when the money supply began to increase. I know, and most of us know, all too well, that when the money supply went up it did not produce a corresponding increase in real income, but real income figures are average figures and there were certain commodities which became relatively cheaper as the values of money changed. One of these commodities was education, the cost of which has increased very slowly, and has, in fact, remained too low to provide proper livings for those who engage in it as a profession. However, by the fact of remaining low it has become relatively more available to groups of individuals who formerly could not have afforded it. Prosperity may have had another effect, in that as the money supply went up it may well have been that families with fairly simple living

habits found the timing right to expend their new increments of money on education for their children rather than to increase their standards of living. There are probably other hypotheses relating to economics and money supply which could be advanced, but I would think there is no point in doing so, once we have stated that it is possible that the rush for college could be traced, in part, to changing economic conditions.

Another cause of the rush to college may well have been the new job market. The new job market was one which was progressively opened to the top part of the educational distribution and progressively closed to the bottom part of the distribution. Thus, the aspect of the future to a high school graduate going into a job became less and less attractive, whereas the aspect of the future to a college graduate became more and more attractive. There may be several reasons for this. One reason, of course, is that colleges, and particularly liberal arts colleges, are fine selective devices inasmuch as they pass a student over a large number of disciplinary hurdles and pretest him in virtually every field and skill that is going to be required in business. Such programs are in the parlance of my profession, a fine comprehensive test. Specific professional programs, such as education, business administration, and engineering, are not quite as good as comprehensive tests but they are, of course, even better as specialized tests. At any rate, the case for college as a selective device is a good one. There is also the case for specialized training. There is no doubt that the small worlds over which employers preside are being broken into smaller fragments with each fragment requiring more and more specialized skills. Education can train men to take places in this specialized world. In either case, whether we are talking about preparing the specialist or generalist, it seems clear that education has an appeal. It would have been easy at any time during the past decade for a high school student or his parents to decide that college was a passport to a job. This, of course, is not a new view, but I doubt that the view had ever been held so widely before.

The rush has pretty obviously been the result of large scale movement which opened college opportunity to students who had never

previously considered themselves as conceivable college material. It might have been expected that these large groups of newcomers to college education would have been hesitant and modest about their expectations, that they would have sought out the junior colleges and the small private colleges which serve local clienteles, or the tax-supported institutions which have operated in terms of easy access and low cost. However this did not happen. What did happen was that these students sought out the high cost, high status institutions, which were already under pressure and were consequently difficult of access.

My own tracing of the phenomena was that it began in postwar suburbia, in its two most important clusters, New York and Chicago, and spread outward, affecting other suburban centers and finally touching the generality of the population. As the rush spread, the load became more widely distributed so that pressures are now a generalized, rather than a series of localized conditions. We do not know where the leadership and example came from within the student groups. Did the bright students with their scholarships lead the way or was it the status seekers and social climbers who headed for the Ivy League? Perhaps it was all these things in combination.

These several hypotheses that I have suggested regarding origins of the rush may be summed up by saying that there has clearly been a deep change in group consciousness which has altered the image of college and produced a belief that college attendance is a part of the experience of coming of age in America. Perhaps this is too strong a statement as of 1959. But I think that we will find that it is now very close to an accurate statement and that within the generation which will come from our present younger group, it will be necessary to provide programs, which will be defined as college programs, for all youth with an I.Q. of 100 or better. The reasons why these programs must be provided will be extensions of the present reasons for college going: first, because it seems the first step to employment and security; second, because it appears to lead to good income; third, because it opens freedom of choice not open to the noncollege graduate; fourth, because it leads to social ease and belonging; and fifth, because it offers intellectual values to those who wish them. The

present validity of all of these reasons rests on the fact that the percentage of families willing to strain their financial resources to send their children to college has increased sharply at the same time that the number of families which can now, with or without strain, support children in college has increased. The cumulative effect of these two increases has been, to say the least, significant.

I and other people in my line of business have long suspected that many of the candidates with whom we deal have only a precarious social, psychological, and financial toehold in the college world, but I had not realized until I saw recently a study conducted by Elmo Roper for the Ford Foundation under the title of *Parents College Plans Study*, how really precarious these toeholds were. This was a study based on a cross-section survey of 5,000 heads of households in all parts of the United States during the week of April 5, 1959. The main body of the questionnaire was directed to parents with one or more children under eighteen years of age not now in college. Three main subjects were covered: 1. parents' expectations with regard to their children going to college; 2. parents' expectations of the cost of a college education for their family; 3. how parents planned to finance these costs.

The tabulation of the answers to a series of questions produced the fact that the parents surveyed expected to send to college sixty-nine per cent of the children under eighteen years of age. This is not the same as saying that sixty-nine per cent of children are expected to go to college. It is in fact a potentially larger figure than either of these. It is interesting to note that this figure involved considerable uncertainty. Out of the total group of children involved, thirty-one per cent were not expected to go to college, twenty-nine per cent were expected to go to college, and forty per cent were placed in a "probably yes" category. Obviously, then, the marginal group is much larger than the certain group. This fact is the more interesting because only eighteen per cent of all the parents surveyed had some college education, and the disparity between the eighteen per cent with college experience and the sixty-nine per cent with college aspiration for their children is a measure of the power of the ferment that arises from the yeast of education. I would not wish to claim

that these parental desires would represent what we call the right reasons. I am not sure that I know what the right reasons are, but I am sure that educational purity would stress love of learning, need for knowledge, service, use of talent and abilities, and on a descending scale of values, enlightened self-interest, whereas the wrong reasons would touch on security, status, preferred position in employment, improved earning power. I am reasonably sure that there are parents who did have concern for the right reasons, but I do not believe that this fact is very important. For all forms of reasons seem to produce college students and all forms of reasons are merged into the justification that the college student builds for himself in terms of the values that he finds within the very powerful college culture.

More important to me is the shocking ignorance of the financial facts of college which was revealed by the study. The group as a whole estimated the cost of a private residential college as approximately \$1,600 a year and of a state university as \$200 less, with residents at home saving \$500 over on-campus residents. Only one half of the parents interviewed had any real idea of the cost of college and there appeared to be no recognition anywhere in the parent group that college costs could be expected to go up. Sixty-seven per cent of the parents planning to send their children to college expected to rely on savings as well as on current income, but sixty per cent of them had no savings for the purpose and no plans for making them, and an additional twenty-four per cent had such savings as might be found in an insurance program.

I do not feel that I understand all of the implications of these findings, but I think that one of the implications is clear—that the urge toward the college goal has taken on an almost dreamlike quality in which costs and probably educational purposes and standards are largely ignored.

But I believe there is another implication and this I consider a serious one. That is the fact that parents expect to save but have not saved or have saved a little and do not understand costs anyway, and as an alternative to saving expect their children to get scholarships or expect themselves to increase their income so that they can support their children. That parents do not expect to rely upon borrow-

ing or upon student employment, suggests a deepseated belief that college, like the other parts of the American dream, as it is dreamed in this latter half of the twentieth century, will come painlessly and by right. If we look at this from the standpoint of realistic financing, it will call for tremendous loan programs and tremendous scholarship programs. Such programs may well be possible, although I am not at all sure that, from the loan aspect, large amounts of educational loans will be available as readily and on such favorable terms as the relatively small totals of loan funds now available. As far as scholarships are concerned, it seems almost impossible to contemplate reasonably that the funds necessary to support such large numbers of students as these figures suggest will come from any known source of scholarship money other than tax funds. It is, of course, quite possible that a severe financial recession, coupled with increasing pressure from employers and labor unions to keep individuals off the labor market might produce a new version of the depression-born N.Y.A., and of course it is possible, even probable, that there will be additional state scholarship programs which will fill some of the scholarship gap; nevertheless, reliance on scholarships as method of large scale financing of college going students is not a very realistic reliance.

However, I do not want to get too far into the financial problem, for what I am really talking about here is the problem of marginality. Let us take a look at a hypothetical individual who is in college by reason of some of the new values that I have suggested. He comes to college from a home that does not have college background—there is no sin in this, and there are almost certainly motivational advantages because such a student does need more push and more reason to come to college than does a student from a college background. One of the motivational advantages, incidentally, is that he is likely to outperform the student from college background. We have a good deal of evidence that this is so, and a very interesting fact it is. I would consider this particular topic to be a chapter in itself and wish that I could take the time to write it.

One of the determinants as to whether he will go to college and where he will go to college is where he lives and where he goes to

school. Thus, if he lives in the locale which has come to be described by our newest compound word "plush-suburb," it is almost certain that he will choose a status college. In other words, his motivation is directed toward a particular kind of college, rather than to the idea of college *per se*. This may be so important that the parents and the student may well feel that unless access can be gained to one of the preferred group of colleges there is no point in going to college, although it is observed that it is possible to rationalize this problem away and to invest colleges of lesser status with the requisite glamor in the event that the more desirable college is closed.

The school to which the plush-suburb child goes is a tremendously important fact in determining his motivation, for he will go either to a boarding school or to the suburban high school. These are very different forms of schooling. The boarding school glories in its resistance to change, and exacts a strict academic conformity, while at the same time it enforces the social pattern which is its trademark. But the curious fact is that the suburban high school operating in a different academic pattern—one of permissiveness, of inclusiveness, of stimulation rather than of requirement, of nondirectional guidance, and operating in a social pattern of sports cars, intense social activity, and multiform school-related activities—achieves the same motivational and the same academic end results as the boarding school. This is because both types of school have in common the fact that they have a life so powerful that they displace the home life and substitute peer group values for home values. This substitution is often made easier by the essential blandness of the type of upper middle class home life in which so many pieces of physical and social equipment such as hi-fi sets, automobiles, and civic activities are available as substitutes for the kind of family contacts that give character to home life. Students who come from schools which offer less to the whole student and must concentrate perforce upon academic studies—as, for example, the parochial school students, or those from rural consolidated schools, or from city high schools within slum areas—come to college in much lower proportion, but when they come to college they come more directly motivated in intellectual terms and are likely to use their abilities to great ad-

vantage. In our jargon they are "overachievers," a phrase which often means that students may have adjustment trouble in later life, but will succeed well as college students.

Of course, another determinant which controls college going is the availability of college. In this sense, the college going pressure has become a sort of self-generating stampede in which college going produces pressures which produce more attention, more colleges, and in turn, still more college going.

In this view of college going the values of college are only incidentally intellectual. College is a necessity of status, a symbol, a social experience, an attractive environment in which to continue adolescence, a necessary preliminary to professional status or to secure employment, and only incidentally a challenge to the mind or an opportunity for growth.

I would not wish to offer this as a blanket indictment, for I know there are many who maintain what we like to think of as a "good" view of college. But even though I know this, I cannot help but be struck by this attitude that students today carry with them into college. It is an attitude full of assurance and confidence, quite different from the healthy blend of curiosity and anxiety that I sensed a generation ago.

In talking about today's college student it is necessary also to talk about his parents, for to them the college which the child attends will be of great importance. The parents of a student in a status college are pleased by this fact. The extent of this pleasure can be estimated from the not uncommon experience of admissions officers today who will be asked by parents of children in the early primary grades what steps must be taken to insure that Johnnie or Susie will be ready for the college of his or her choice (for which read "college of the parents' choice") when the time comes.

In completing this characterization of the new college student, it is important to remember that two-thirds of the total group of prospective college students are now classified by their parents as only probable college attendants, and that over half of the parents who plan to send their children to college do not have any present ideas of college costs, and that four-fifths of all parents have not

made financial plans which are presently adequate to send their children to college.

I am not trying to paint a gloomy picture here of the present college student or of the future of college going in America, but I do feel that it is only reasonable to emphasize that the college phase of the American educational revolution is still resting upon very uncertain foundations. As matters stand now, any major closing down of the job market for future college graduates, or a longer version of the 1957 recession, whether induced by general business conditions or by a prolongation of the current labor-management dispute, might well change the plans of a very sizable percentage of the prospective college going population.

I would think that this is a situation as of the present. It might well be that within another ten years the re-financing of higher education which is now going on, and completion of the readjustment of American living patterns which has been taking place during the past ten years, will combine to form a much more stable base for college going.

If I seem to deplore, and I think there is no doubt that I do deplore, the instability of the values which have so altered our college going pattern, it is not because I deplore the fact that a student may go to college for the wrong reasons. I believe and, considering my own profession it is almost inevitable that I should believe, that it is generally better for a student to go to college for the wrong reasons than not go to college at all. What I do deplore is that so much of our current college going is an expression of values which are the very antithesis of the values by which colleges live. I suppose that such contradictions are always inherent in the realization of any dream, and I suppose or perhaps I should say I hope, that as the dream gathers strength through fulfilment these contradictions will resolve themselves. At any rate, those of us who administer the dream must know that there are contradictions and weak points, for only as we do, can we know the fullness of our responsibility.

V

PRESSURES AWAY FROM INTELLECTUALITY

BY

CHARLES FRANKEL

My assigned task is to speak about "pressures" that are pushing young Americans away from intellectuality. I am not aware that I have any special competence to deal with this subject. It is true that I have occasionally received letters from irate people asserting that the kind of philosophy I represent is the major reason why American students are drifting away from intellectuality along with all the other virtues. But this is a doubtful qualification and I have a few others. I am a citizen, a teacher, and a parent, and I confess to having read a few books about American youth and their problems. Unhappily, however, these books have frequently been written by people whose authority to speak on the subject hardly seemed to me greater than my own.

Still, the subject before us is one in which it is impossible not to be interested; it touches the question of the quality of American culture as it exists and as it will exist. So I shall try to put into order some of the poor thoughts I have.

It is one of the commonplace criticisms of the United States that we have a culture that is unintellectual and anti-intellectual, that there is in the American atmosphere a curious kind of intellectual smogginess that stifles the minds of young and old alike. This view is as popular in this country as it is abroad, but I do not know whether it is true. One of the less intellectual habits of American intellectuals—a habit in which they show themselves least modulated in their judgments, least concerned with weighing the evidence, most impulsive and doctrinaire—is that of passing wholesale verdicts on the complex and many-sided culture to which all of us here belong.

I have no intention of playing that game today. It is my assignment to speak about those elements in our present society which, in my uncertain opinion, do seem to be exerting pressures against intellectuality. They may or may not be the dominant elements in our society. To the extent that they exist, however, our society is failing in precisely the area where, above all others, a civilized society should succeed.

Our first item of business must be to try to fix with some precision what "intellectuality" means. What are we talking about when we say that there are pressures in the United States pushing people away from intellectuality? Intellectuality, of course, is not the only value in life. A man is not a good man just because he has the quality of intellectuality, and there are many perfectly good people, and many very important and useful people in our society, who aren't intellectuals at all. Yet there ought to be, I am sure, a certain measure of intellectuality liberally scattered around the landscape. And so we must ask, "What is intellectuality?"

I suppose that the first and simplest aspect of intellectuality is that it has to do with verbal and symbolic behavior. To be intellectual, therefore, is not necessarily the same thing as being intelligent—though it would be nice to think, just the same, that the two are not opposed. A cat or a chimpanzee can solve many problems and perform many tasks with intelligence; so can inarticulate human beings. What characterizes *intellectual* behavior as against intelligent problem-solving is that it is behavior which shows itself in verbal form, in talk, in conversation, in writing, in mathematical operations. To be intellectual is to deal with the world with and through symbols.

The second characteristic of intellectuality is connected with the one I have just described. A man has an *intellectual* quality when he has the ability and the settled tendency to think hypothetically. This means two things. To begin with, a man who is intellectual is a man who is able to suspend his commitments, at least while he is engaged in thinking. He will approach a problem without initially insisting that he must come out with a certain predetermined conclusion. He may have a guess or a hunch about this conclusion; in fact, it is important that he have a guess or a hunch, or else he'll start with no

leading ideas and his thinking will be aimless. But at the same time, he rather enjoys being in a state in which he doesn't quite know where he's going to come out.

Second, "intellectuality" refers to an ability to think about what does not exist. Mathematicians are almost supreme examples of the intellectual in this sense. But physicists, economists, psychologists, novelists, playwrights, are also all people who can plunge themselves wholly into the construction of worlds that need not exist. To be an intellectual is to exercise the imagination for the sake of imagination itself.

Accordingly, intellectuality has a major consequence. If it becomes the habit and the defining characteristic of a man, he will look upon the world in entirely new terms. He will look upon the world as he would not have looked upon it were he not an intellectual. He may be full of sentiments and deep feelings. He may have all sorts of inherited loyalties. He may be the very soul of "conformity" in his obedience to prevailing conventions of behavior. But if he is an intellectual he will know that the conventions are conventions, that popular dogmas are only men's guesses as to the truth, and that the world in which we live is not as orderly or as rationally satisfying as the world in which ideas live. He will know, as Justice Holmes said, that conformity to the past is not a duty but only a necessity. And he will look upon his own society, in consequence, with a certain detachment and irony.

This is the quality, I suppose, that makes being an intellectual rather disturbing to intellectuals as well as to those who aren't intellectuals. It is this quality of disengagement, of not being wholly committed, of refusing to be deceived, that disturbs and upsets people, and makes it a little difficult for intellectuals to live either with others or with themselves. And this is why, I also suppose, anti-intellectualism is the Old Adam in man. No one particularly likes to have his cherished, habitual way of life turned upside down or exhibited as a piece of provincialism. Yet the thorough-going intellectual, like Socrates, has the tendency to do precisely that.

But Socrates' defense of intellectuality gets to the heart of the issue. At any rate, it is a sound defense if intellectuals are also serious

and responsible and have a little brain power to go with their aspirations. As Socrates said to his defamers, if there is doubt, if there is skepticism, if there is a general sense of disturbance about first principles and ultimate things, there are, broadly, two ways of dealing with this state of affairs. One is to shut your eyes and insist that everyone else shut his eyes; then you live in a fool's Paradise. The other is to push through with your doubts and questions and to follow the argument whithersoever it leads. And you may find, in the end, that the man who has tested his beliefs in the fires, who has looked at his commitments to his society and his past with the eyes of an intellectual, will in the long run actually be firmer and more resolute in the beliefs he holds. He won't ever have the simple dogmatism of the unintellectual man. But he will have one advantage. He will have discovered for himself why he believes what he does, and he will know himself and the world a little bit better. Liberal society, indeed, has proposed to itself to nurture such men within it, men whose business it is to question first principles, and, through this questioning, to chasten and enlighten the society of which they are a part.

But let me mention two more characteristics of intellectuality. The first of these is that intellectuality implies an interest in ideas for their own sake, a love for ideas without an irritable reaching after practical results. Intellectuals need not be unconcerned with practice, but they are concerned with the play of ideas just as much. Second, more than simply a temperamental disposition goes into being a working intellectual. To be fully committed to this way of life is to have habits of craftsmanship, standards of workmanship, that only can be the product of long training. Indeed, they must normally be the product, not simply of deliberate schooling, but also of the general cultural atmosphere. For one of the most important things about the intellectual, and one of the most troubling things about being an intellectual, is that the intellectual has to do two jobs at once. He not only has to work, but he has to be his own supervisor. That doesn't mean merely that he must push himself to his desk. After a while most people who do intellectual work are very "itchy" when they are not at their desks. It means that a man refuses to be

satisfied with his second best; it means, in fact, that he tries each new time to do something a little more difficult than he tried to do last time. Such an ideal of workmanship, if it is to be something more than an isolated event, can only be the product of a sense of vocation and responsibility that reflect a sustaining sort of education and support by a larger community.

What, then, are the pressures in the United States today that seem to be moving our youth away from intellectuality? I would repeat that I have no idea whether the present younger generation is a good generation or a bad one. The question itself strikes me as not simply a presumptuous question but a foolish one. But I do suspect that this generation is subjected to pressures—as other generations in different ways have been before—that do make intellectuality a little harder to come by than it ought to be.

First of all, there are some very old pressures on the American scene. One of these is the deeprooted preference for manual and physical skills rather than verbal skills. The ability to solve problems intelligently can be very high among people who don't have the habit of talking, and who even distrust talk and "theory." Nevertheless, there has been a traditional tendency in the United States to look upon the "theorizer" as a refugee from reality and to think of the man who speaks or writes too well as a kind of snob. We have put up all sorts of cues and symbols that tell our young people that there is something odd and suspicious about intellectuality. The pressure, indeed, is not only general but specific. To become an intellectual one must learn the value of words. Yet I regularly meet students whose education seems to have left them with the belief that words are merely rough indicators, like grunts or blushes, of an inner state of mind, and that it shows an unmannerly arrogance to speak or write one's thoughts in full sentences composed of carefully chosen words. This, I think, is one sort of pressure against intellectuality, and the reasons for it are deeply rooted in our history. Another and connected pressure arises from the characteristic concern in the United States with quick results. The man who can get things done, the fellow who meets a payroll, has received our ultimate respect. And this, too, leads us to neglect intellectuality.

Indeed, there is also a certain hostility toward intellectuality. The phenomenon known as "American anti-intellectualism" is a complex one which it is difficult to discuss in black-and-white terms. America by no means invented anti-intellectualism and certainly doesn't monopolize this attitude. Anti-intellectualism has reared its head in countries with ancient traditions of respect for the intellectual. In a material sense, furthermore, we treat our intellectuals as well or better than most other countries. Indeed, we often expect wonders from education, and lean on the words of intellectuals with an almost pathetic abandon. And yet Americans, who distrust "elites," seem frequently to regard intellectuals as the most dangerous "elite" of all. The impact on our younger citizens is reasonably evident.

Finally, there is another old pressure against intellectuality which I cannot forebear mentioning to this audience. The United States, as many observers have noted, has a more pronounced religious atmosphere than do many other liberal democracies. And religious leaders and clergymen do exert a pressure against intellectuality, sometimes intentionally, sometimes unintentionally. I have something rather simple in mind. I have noticed again and again, when questions about God, freedom, immortality, democracy, the good—any of the questions a philosopher likes to ask—are raised, that many clergymen leap, instantaneously and ferociously, to the defense of their established positions. They don't really seem to enjoy the free play of the mind. Now clergymen, as this audience doesn't need to be told, are respected in America. They are held up to the young as exemplars of desirable virtues. Yet I can't help but think it a desirable virtue in a man that he should enjoy the free play of the mind and should even be willing to allow ideas he abhors to be part of that play. Yet many of the representatives of organized religion, by their words and actions, seem to suggest that the play of the mind has something dangerous, wrong, and sinful about it, that some positions had better not be examined and that some beliefs are so dangerous that we cannot risk seeing whether they might just the same be true. If the young are to acquire respect for intellectuality, they need to see that respect exhibited by those they have been taught to admire. I am

afraid that a great many of their clergymen do not help them in this respect.

But now let me talk about more recent pressures in American life that also seem to me to be working against intellectuality. The first is the form that leisure now takes in the lives of young people and, indeed, in the lives of adults as well. To a very considerable extent, leisure is becoming a predigested and prepackaged commodity. Our relationship to what we enjoy is largely a passive relationship. When a man is engaged in old-fashioned sorts of leisure-time activity, such as reading a book, he is working, putting out energy, attention, and imagination. It is fun, but it is also work, and a kind of work in which a man is on his own. He has to order his own thoughts, determine his own impressions, come to his own judgments. In contrast, television or the movies, I cannot help but think, have a certain hypnotic and narcotic quality. A man can take them lying down. And so the active, resisting attitudes of mind which are indispensable to the creation of intellectuality die from lack of exercise.

Moreover, there is a tendency in American life, both inside our schools and outside our schools, to try to make things speciously easy, to try to get people's attention by diverting them with goodies. In a sense, we have reversed the traditional fallacy in our schools but are still persisting in the same fundamental mistake. During the nineteenth century there was a tendency to assume that reading, writing, and arithmetic were so deadly dull that unless you subjected the child to a military discipline he would not do his work. Now, having become much more humane, we have turned the page over. We think these subjects are so deadly dull that we've got to lure the child into learning by surrounding the process with agreeable distractions. A straightforward attitude toward the nature of intellectual work would seem to me to be preferable, and, indeed, much more realistic. And it would exemplify a general moral attitude—that the intellectual life is a discipline, and an arduous one, and that it is all the more rewarding precisely because it is.

With regard to our schools, I have another complaint as well. Most of the things that are said about the pernicious influence of John

Dewey on American education are very unjust. I think the case can be successfully made that Dewey was trying to make our schools more serious rather than less serious. His emphasis on learning by doing was an emphasis on learning by actively working at a problem. His concern with the practical was a concern with making our thinking more responsible by making it come to terms with definite issues. But in the American environment it has been very easy to misinterpret him—and Dewey, I think, occasionally misinterpreted himself. Before Dewey's time and since there has been a characteristic emphasis on the narrowly practical purposes of schooling which makes it hard for children to understand the intellectual purposes of their education. I don't think that the joys of mathematics have been communicated to a student when that student is reminded, as my own children have been, that it is good to study arithmetic because it will prevent them from being cheated when they grow up and go marketing.

It is not only the school, however, that is a party to this prearranging and prepackaging of the child's interests, this gentle way of collaring and cutting off his own self-propelled curiosities. There have been certain changes in family life over the past twenty or thirty years, it seems to me, which may also be making intellectuality a little bit more difficult. We still have, of course, the unconcerned family, the family that doesn't care. But we also have the overly-concerned and overly-organized family, the family that works out a schedule of tasks their children have to accomplish: the child has to learn to play an instrument, horse-back riding will be a good hobby, and, of course, he simply has to get his two hours of "socialized activity" every day. And all this goodwill and eager energy can evoke unhappy responses in the child. He can be a good child, and perform his assigned schedule of tasks. He may then be kept so busy that he never discovers himself, and so organized that he never has a chance to do what an intellectual must do—discover his own problems, work up his own head of steam, organize his own work. Or else the child may revolt against all the high ideals that are put before him, and simply decide that achievement and excellence are for others but not for him. It is a delicate and difficult task to draw the

line between a discipline and a drill. But this is what parents have to do.

Yet all these reasons for the difficulties which the nurturing of intellectuality encounters are, I suspect, subsidiary reasons. Above and beyond them there is the massive pressure of certain large social and historical circumstances. The first of these—and it is too bad to have to say so—may well be our prosperity. Is it possible that the young college student who knows that he will have a job, and knows what that job will be, does not have the same provocation to ask the radical questions which most of those who have been intellectuals have asked when they were young? I do not regret our prosperity, and I think its consequences for the education of the young are on the beneficial side. Nevertheless, I suspect that our present economic well-being is likely to produce fewer free thinking and free wheeling intellectuals among the young than did our economic troubles thirty years ago. Moreover, our prosperity is tinged with despair and surrounded by a kind of heavy fatalism. Our young people know that it is the prosperity of a happy island in the middle of stormy seas; they are aware of the perils under which they live and of the violence and threats of terror by which their security is being maintained. In many respects, the problems they face seem less manageable and less hopeful than the problems the Depression generation faced. I do not know, but I suspect that this may also discourage intellectual adventurousness, and lead bright young men and women to put their minds to purely technical problems and to short-range, practical problems. It may well be, too, that our drunken bout with the bogeyman of "subversion" in the early fifties has given the present college generation a hangover. Certainly, some of my students report to me that they think caution a virtue.

A second great circumstance that affects the contemporary intellectual climate is the increasing bureaucratization of our society. We live in a world in which an increasing number of tasks are performed by coordinated groups of men—by what we in America, in our sporting way, call "teams." I think that this kind of collective activity is with us to stay, and it has already become a conspicuous part of the scientific scene. I also think that the denunciations of this

state of affairs which have become so fashionable are in many respects unwarranted. Yet it is true that the ability to organize a team or to work with a team is an increasingly more important ability in our society, and this does raise an important issue. For it has been true, by and large, that the men who have made the greatest intellectual contributions in the history of mankind have been stubborn, irascible, quarrelsome, and not infrequently tactless fellows whose ability to get along with others was not their strong point. Moreover, most of the really high achievements of the intellectual life have been made in the past only by men who worked alone. The problem of finding and encouraging individual and individualistic talent, and of providing it with the conditions in which it can work, is one of our most pressing problems.

Last but not least, we may be said to be suffering, I think, not from a scarcity of intellectuals but from a surplus. Traditionally speaking, the Western intellectual was a man who joined specialized competence in a particular field with a general interest in abstractions and ideas. He was a lawyer, doctor, a member of the learned professions. In the traditional cultures of Europe perhaps five per cent of the population were intellectuals as so defined. The other ninety-five per cent were hewers of wood and drawers of water, and it never entered their minds to pretend to intellectuality. Now, however, in our increasingly prosperous middle class society, where we communicate so many ideas so rapidly and so far, an extraordinary proportion of the population lives, if not in the intellectual central city, then in the intellectual suburbs. The *Saturday Evening Post* runs series on adventures of the mind; the *Reader's Digest* tries to explain the intricacies of statistics when it discusses the relation between cigarette smoking and cancer; and Freud's name is likely to be dropped into conversations not only on university campuses but at the grocery store, a baseball game, or a night club.

Once more, it seems to me senseless, and almost certainly unthoughtful, to rail against the rise of this so-called "middle brow" culture. There is no reason, so far as I can see, why the diffusion of intellectual interests guarantees that all intellectual standards will become soft. Yet there is unquestionably the danger that large numbers

of people will confuse the simulacrum of intellect with reality, and that a certain number of intellectuals will allow their own sense of intellectual workmanship to be corrupted. At one extreme, they can become panders to the untutored popular taste; at the other extreme, they can retreat into exoticism, cultism, and obscurity, confusing the privacy of their language and the frivolity of their interests with independence of thought. I do not quite know how this problem can be met; or perhaps it would be better to say that it is a problem with which our democratic culture will always have to wrestle.

But if this is the case, one point, I think, is clear. Intellectuals themselves have a task to perform. If they care about intellectual standards, if they wish to preserve the intellectual heritage whose trustees they are, they must carry those standards and that heritage into the public arena. A certain disengagement is necessary to the intellectual life; but this is not the same thing as the practice of intellectual isolationism—and that practice may have something to do with the emergence of our fears about the future of intellectuality. It is a product of those fears, but it is also a cause. If our intellectuals have vitality, however, if they are prepared to speak intelligibly and responsibly about the problems that concern their fellows, they can do something to make intellectual standards firmer, more vivid, and more contagious than they now are. It is odd indeed to assume that the diffusion of intellectual interests can only mean the cheapening of intellectual values. It can also be an unprecedented opportunity for intellectuals. If they fail to make the most of it they will have failed both their heritage and their times.

VI

ON YOUTH AND CONFORMITY

BY

WALTER P. METZGER

It is generally assumed that the pressures on youth to conform are particularly powerful in America. Social critics who agree on little else are likely to agree on that. This view unites the Mourner for the Lost Tycoon, who links the advent of organization man to the development of peer-grouped children, and the Partisans of the Old-Time School, who charge our mental inadequacies to the levelling effects of progressive teaching. It enters into the neoconservative's belief that youth is too much governed by the present, and the existentialist's belief that youth is too much governed by the past. And it especially appeals to those who were young in the 1930s, when youth rebelled for a cause. Recalling their own angry Spring, the products of the thirties find the sapling generation of the fifties strangely reconciled and quiet, wanting in animation, prematurely mature. They call it the "silent generation," dismissing the clamor of the beatniks and the tumult of the gang as the noises of desperation. Starting, then, from different points, social critics come to a consensus. They agree that for youth of this time and place, the time is out of joint, the place profoundly uncongenial. The word they use to describe the trouble is a protean word—conformity.

In taking issue with the complaint, I do not question the value of complaining. It is good to cudgel the young, else how should we ever improve our handwork? Nor do I doubt that there are grounds for grave concern. I think middle class American youth *has* made terms with the world and that the entente is not very good for either. But I object to the word "conformity" when it is used without restraint. Of course "conformity" may no longer be a word, but merely

an ejaculation induced by the sight of anyone doing anything that offends us. Perhaps it conveys no more sense than a sigh or a caterwaul of pain. But I think that the reverse is true: that the word, after too much use, has become burdened with all too many meanings. Here it means standardized tastes, and there it means unreflective thinking; here the absence of social innovation, and there the presence of conservative ideology. It can refer to a variety of flaws in the national character, from a feckless regard for group approval to a passive acceptance of parental norms. Used carelessly, the word impedes our understanding of the problem it alludes to; and we can mask our failure to agree on the nature of the problem with a spurious agreement on the word. A good working definition is, therefore, of the first importance.

The definition I would offer relies on the metaphor of the theater. Shakespeare touched on sociology when he wrote that all the world's a stage and all of us are actors on it, and each man in his time plays many parts. Societies also achieve their goals by means of dramatic presentations. For instance, our society's interest in health is largely fulfilled by the playing of two institutionalized roles—the roles of the doctor and the patient. Authority must adhere in the one role, respect and dependence in the other. To sustain these characterizations, certain typical stagings are evolved. As Americans usually set the play, there is a front stage—the doctor's waiting room—where the patient must expectantly bide his time; a back stage—the kitchen-bedroom—where the doctor in concealment may prepare; an inner stage—the consulting room—which is at first concealed and then at the climax revealed. To enhance the desired effect, a minor character—the nurse—betokens by her presence her patron's virtue and prestige. As the action proceeds, the doctor, immaculate in white, enters dramatically from the wings; while he keeps his sartorial façade and his impressive sense of self, the patient, who disrobes, gradually surrenders his.

This is a common bit of theater, to which examples without number can be added, not only from the adult sphere, but from the sphere of the child as well. The tyro plays his parts no less than the finished performer. Wherever we look—whether in the primal plays

of the family, where the child learns the limits of demand and the rewards of social interaction; or in the spectacle of organized games, where the child learns to act with a team and to respond to its complicated cueings; or in the sentimental comedy called "dating," where different Thespian talents are displayed—the process of socialization, which is to say, the process of dramatization, is continually going on.

These are illustrations of one part of a definition: to conform is to enact the social roles that reflect a vital social concern and that attach to one's social positions, these being set in the main by age, sex, class, and occupation. Conformity, so conceived, is nothing uncommon or exclusive; it is the price we pay for society. Everywhere, youth habitually conforms.

There are, of course, differences among societies, and these should not be obscured. In each society, youth is accorded some discretion to choose and interpret their roles. In those societies where youth conforms the most, their range of choice is narrow, their final roles are quickly cast, their scripts must be followed closely. Rated by such criteria, what sort of societies should be placed at the extreme on a scale of conformity? The answer is: highly traditional societies, where children must imitate their elders and learn their roles by example; highly stratified societies, where roles are fixed at birth; highly formalized societies, where etiquette governs social actions; chronically poor societies, where youth must become self-supporting at a very early age. In short, the most conformist societies would be those most opposite to our own.

Consider how relatively free the actors are in our own society. Turning, first, to the area of occupation, we can see that our youth are constantly assuming roles that are foreign to the parental repertoire. Because our society creates ever more specialized functions, which in turn create ever more novel occupations, the effective range of choice is constantly being extended. Moreover, the bureaucratization of our economy, which is one of its major characteristics and sometimes considered one of its major faults, makes ascent within most occupations dependent on promotion within office, and office, as opposed to property, cannot be hoarded or easily passed on. In addition, nowhere else do the young defer for so long their ultimate

choice of career. A universal college education, expected in this country very soon, may well become a monument to procrastination. While it is true that careers, in the modern age, demand increasingly long training in school, the liberal arts college, with its emphasis on general learning, effectively delays the moment of final vocational choice.

Similarly, there is great confusion and indeterminateness in the social roles based on age. Perhaps because of our immigration experience, which imposed on the second-generation child, even while he was a child, the task of instructing adults, we lack a clear understanding, in adult-child communication, of what the respective parts call for. Again, the child role itself is ambiguous: we think that our children should be good, and also that they should have fun, and even our pediatric oracles are caught in these conflicting imperatives. Nor do we mark the supersession of roles with a clarifying rite of passage: our young must navigate to adulthood without the benefit of fixed stars.

Finally, there is a lack of definition in our sex roles. In contrast to many other societies, we distribute the privileges and responsibilities of children in the family usually on the basis of age rather than on the basis of sex. We provide rather little segregation of experience: formal education for both sexes is in most ways alike; boys and girls in America even may have similar play interests. (In this connection it is interesting to recall Talcott Parsons' observation that the youth movement in Germany was founded entirely on the comradeship of males, while the youth group in this country by contrast is generally bisexual. Perhaps this accounts for the latter's interest in developing social skills at the expense of more serious occupations.) Here, too, there is less restriction of role.

Freedom does not always have happy consequences. The dependent-independent adolescent plays a very difficult part, as charged with tension and confusion as it is rich in varied possibilities. The child who does not know his destination may enjoy the thrill of adventure, but he may also feel some of the terror that goes with venturing into the unknown. There is also reason to believe that the role-confusions

of this society lead to character ambiguities, to a lack of self-identity, for we internalize the roles we play and are very much the creatures of our roles. Some might use these facts to prove the existence of conformity—the uncertain self, they would say, can never truly be sovereign. I think these facts prove the contrary—the complete, the unequivocal ego is not, from a histrionic view, free. If we do not know quite who we are, it is because we are products of a social theater that stresses latitude of interpretation, ambiguity of stage directions, and very little casting by type.

But this is only part of the problem of social conformity in America. There is more to be said about our social theater, and a good deal that is not so complimentary. So far what I have been discussing might be called the “regular roles”—that is, roles that go with social position and are, in that sense, inescapable. But there are other kinds of social roles, roles that are entirely optional, marginal to everyday concerns, and played only if one is willing. These may be called “irregular roles.” Included within this category are the roles of rebel and reformer, advocate and crusader, critic of the *status quo*. It is with respect to roles of this type, that we encounter the familiar charge that American youth today is politically apathetic and quiescent.

The charge seems to have a good deal of truth. American young people do not hesitate to say that they find irregular roles unappealing. For example, when college students from all over the world were asked to name the activities from which they expected to derive the greatest satisfactions later in life, American students stressed three: family, occupation, and the enjoyable uses of leisure. Rarely did they mention public service or participation in civic affairs. Only the French students mentioned the public spheres less often than the Americans. American students generally indicate that though they believe in the democratic process they hardly expect or wish to run it; that when they contemplate the need for social betterment they are likely to conceive a program purely in terms of self-improvement. Moreover, we have reason to believe that these privatistic pulls are stronger today than they ever were, although de Tocqueville and

Bryce described rather similar tendencies. We may regard this voluntary limiting of the repertoire as one sign of increasing conformity.

But the matter does not end here. If we pursue our dramatic imagery further, we can see that rebellion, deviation, dissension are essentially social acts, not acts of isolated individuals. American mythology does not agree with this. In the prototypical American myth, when the adolescent rebels, he breaks away from society and thus restores himself to himself. In the classic statement of the myth, Huck Finn leaves the Widow Douglass (symbol of the adult's choking kindness) to embark upon a journey on a raft (his uninvadable island, his insular "turf," his "pad"). Unlike Jim, who is an outcast but not a rebel, Huck wants to float down the river of life without any clearcut destination. Once in a while, he touches on the shore (*i.e.*, society) but when he does he assumes a false identity, to prevent any lasting re-engagement. The story reaches our hearts, but does not describe social reality. There never was a time when a boy was nature's king, or when rebellion was innocent or autonomous. Rebellion does not take place on the river, but only on the shore; the platform of rebellion is not a raft but a stage.

Another kind of story might serve to illustrate this point. The one that I shall tell has to do with the failure of a young man to sustain an irregular role. It is in no sense a sensational story, nor is it born of the poignant wish, but it has the merit of truth and suggests an interesting moral.

Some time ago, one of my students wrote a paper on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. It was an impassioned but well documented defense of the accused. Shortly after writing the paper, the student learned that the Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts State Legislature was about to hold hearings on a resolution calling for the posthumous pardoning of Sacco and Vanzetti. Among those scheduled to testify were some of the original champions of the two anarchists: Morris Ernst, Gardner Jackson, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Judge Michael Musmanno of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. My student conceived the idea of going to the hearings himself and of offering his own testimony—obviously not as one who had fought the good

fight and now sought a tardy vindication, but as one who had examined the evidence and had reached a disinterested conclusion. Would I help him to get an invitation from the Chairman of the Committee, he asked. I said I would. At my urging, the Chairman consented to put the student on the program.

At the trial, the enemies of Sacco and Vanzetti were also out in force; some were members of the Committee. Old recriminations momentarily transported Boston back to the days of the first trial. My student discovered that, though passions were still as high as they had ever been, memories had started to fade. His research enabled him to correct the witnesses and play a part in managing the defense. At the end of the day, he was called upon to testify. As was to be expected, the Committee voted down the resolution. But the student scored a personal triumph. He was breathless with excitement—and much justifiable pride—when he came back to report on what had happened.

Some weeks later, the student came to me again. The newspaper accounts of the hearing had brought his name to the attention of a group which asked him to address one of their meetings. He had never heard of the group, and neither had I. He wondered whether it might have Communist connections, or whether it might at some future time be placed on the Attorney General's list. He wondered whether it was wise to give more time to something extraneous to his school work: he felt that he needed to improve his grades in order to get into a first class law school. He asked for my advice. I replied that it was not up to me to give the answer. I pointed out that many factors had to be weighed—the necessities of his career, the strength of his commitment to the cause, the possibility of adverse repercussions—but that only he could strike the final balance. After some reflection he decided not to accept this or any further invitations, and to settle down to academic work.

We must not claim too much for our anecdotes. One boy does not represent a population, one episode is not a history of our times. Still, there is a lesson in this tale. I think we can see, even from this one example, that the playing of irregular roles requires certain appurtenances if it is to be sustained. To revert to theatrical language,

it requires a certain sympathy for the part, a motive for going on the stage, a receptive and respectable audience, a license from official sources, and an adroit and ready prompter. Some of these elements were missing: the result was the lapsing of the role.

Let us consider these factors one by one. First, the sympathy for the part. This was certainly present. The young man was genuinely moved by what he regarded as a case of injustice. Nor was his an unusual passion. Though it is largely the great and the successful who are presented as heroes to the young, the martyred and down-trodden still manage to stir their imagination. Can the reason for this appeal be that, when all is said and done, parents—even modern progressive parents—still frustrate, punish, and deny; that youngsters—even privileged American youngsters—still feel as a result that they have been put upon; and that this keeps large their capacity for identifying with the abused?

Second, the motive. My student wanted to exploit his knowledge, but he also wanted to exploit himself. Had he not desired self-promotion, it is doubtful that he would have sought this larger stage. I do not say this disparagingly: to play irregular roles—indeed to do any good work in the theater—one must be exhibitionist. The question that follows, however, is why did he take the one chance to strut and refuse to take the other. The answer may be found in the third factor, the audience.

This student was obviously concerned about the quality of the two audiences. He knew that those who pleaded for Vanzetti were not only civil libertarians, but men of standing in the community. He had no such assurances about the membership of the group that invited him to address it subsequently. The moral may be put as follows: youth may not always insist that a role will be a popular hit, but it wants very much to be assured that it will be a *succès d'estime*. And the audience which it most prefers will be composed of adults. We must not underestimate the need of the young to court the favor of their elders. Even acts performed in a peer group setting, and seemingly for the plaudits of that group, may actually be meant for adult watchers. The young, we may conclude, will play irregular roles if adults whom they respect will only come and cheer them.

Alas, the difference between the thirties and the fifties is that now it is harder to fill the house.

Fourth, the license. This student wanted some assurance that the play would have official sanction. The hearing had unimpeachable credentials—it was sanctioned by the state itself. But the franchise of the second group was doubtful, and might be withdrawn at a future date with retroactive consequences. The evil of the McCarthy era thus survives: it taught and still teaches our young that every play must have a permit, and that performances may be judged on the basis of the play's legitimacy.

Still, my student might have taken the risk had he been helped at the crucial juncture by the prompter. For this was the role in which he cast me, and this was the role I had to play. Why did I choose to be—the suggestive word is, “nondirective”? Was it because I wanted to teach him self-reliance? Or was I moved by something else: my own unsettled judgment as to the merits of the legal case (Were Sacco and Vanzetti innocent? How can one be sure?) or by abhorrence of liberal piety (Sacco and Vanzetti were such worn clichés to me), or my distrust of this boy's romantic gestures (wasn't getting ahead the reality, speeches and causes an escape?). Or did I simply wish to be disburdened of the necessity of making choices, of being my student's keeper? It is not easy for me to reconstruct my motives; possibly all these motives were involved. The result, at any rate, is clear: I failed to give my student the cue. From this, too, we may take a lesson: the young will not persist in these roles if, when they seek guidance from the prompter, they find he has strayed from the wings.

One word, to close the metaphor. It is a common practice of theatrical critics, when they discourse on the defects of the current stage, to blame them on the surrounding culture. Social critics do this, too. The political quietude of the young is attributed, among other things, to the lulling effects of prosperity, to the influence of the commercial media, to the worrisome and sometimes disabling knowledge that the world is on the brink. No one can doubt that social contexts are important. But I would caution against blaming the *geist* for that which is within our power to control. Even in these parlous times,

the Broadway theater, the theater proper, manages sometimes to produce a play with exceptional opportunities for the actors. So, too, may our social theater, in behalf of its neophyte players, if adults would consent to be the backers, the audience, and a source of cues.

VII

URBANIZATION

BY

MARK A. McCLOSKEY

My assignment is the dilemmas of contemporary youth: the dilemma being what the Scots called a "Haffin," half boy and half man, and that dilemma in our time and place.

Recently I was asked to talk about "Panaceas for Delinquency," and being a non-believer in panaceas, I had a hard time. By the nature of my inheritance, I am up one day and down the next. It was one of my "down days" and I rejected belligerently the single answers held by many good people to the problems of youth and problems of society. When I read the newspaper the next morning I discovered my own delinquency and telephone calls aggravated by misery. "Why on earth have you alienated everybody, the public, the social workers, the educators and the psychiatrists, the religious teachers, all down the line?" What I wanted to do was to reject panaceas, not works or professions. I never got to what I wanted most to do; that was to call for the assembled effort, to point out that we were all involved and that the combined labor and the combined operation of people is one of the best ways to serve young people and ourselves. No one, and no one group can be left out of the talk of constant changing and reordering our institutions on behalf of humans, and particularly young humans.

Let me go back, for perspective, to my remembrances of life on the Chelsea waterfront where I spent all of my childhood and youth, and the first twenty years of my apprenticeship as a social worker.

Tenement houses jammed together near the waterfront, rat and roach infested, cat and dog odored, badly lit, badly ventilated, foul sanitation and fire traps. Trains grinding along Death Avenue.

Roofs and backyards were to dry clothes, fly pigeons, and provide a place for the inherent need for games of chase. One-man bands and yard singers provided small entertainment to a neighborhood that had the rhythm of life but little of the melody or harmony of good living.

The coal, milk, and vegetable yards, the slaughter and warehouses, were anonymous stores from which the adventurous and needy could meet their needs: North River, where we learned to swim and to pilfer from the ships and scows tied up at the piers. The family doctor was poorly paid and often unpaid. There was little faith in and much fear of Bellevue. There was prevalent the myth of the black bottle that kept patients from lingering too long. Milk stations with their pasteurized milk were slow in coming and the neighborhood clinics were shabby. St. Mary's Hospital was a fine haven for sick children. There were "soup" schools and "diet" kitchens. The former carried shame and the latter doused the pride of the woman who had learned to make food "go a long way." Money for injured men and their families was gotten by raffling off turkeys. The local political clubs provided occasional aid of various kinds and wealthy parishes opened up neighborhood clubs and missions. Case work was just beginning and the private welfare agencies gave small amounts of money after much investigation and others gave more and cut it off earlier. The skillful and persistent needy knew their story and their way from one agency to another, but their pickings were meager at best and the stigma was obvious. It was far better to help yourself on the waterfront from the great and impersonal depositories and warehouses. Those boys who were hustlers were counted good when they got supplementary aid at the coal yards, the milk depots and the bread wagons. The produce yards were for plucking and picking over partially damaged potatoes and onions. Bread and pie wagons were legitimate prey.

The street trades, shoe shining, errands, newspaper hawking, and odd jobs helped out but there was always a wait "until he got his diploma." After seven years of schooling the certificate was the equivalent of working papers, and diploma in hand, the young ones

fanned out to the labor market. The ads asked for strong, willing boys. Few went to High School. The schools of Chelsea were all prewar; no play yards but yard toilets. Much of the school work was drill and unexciting. Teachers were fair game, but all of them were sensitive to the rough road that the pupils had traveled, and the teachers visited the homes of the troubled and troublesome children.

Play was sidewalk and street games, but adventure was in the chase games over the roofs, through the cellars, over the backyards, and off the piers in the summer. The cops, janitors, and storekeepers were the pursuers. Those who hung out together bunched up for the often delirious excitement of chasing other neighborhood gangs. These little groups met in cellars, on roofs, in empty rooms or in the corner of a stable. After one went to work, he could and usually did, join what was called a "cellar club" by social workers. There were gang fights, some between different nationality groups, but often one end of the street against the other. Small battles were waged on each avenue, on the way to school and again on the way home. The smaller ones carried the books, the older ones used their fists. Roofs were ramparts from which to throw anything from stones to bottles. There were few knife jobs; guns were easy to get and were used by older, closely organized gangs. There seemed to be less vandalism, just as much conflict and more thievery. Social study and statistics seemed to be in their infancy.

Looking back in that dark abyss, I am amazed that so many children grew to decency and that so few were personally scarred. Survival alone was a struggle. The social advances have been uneven, but the rot was stopped. Across the street from "Bed Bug Row" the hospital flats were built with outside stairs and fireproof balconies. Small housing enterprises were undertaken, such as Hudson Guild's limited dividend "model" flats. After years of struggle, legislative bodies were rewarded by gains in sanitation and fireproofing. In 1934, New York City Housing Authority started what has become the second largest municipal housing enterprise in the world. The women who followed homemaking as a profession be-

gan to get a proper place to do their job, but the decay of old houses and the increase in population still outrun the public provision of housing.

The road was rough and there was little or no beauty alongside the road children had to travel. There were few buildings in Chelsea that could lay claim to beauty or dignity. The General Seminary, a few churches, some old private houses, and the National Biscuit Company's glistening generators provided a smidgeon of beauty. The ocean liners lashed to their piers were lordly wives of men of war but the barges and scows along the river were smelly and unlovely craft. The odors were chocolate and tobacco, brewery and slaughter house compounded. The tenements had their own noxious blend in the plaster, woodwork, and corners of the hall. It was ugly, ugly! To look west, however, from the piers upon the broad, living, moving North River, provided a bit of beauty, particularly at night when darkness shrouded the ugliness and the tugs and liners with their lanterns and colored running lights, were like grace notes to the full-throated blasts of the liners "sailing at midnight." A Chelsea child could lay awake dreaming of going away someday aboard one of those liners.

The art, music, and drama classes of the Settlement and the programs of the Church and Mission branches were small islands in a sea of mediocre dreariness. When Chelsea Park was built, the Settlement's Spring pageants with large singing and dancing groups in gaily colored costumes brought together units from most of the schools and other groups of the neighborhood.

Best aid of all, the fresh air "camps and farms" gave a temporary experience of natural beauty, the shape of trees and hills, the smell and sight of grass and growing things. The host of tenement children who came to Camp Felicia, in the twenty summers our family "ran" the camp, made me understand how hungry children were for natural, as well as manmade beauty and how cruel it is to starve them of it. If the love of beauty goes undernourished in youth, it may go unfulfilled for life. If it is cultivated when children are sensitive to all of their surroundings, one cannot measure, one can only sense, the subtle civilizing effect and believe that it will be a

long-lasting defense against the damage wrought by ugliness.

The Settlement where I served my apprenticeship was a battling institution. It worked with the neighbors, step by step, for the demolition of a block of foul tenements to make room for a public park (mostly concrete with few trees). The Settlement's gymnasium was crowded with neighbors who chanted "we want a bath" and the public bath came, complete with swimming pool and gymnasium, the first public gymnasium in Chelsea. The struggle for a health station took longer and Elliott Houses longer still. The Settlement and its neighbors worked for woman suffrage and the whole range of social legislation to bolster an uneven economy and to make up for the vicissitudes of slum life. The cultural and educational enterprises of the Settlement were yeasty encouragement to the arts and learning. It provided a library and a dental clinic, at the same time forwarding the movement for dental examinations in schools. Each new wave of immigrants was helped to learn our common language and get knowledge of our institutions.

Scales of value change from place to place and time to time with individuals, families, and institutions. Currently segments of government, industry, and commerce are busy setting up "codes of ethics." Youth also has to go through the business of code building. It is a slow process and it takes time to arrive at rules acceptable to their elders, and like their elders, it is harder to abide by new rules than it is to make them.

All of the Settlement's enterprises and the other neighborhood undertakings were helping to set rules and to set values. They worked with the homes, schools, and churches in their stand for decency in relation to each other, to property, and to legal institutions.

To the dwellers in Chelsea had come a body of people, a few professionals and many volunteers who worked with more or less organization but with much warmth and desire. By today's standards, the job was imperfectly "structured," but the program was based on people working directly with people. I want here to escape from words like dedication and consecration, and plump for people who "bother" about people. Young people, particularly,

have the most need and are the most difficult to "bother" with. I do not frown upon my fellow professional social workers, but I set great store by worriers—those who carry on the hand to hand, face to face struggle with the young over a long haul. I respect the importance of organization, of research and training, but I insist upon the primacy of those who "bother" and hold fast to the child who needs warm help and strength.

There has been much talk about national purpose. It has been defined variously, and some declare it can't be defined. Those who "bother" with youth in schools and out, have to help them find purpose and motivation. Thinking is harder than physical labor, and to be free in the search for truth, to pursue knowledge, to discover and discipline talents, to work off a debt to one's country and the human race, to establish a decent scale of values, to establish identity and assume responsibility in our society, are difficult tasks. I believe they can best be gotten by contagion and example rather than by talking and preaching. Youth can be challenged by hardship and labor more than it can by lush living.

The step by step piecemeal progress over long years is too expensive. I hope that urban renewal and redevelopment plans will provide for the necessary safer streets, libraries, health stations, neighborhood schools, and public welfare facilities. Concomitant with the physical planning must go planning for social services. It would be well to have at the heart of every neighborhood a multiple store of services, where any and all families could get, not only the supportive service necessary for decent living in congested neighborhoods, but the advice and counselling so readily accessible and purchasable in better-advantaged neighborhoods. Parents should be able to go for help of all kinds as readily as they go to a central market area and they should be able to go uninhibited, confident that they will not be possessed by fear, or passed along from one agency to another.

All neighborhoods have their share of "stumblers," mixed up and disturbed young people. The help they need to get through the vestibule of adolescence should be accessible, with removal from the community only as a last resort. We need badly to pull together

the neighborly nonprofessional help which can be summoned to mutual support in all fields. It is hoped, too, that professionals will likewise be moved to maintain residence nearer to the people for whom they work. One would like to know that there would be no "closed cases."

I hope that we could develop a "pride of place." The names of our neighborhoods need not be labels of despair or fear. The shift from neighborhood decay to all-around neighborhood development might well help to stabilize values, reduce neighborhood conflict, promote mutual aid, and diminish rootlessness. By "pride of place" we might encourage settling down rather than migrating constantly from one neighborhood to another.

The social advances since the turn of the century, through depressions and great wars, are to me a source of encouragement. Causes I once thought were lost, have been won. The Cassandras don't win. To those with great faith and a great conception of the possibilities of civilized life in a metropolis, there are an infinite variety of ways to work to bring us nearer to the "New Jerusalem." The problems are challenging and varied enough to rally workers with faith; those who believe in the young strangers who are always coming, coming, coming—and to work with them with all their might. I do not subscribe to easy generalizations about young people. I subscribe to the delight of living and working with them as they face a "sea of trouble" in a time when their responsible elders have an even greater tempest to brave.

Looking back over the road we have come, I know we can go ahead with confidence in our youth, ourselves, and in our fundamental institutions.

VIII

THE ARMED SERVICES—MIRROR OF AMERICAN YOUTH

BY

ELI GINZBERG

Introduction

During the past decade the Conservation of Human Resources Project at Columbia University has had an unique opportunity to study the performance of large numbers of men who served in the Army during World War II. The major findings of these research investigations are contained in *The Uneducated* (1953), *The Negro Potential* (1956), and *The Ineffective Soldier: Lessons for Management and the Nation*, three volumes (1959), all published by the Columbia University Press.

During this period it has been my good fortune to serve as Consultant for Manpower and Personnel to the Secretary of the Army and from this vantage point I have been able to learn considerable about the present generation of young men as reflected in their performance in the Army during and since the Korean hostilities.¹

During the past two decades, except for a period of eighteen months in the late 1940s, young men in the United States have had to undergo a period of compulsory military service. Since 1940 more than 20,000,000 young men have served on active duty. This represents a significant segment of the total male population in the younger and middle age groups. A recent study by the Department of Defense revealed that approximately seventy per cent of all young men reaching twenty-six have had some military service.

¹ Because I am a Consultant to the Army, it is important to emphasize that the interpretation which follows is my own and does not necessarily reflect the official position of the Army.

Some time ago I calculated that the young men who served during World War II spent more time, on the average, in the Armed Services than in high school.

Clearly the availability of the detailed military personnel records represents a valuable resource for the systematic study of the lives and performance of the nation's young men. Unfortunately this resource has not yet been exploited.

It has long been the bane of the social scientists that, unlike their confreres in the physical and biological sciences, they are seldom able to study their subjects under laboratory conditions. Yet, as General Eisenhower recognized when he established the Conservation of Human Resources Project at Columbia University, the personnel records of World War II provided an unique research opportunity to study the performance of men under simulated laboratory conditions.

An important caveat must be entered on the findings about American youth set out below. They reflect conditions covering a relatively long span of years. Many of the men who served in World War II were educated in the 1920s (and some even earlier) while the youngsters coming of draft age today were born after the onset of World War II.

We must take care, therefore, to interpret the findings carefully so as to allow for the substantial and rapid changes taking place in the environment in which young people grow up. A single illustration will help to make this clear. Among the men who saw service during World War II were many who grew up in the more isolated areas of the Southeast where the automobile had not yet penetrated. The automobile is used in this context to illustrate the general level of development. Today such regions have all but disappeared.

Key Findings About American Youth

Educational Preparation

Despite the fact that the United States has had one of the oldest and most elaborate systems of public education of any nation in the

world, the experience of the Armed Services underscores the extent to which this system has failed to prepare young persons adequately. In World War II over 700,000 young men were rejected for service because of illiteracy; about 500,000 illiterates were accepted, most of whom were given special literacy training after induction; and another 600,000 were so poorly educated that they were able to make only a small contribution to the Army.

About 18,000,000 men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-seven were screened and about 1,800,000 were found to be severely deficient educationally. Thus, roughly one out of every ten young men was a total or borderline illiterate.

While the results of the selection procedures have shown improvement over the past decade and a half, the current situation still leaves much to be desired. The Army, which has had to continue to use the draft to fill its requirements, was being inundated by such a large number of poorly educated young men that several years ago it had to seek special relief from the Congress in the form of permission to raise its acceptance standards. Since military technology is constantly more complex, a young man who is unable to absorb specialist training because of faulty basic education can contribute little to the services. Even before induction standards were raised the Armed Services found it necessary to reject, primarily because of educational deficiency, more than one out of every four young men from the Southeastern states.

Subcultures

The differentially high rate of rejections from the Southeast—more than six times as great as the region with the lowest rate (North Central States)—underscores a point that is often overlooked: the United States still contains within its continental borders a series of distinct subcultures. As suggested earlier, the automobile and other forces of progress may be rapidly obliterating the distinctive characteristics of isolated and self-contained regions, but more time will have to elapse before the entire nation will appear to be cut from one piece of cloth.

I recall vividly a much decorated sergeant to whom I gave a lift on my way from Washington to Fort Meade during the latter days of World War II. I asked him what he had been doing since his return from the battlefront. He smiled and said that I might not believe him, but that all week he had been teaching boys from the Appalachians how to take showers and use soap!

During the Korean hostilities I visited an induction station in the Southeast where I personally interviewed a considerable number of young men, both white and Negro, who until the night before had never been away from home—who, in fact, had never seen a city of more than 10,000 inhabitants. That they were more than slightly overwhelmed by the operations of the induction station can be easily understood. The remarkable point is not that so many were unfit for military life, but that so many could with a little help and indulgence make the transition from their simple agricultural background to the complex technological Army.

Motivation to Serve

We entered World War II with an Army of young men many of whom, if they thought about military problems at all, had been taught that we had been dragged into World War I by the munitions makers; that Europe was none of our concern; and that war never settled anything. No nation was more poorly prepared ideologically to sacrifice treasure and life on the field of battle. Yet with the pragmatism and resiliency which are among our great strengths, these handicaps were quickly overcome and the great majority of American troops fought with distinction.

We have been told, largely by the Armed Services, that in contrast the Korean record was very poor. A high proportion of the soldiers who were captured revealed major characterological defects. Many have speculated on the causes and the explanations have run the entire gamut for a loss of religious faith to "momism."

But the critics failed to note that whatever shortcomings of American youth were revealed in the prisoner-of-war camps—the major shortcoming was a breakdown in military command—the weaknesses

revealed on the home front were much more serious. We went about our merry way making goods and making money while several hundred thousand young men picked more or less at random fought and died in Korea. The startling fact about Korea is not the minority who succumbed to the blandishments of the Chinese but the much larger numbers who did not, even though they were not receiving support from the folks at home.

This situation is truly confounded. A high proportion of the young men who are called for active duty have little understanding of the position of the United States in world affairs or the role of the Armed Services in the nation's defense. Many of them feel that they are "suckers"; they had the bad luck to be caught up in the draft. They see others who are able to continue in their accustomed ways. The more "fortunate" ones, mainly students, will be married by the time their student deferment expires and many of them will then be deferred because they will be fathers.

Once again, the fault lies less with the youth than with the nation. Despite two wars and a continuous cold war the American people have little interest in or understanding of the political-military problems that confront the country. They are willing to vote funds for defense but their involvement is not deep. Small wonder that many of their children do not view military service as an obligation.

Planning for the Future

The fact that compulsory military service has been an established fact for the past twenty years should have led recent generations of young men to make their occupational and life plans with this in mind. But, for reasons already suggested, as well as for others that grow out of such factors as the widespread belief that jobs will always be available in an affluent society, relatively few young men make their plans so as to take advantage of the time that they will spend in the Armed Services. Many do profit from their experience, but few expect to and still fewer make their plans accordingly. Once again the nation, rather than the youth, is at fault. Neither parents nor school officials are fully aware of the tremendous role that the Armed

Services today play as an educational and training institution. They are, therefore, poorly equipped to help young people dovetail their secondary and collegiate education with their options in the military so that their years on active duty add depth and strength to their development.

In passing it should be emphasized that the training and experience that many men acquire during their military service stands them in good stead on their return to civilian life. Tens of thousands of technicians who hold good jobs in civilian industry received their basic technical training while in uniform.

Maturation

Among the reasons that so many young people give so little thought to what they want to be when they grow up and how their military service might be used to further their plans is the constant attenuation of adolescence. It was pointed out earlier that many young people have never been away from home for even a single night before entering the service. An increasing proportion of all young people remain in school at least until they are eighteen and many others until they are twenty-two. Throughout this long period most of them live at home. In a great many ways they are protected from direct exposure to the realities of a world which contains many different types of people and problems.

While these young people would, from the passage of time itself, mature even if they remained in their home communities, military service helps to catapult them into adulthood. They are forced to meet strict standards. They must assume and discharge specific responsibilities. They must learn to live in close relationships with a great variety of men whose ways of thinking and acting are strange to them.

During the course of their service they will have the opportunity to travel from one part of the country to another; they will in all probability also have an opportunity to serve abroad. All these and other experiences help to mature them. A few may not be able to

cope with the strange and the new but the vast majority will be able to.

Race Relations

It was my good fortune to have been able to play a part in the final desegregation of the Army in the early 1950s and I have remained more or less abreast of developments on this front since that time. I sincerely question whether most people have an awareness of the significance of this lesson in group relations. Young men who grew up in the Deep South, who experienced eighteen or more years of intense indoctrination as to the respective roles and relationships of white and Negro, must, on the day of their entrance into the Armed Services, put aside all that they have been taught and adapt themselves to a new pattern. They must do this during all of the hours of the day and night that they are on the post—when they work, play, eat, sleep, and worship. But on their time off when they go into town they are again exposed to the racial patterns with which they are familiar.

It is my belief, in fact my conviction, that the impact of this experience of living with full integration cannot possibly be lost on the very large numbers of men who have been exposed to it. Admittedly, different men react differently to it, but no man can be unaffected by it.

Some Concluding Observations

The Armed Services have provided a clear mirror of many of the strengths and weaknesses of American youth. They have helped us to see many of the more serious shortcomings in contemporary society as they impinge on the development and education of young people.

Moreover, the services themselves were found to be important among the institutions which shape the young manhood of the nation. Attention was called to the roles that they play in vocational

preparation; in broadening both occupational and geographical horizons; in altering deepseated attitudes and behavior toward racial minorities.

The services make additional contributions. It has long been noted that men who are overweight at induction slim down as a result of military service; and those who are underweight usually gain weight. In point of fact, the Armed Services play an important role in health education. Many men learn about personal hygiene; others are exposed for the first time in their lives to a balanced diet; all of them learn about the contribution that physicians and dentists can make to their well-being. In these, and still other ways, military service contributes to improving the health of the nation.

Up to this point the reflections in the mirror have been clear and sharp. Now, in conclusion, I would like to discuss one that is much less clear, one where only the outlines can be perceived. The details have to be filled in. I want to set forth the proposition that compulsory military service has contributed greatly to making millions of young Americans more aware of the values and virtues of freedom. It is not possible to be subjected to minute control for a period of between two and four years—twenty-four hours in the day, seven days in the week, fifty-two weeks in the year—without becoming aware of the advantages of a society in which the individual can do almost as he likes as long as he does not run into conflict with the law.

In the paradoxical manner of history the Armed Services may be contributing significantly not only to maintaining the security of the United States but also to deepening its appreciation of the nature of freedom.

IX

THE NUCLEAR AGE AND THE COLD WAR

BY

JOHN A. HUTCHISON

I

The dilemma which faced the writer as he prepared this paper was whether first to concentrate upon the perceived or felt dilemmas of youth as these may be observed either personally or with the help of social science, or second to concentrate attention upon the more objective issues of war and peace in the nuclear age as they appear to the writer and as he feels that young people ought to see them. That this choice seems an exclusive disjunction is itself an observation on contemporary young people. From this observer's viewpoint it is indeed a primary dilemma of contemporary youth!

This paper was initially prepared as an address in November, 1959, before the beginning of the sitdown movement of American Negro students and the sympathy movement of other American students, before students pulled down the Rhee government in South Korea and shook the Menderes government in Turkey. These stirrings of new social idealism go far to shake the gloomy generalizations to which I was led that November. There are new signs of social awareness on the part of many students. Yet to date these stirrings have occurred within a minority of young people—a creative minority as Toynbee would say—and they have been directed to issues on which students have believed, rightly or wrongly, that their efforts might have some effect. Thus despite these encouraging developments, I think that for the great majority of students, and especially with respect to the issues on which they do *not* believe they can be

effective, my conclusion (to be stated in the next paragraph) still unfortunately remains valid. Particularly is this true of the issues of war and peace in the nuclear age with which we are here concerned. True, there have been increasing demonstrations in protest against Civilian Defense exercises, but they have concerned only a miniscule minority of young people augmented and often led by their elders.

My thesis regarding today's young people is briefly stated as follows: faced with issues of war and peace so vast and so utterly new in character, the overwhelming response of American young people has been an attitude ranging from stoic resignation to failure of nerve. Unable to see their way through the complexities of these issues—and who of their elders professes really to see his way through them—they have adopted an attitude of acquiescence in the inevitable, whatever the inevitable may turn out to be. This attitude has been reinforced by a realism or cynicism common to several generations of Americans regarding political problems and particularly the reasons why nations go to war. Unable to see ways in which their actions will be effective they have resigned themselves to the evils of military service as to death and taxes. It is a somewhat disenchanted tribute to their moral sensibilities that very few of today's young people regard this service (and still more, participation in war) as anything but a necessary evil. I have yet to find a single American youth who regards these activities as a positive good.

Still in the classical stoic pattern these young people have concentrated their attention upon apparently attainable goods, notably upon a job and family. Thus we find among them a notable increase of interest in these and similar domains in which individual effort and satisfaction appear effective. These trends have been notably augmented in America by the emergence of an affluent society where the promise and fact of prosperity has dulled many consciences, old and young.

There is, of course, nothing very novel in these observations. They have been made and tested over a period of at least a decade by observers of a wide variety of interests and viewpoints using many of the techniques of social observation. To be sure, like all such observations they are statistical generalizations. How far any one

individual or any small group conforms to the general pattern is open to further question and study. Happily there are always individuals and minorities who swim against the social stream. As a college teacher over the past two decades—and as a student for a decade before that—my own personal observation has verified both the general trend and the individual exceptions to it.

It is easy enough to make the charge of “failure of nerve” against today’s young people. There may well be truth in this charge. Yet if it is true of young people it seems to be true of their elders as well. Perhaps the worst thing to be said against the present generation of youth is that they are creatures of their circumstances. In this respect their attitudes on war and peace seem to spring—as do those of their elders—from a combination of cynical realism and deep perplexity concerning the nuclear age which has confronted us with so many new issues with which we seem to lack the resources, intellectual and moral, to cope.

II

The paragraphs which follow have a frankly personal or autobiographical aspect. They are my own effort to relate the thinking which I did concerning these issues in my own student days (1928–1938) to the issues of a nuclear age and to the thinking and responses of my students and my own children to these issues. The reader will have no difficulty in seeing my own Protestant Christian orientation in these paragraphs. He will have even less difficulty in seeing the influence of Reinhold Niebuhr on my thinking. I have not sought to hide either fact. Yet with a few qualifications this thinking may be applied to Jews, to Catholics, and to those of no religious affiliation. Protestants have had no monopoly or copyright on these ideas!

I shall state five propositions which summarize the moral outlook to which many of us were led in the 1930s, and then seek to relate each of these statements to problems of the 1950s and 1960s and to responses of today’s young people to these problems:

Proposition 1. The law of neighbor love (“Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself”) is for biblical faith or the biblical view of life the

authoritative norm as well as the source of all human moral relations.

Proposition 2. This norm demands as one of its aspects to be applied to all of human life.

Proposition 3. The task of applying this ethic to all the varying occasions of human social life leads its adherents to see both the rigorous and austere character of the love-ethic and the egotistical, loveless character of man in society and history.

Proposition 4. The first three statements taken together yield a fourth, namely, that neighbor love or brotherhood is seldom or never simply applicable to social life; nevertheless "significant approximations" of love (as Niebuhr has put the matter) are always possible. Specific moral decisions may be related to the absolute norm of love, as the best possible approximation under the existing circumstances.

Proposition 5. Under some circumstances war is morally justified as the least possible evil open to us. This statement may be seen to follow from the four preceding ones. From the viewpoint of this ethic, war is never a good and always a tragic evil, but granting a realistic appraisal of all the possibilities open to a man or a people, it may sometimes be justified as the least evil course of action among the actually existing possibilities.

Readers familiar with ethical thinking during the past decade will see in these statements an attempt to summarize several major lines of thought and activity. The first proposition, while in a sense always recognized by Jews and Christians, has been laid hold upon and restated with fresh vigor and insight during the period from the beginning of the social gospel to the present. The work of an eminent succession of thinkers from Rauschenbush to Niebuhr has effectively reclaimed for us the Judeo-Christian heritage of prophetic social religion. Far from being a principle solely of individual faith, ethics, and salvation, any religion which is to be true to the Bible must offer guidance and criticism for all aspects of social existence as well. Faith does indeed begin with the human individual, but as has been said, if it ends there it ends! That such a proposition gains wider and readier assent in 1960 than in 1900 or 1920 is testimony to the influence of the social gospel—and ultimately of the Bible—on contemporary social thinking.

Yet the task of applying biblical categories to contemporary situ-

ations and deriving concrete guidance for ethical decisions is never a simple matter. For one thing any mature and realistic appraisal of social events indicates the large measure of egotism in human motivation. Thus the gap between love and self-love begins to open up. Moreover, as a person looks upon the complex character of both human motivation and its objective consequences in even the simplest historical events, he begins to see how simpleminded is any simple attempt to apply the love-ethic in actual historic situations.

It was such considerations as these which in the years before World War II led many of us to nonpacifist interpretations of the biblical ethic. As we looked at the complexities of international life we saw—or seemed to see—in any absolute disavowal of force, an abandonment of responsibility as well as justice. And justice equally with peace seemed to us a goal of the ethical life. From our pacifist friends we learned a concern with war and peace, violence and co-operation, as integral aspects of the ethical life, but pacifism in the age of Mussolini and Hitler seemed to us irresponsible. With such views as these many of us participated in World War II as a tragic but necessary evil. It seemed to us, from the viewpoint of the biblical ethic, less evil than any genuinely possible alternative.

I do not want here to reopen the question of whether we or our pacifist friends were right in our decision concerning World War II, but rather to raise the altogether contemporary questions of how much of this ethical position is still valid and relevant in the vastly changed situation of 1960, and the closely related question of how much of this position seems pertinent and even interesting to the present generation of young people. Taking the ethical viewpoint of our five propositions as the point of departure, let us ask how it has stood up amid the changes and storms of the nuclear age. Contrariwise, how many of the five propositions must be altered or abandoned in the new situation? And what new ideas and new moral attitudes has the new situation produced?

Taking the first two statements, which together define the social character of biblical faith, we may safely assert that among thoughtful members of both Jewish and Christian groups these views are more securely established now than they were in the earlier period.

A new generation of biblical scholars has among its other results underscored the social character of biblical faith. Other forms of study have had the same effect.

Yet plain as this result is for all thoughtful and concerned men to see, the blunt fact is it has not been assimilated in its full import by large numbers of the younger generation. Many of them seem to want religion and perhaps even theology without a social ethic. In the case of Reinhold Niebuhr there is a peculiar irony in the younger men who want his theology without the social ethic which in his own thinking has been indissolubly linked to it. And if one moves out of the community of thoughtful religious concern to the wider circle of young people, he observes the even more depressing spectacle of religion as compensation and escape rather than as a source and stimulus of social ethics and action. Several objective studies of the attitudes of young people in recent years have shown conclusively that social conscience and religious interest not only vary independently but frequently are in inverse ratio to each other.

If we may take Propositions 2, 3, and 4 together as defining the relation of the law of love to society, we may draw the conclusion that in the small community of those who work at problems of social ethics the results of the earlier period have been confirmed and extended during the past two or three decades. As to the problem of applying neighbor-love to the varying, changing occasions and circumstances of human history and human society, the viewpoint has been confirmed and indeed extended into new areas. By the study of human society by many methods and in many aspects, fresh and pertinent applications of love to the human situation have been disclosed and described. The social relevance of the love-ethic seems to many of us more securely established now than ever before. Yet the complexities and novelties of each new social occasion have made us more wary than ever of simple and easy applications and generalizations. Yet these very problems of novelty and complexity have led some of the younger students of these problems to give up the game.

If one turns to the egotistical or loveless character of many social processes, the history of recent decades has again confirmed the judgment of the earlier period. Whether we look to world wars, to

the machinations of international politics, to the clash of rival ideologies, or to the psychoanalysis of the human individual, the verdict seems to be that man's achievements of love are at best modest or meager, and at worst tragically deficient. So it is that many of us are more ready now than then to settle for the best possibility that seems achievable.

Yet again the impact upon the younger generation has often been very different. Seeing the difficulties and complexities of the game, many have in effect given up the game. If man be as desperately evil as some Christian theologies claim, and as recent history has confirmed, why not give up the game of social improvement and aim at some supramundane and individual goal? Such has been the misgiving of many sober and thoughtful men—old as well as young.

In summary, then, we may say of the first four of the five propositions that, in the minds of many thoughtful observers and participants in social ethics, the years have confirmed their validity and pertinence. We continue then to chart our course by them. Yet we cannot ignore the experience of younger men whose decisive impressions come from a different and later time and who have accordingly derived very different and in some cases opposite conclusions from some or all of these propositions.

But to come directly to the final and climactic point of this discussion, Proposition 5 is being widely questioned and indeed contradicted by many moralists on the basis of the facts of a nuclear age. Proposition 5 is, you recall, that war on the basis of Propositions 1-4 while always evil is at least sometimes the least possible evil. Thus sometimes the adherent of this ethic may participate in war. At least such was the case until 1945 and Hiroshima. Until that time it was possible to marshal imposing factual evidence or support the conclusion that the only possible alternatives to war were more productive of evil than war itself.

It is precisely this assertion which may be questioned by a close factual scrutiny of nuclear war. Is it any longer true factually or empirically that war is the lesser or least of evils? Or is it rather the case that the vast increase of destructiveness of war, together with the longtime effects of nuclear explosions, constitute a greater evil

than any possible alternative? The questions are admittedly difficult to assess or test in any factual way; yet the issues are so fateful that the effort must be made.

Yet even granting the truth of the assertion that war is now in the nuclear age a greater evil than any possible alternative, it is not possible on this basis *alone* to draw the conclusion that therefore we must completely renounce it. For it is still possible to argue that granting the absolute evil of nuclear war, the most probable way to avoid or avert it is to continue the same sort of power politics based on and backed by nuclear arms. In this gambler's world no course of action is absolutely certain or secure, but this policy is our best bet. So the argument goes. Certainly, it continues, this is a better policy than to disarm and so to invite nuclear attacks and thus plunge us into the holocaust we seek to avoid.

This line of reasoning is supported by a second argument to the general effect that since the genocidal implications of nuclear war are apparent to all mankind, men will have enough sense to refrain from their use, just as in World War II we refrained from the use of poison gas. We face according to this argument the unpleasant necessity of maintaining parity of nuclear arms just so that we will not have to use them.

The opposite position which we may perhaps call "nuclear pacifism" argues that this is simply too great a gamble to take with the present and future of the human race. Who can say that men will be wise enough to refrain from the use of atomic arms? How do we know that this will be the case? What of the desperate leader who is willing to pull the world down with him? What indeed about the possibility of starting a nuclear war on the basis of a "mistake"? Such mistakes range from miscalculations of diplomats to false images on a radar screen. Thus, argue many men of intelligence and goodwill, it is not only true that nuclear war is a greater evil than any possible alternative, but also that our best bet to avert such a war is the total and complete renunciation of war, or in other words, nuclear pacifism. One adherent of this position put the matter very starkly by saying he would prefer to risk a century of Communist domination to risking nuclear war.

The implementation of this position of nuclear pacifism gives rise to a wide variety of practical proposals ranging from Mr. Khrushchev's suggestion to the United Nations of immediate and total disarmament (similar, oddly enough, to the proposals of several American pacifist groups) to proposals of gradual disarmament with builtin features of control and inspection.

For many of us, young, middleaged and old alike, the dilemma between these two positions of traditional power politics *versus* nuclear pacifism is the most urgent and perplexing problem we face in all of contemporary human experience. We are torn between policies and principles we have advocated and supported for many years, and the utterly new problems and perils of a nuclear age. And—what is perhaps the sharpest part of this dilemma—we do not find it possible to think our way out of this predicament.

In such a situation it is understandable that a great many of today's youth respond like turtles, drawing their heads back under their shells, and hoping that this problem and all the other related problems will presently go away. This, I say, is an understandable enough attitude; it has happened many times before in human history when men have faced apparently insoluble problems. This time, however, the factual presumption that the problem will not go away, augmented by the utterly unique and utterly perilous character of the problem, add up to the sharpest dilemma we face.

X

THE AMBIGUITIES OF PUBLIC MORALITY: A PROBLEM FOR WORLD YOUTH

BY

HAROLD TAYLOR

Having returned to the United States after an absence of five months, I find the country [in winter 1959-1960] in what seems to be nothing less than a state of general confusion, both as to its aims and the means proposed to achieve confused aims. The confusions have to do with such matters as the state of our space research, the effectiveness, or lack of it, of our missiles and aircraft as military deterrents, the intentions of the Russians in wanting disarmament, the strength of our own belief in disarmament and a peaceful world order, and above all, a deep confusion about the aims of American society. Not only have we been confusing ourselves about important matters, but we have been confusing the Asians, among other people, about our aims and intentions. Is America interested in working for peace or not? they ask. Has the profit motive so corrupted American democracy that money and power are now the goal of Americans and of American society? How else can you explain the corruption of Charles Van Doren than by the sacrifice of intellectual and democratic ideals for money and commercial success?

When Mr. Van Doren's infamy was publicized in Indonesia at the time of my visit to that country, the Indonesians with whom I spoke referred to this as an instance of the failure of a capitalist society to develop a social ethic. They considered it an indication of the moral ambiguity shown by America both in her domestic affairs and in her foreign policy. Just as America has attempted to buy military alliances and economic friendship by her foreign aid programs, say the Asians, America attempts to buy the young intel-

lectuals by offering money and popularity in order to turn them into entertainers.

The cultural, economic, and social forces now at work in American society put serious pressures on our youth, pressures which are of course to be found in other countries, but which have a peculiar force in America. This is partly due to the fact that we have a great deal more freedom for personal decision than do the citizens of other countries, and partly to the fact that so many of our decisions involve questions of money and status. Our society gives to its young people a larger number and a greater variety of opportunities for social and economic success than does any other in the world. But at the same time, because we also give our young people so much freedom of choice in what they do, and because there *are* so many different ways of achieving commercial and social success, we place a heavy burden of responsibility on the young to choose alternatives which contain an element of idealism and social purpose. They are not always ready to make these choices for themselves. Yet they are asked to do so at a time when there is very little public leadership in constructing a social ethic and while the landscape is full of examples of public immorality. The confusion and the general outlook of American society cannot fail to have its effect on the thinking of the young.

If there is less public leadership in matters of ethical and moral concern, there is also less private leadership, less guidance by parents. In part this is due to the fact that the modern parent is usually liberal in his attitude to children and their behavior, and partly due to the greatly increased maturity in the ideas of the modern child. Parents seldom give orders. Were they to do so, not very many would be obeyed.

We find, in addition, that the enormous increase in the number of students to be taught has introduced a whole new set of problems which you do not see when you look at the simple statistics of the extra numbers. One of these problems is the matter of leadership and guidance to the children.

I am thinking not merely of the difficulty of getting enough teachers into classrooms to keep the classes at a manageable size,

or the communications problem which comes when you add more and more students to lecture classes in college. I am thinking of the lack of direct relation between faculty members and the students they are teaching. There are not enough teachers in our schools and colleges who take as their responsibility the moral and intellectual welfare of their students. There are too many teachers in the universities who feel that the only obligation they have to the students is to appear before them in the classroom and talk at them about a subject in the curriculum. This is a problem which has not received the intensity of study presently being devoted to the matter of numbers, school buildings, money, and the need for an increase of offerings in science and foreign languages.

I present to you a statement by a college student about the main issue before us.

The two things (says the student) that a college can give that allow for true growth are time and aloneness. In an age when the jet plane travels so fast that the passenger has no chance to absorb the world he is passing through, the ability and incentive to think for oneself is losing its needed time for growth. When there is time to think, and with it an aloneness, as painful as the solitude may sometimes be, there is true opportunity for reflection. There is a saying by Tagore, "Man goes into the noisy crowd to drown the clamor of his own silence." Perhaps this can be paraphrased, Man accepts the belief of others to hide the emptiness of his own conviction.

When in education, the possibility of a teacher-student relationship is forgotten in the discussion of superior teaching over television, will there still be room for the illumination which comes when someone has said something directly to you that suddenly fits together what you have learned, opening the door that brings you a step forward so that you knowingly say to yourself, There I was, but here I am now. By an insistent pressure, the atmosphere in college must be created to look within and not just without.

It seems to me that this is the central question for contemporary education in America. We need to think of teaching as a way of communicating intellectual, moral, and social integrity, not only by what is done in the classroom but by the kind of community life

one can produce for our students, by the kind of atmosphere one can create in the student community. The students need to be made aware by their educational environment of the opportunities they have to reach toward higher ideals of an intellectual, social, and moral kind.

We are trying to solve this central problem just at a time when the world and the United States are in a state of transition more rapid than any we have seen in the history of civilization. The difficulty therefore lies in trying to teach a private ethic in a world which has not formed a social ethic of sufficient strength to demand its acceptance by world society, or by American society.

I would like to illustrate what I mean by comparing the American situation with the situation of the university students in India. In India you find a country which is coping with all the American problems blown up to colossal size with dozens of other problems added as well—the extremes of poverty, the absence of books, ratios of teachers to students frequently around one to fifty, thousands of students who have no homes of their own, who simply take their mats and sleep on someone's verandah, get up in the morning to go to the university, sometimes without paper or pencil, and listen to lectures with 600 to 1,000 students present, often with standing room only.

During the period of my visit to India, students at three universities held riots which were so severe that the authorities closed down the universities. For those of you who are deans, and others of you who have the interests of students and mankind at heart, I cite the instance which produced the closing of one of the universities. The students imprisoned a faculty committee in the offices of the university, threatened the members with physical violence unless one of their friends was admitted to the graduate school of the university. The committee finally agreed to admit the young man, but having admitted him under such duress, the vice-chancellor announced shortly that behavior of the kind shown by the students could only be answered by closing down the university.

At another university, student riots and agitations were invoked by teachers themselves, some of them politically inspired, to carry

out attacks on other faculty members or administrative officers. Students also rioted because a local movie house refused to admit all students at a special price much lower than would be profitable for the proprietor to run the movie house. After three students had been killed in rioting in the streets and the police had conducted charges on a mob of 4,000 students, the university was closed down to prevent further loss of life and property.

I had the opportunity to discuss these instances of ethical and practical confusion with students. The students said that those who were rioting felt no social or moral responsibility for the new India. They felt that they, as students, were simply in a vacuum, both moral and social, and that there was an aimlessness about the university itself. There was no direct relationship between what the students were studying and what they were going to do in Indian society after graduation. Therefore, in the absence of social purpose, or even of an educational purpose which meant something in terms of what they could do for their country, they felt that the university owed them an education but that as students, they owed nothing to anyone.

The students also cited the difficulty of not having any possible relationship with their teachers, and of trying to learn while having very little respect for the teachers themselves. They cited instances of teachers' conduct which would indicate that their lack of respect was well founded. They also cited the difficulties of a social and economic kind with which they had to cope. With almost no attention paid to them as human beings by their universities, with very little done for them in the matter of help with the housing or the library problem, with a lecture system which gave them no opportunity to know anything more from the teacher than what he said in front of his large audience, with nothing to do except try to pass the examinations at the end of the university period, they felt that after attending the university for four or five years they were at least entitled to special status in Indian society. Since this status was not to be provided for them, or even a job where the education could be used, they spent their university time in the pursuits I have described.

I am not concerned to place the blame either on the students or on the educators in India, but only to point out that the lack of a clearcut aim on the part of universities means that the students can look to no one for leadership in either their intellectual or their social behavior. Having thrown out the imperial power of Great Britain the Indian leadership has kept the university system in about the same form as it was under the British, when it was a training ground for civil servants who were to run India for the British. There is no new organizing plan which relates the universities to the new society developing in India. The aimlessness of the students is a direct result of the lack of clarity in the aims and function of Indian universities.

One could find a similar degree of educational, social, and ethical confusion on the part of youth in the other countries of Asia. I will cite only one example, that of Indonesia.

The Indonesians are led by a man who loves making speeches and, as is the case with a number of people who make speeches, Mr. Sukarno has developed the habit of thinking that once he has said something in a speech, this has accomplished in terms of social reform whatever it was he has been talking about. During my visit to Indonesia, Mr. Sukarno spent a fair amount of time denouncing the cha-cha and what he called "crazy alien Western dances." He did so because he was worried about the effect of some of the more superficial aspects of American culture—including rock-and-roll and the cha-cha—on Indonesian youth, who would, he assumed, forget their own heritage of history, language, song, and dance in Java, Bali, and Sumatra, and become absorbed in American ideas and attitudes.

But the exhortation to throw out the cha-cha hardly met the needs of the new generation of Indonesian students. What they need are more teachers at every level of the educational system. They, as do the American boys and girls, need teachers who take seriously the need of the young for guidance and for a greater awareness of their place in the new society in which they are growing up. In the absence of a social ethic which has wide acceptance and public support, there is no direct influence on the young people of a central

idea which can challenge them to go to work to build a new Indonesia. Psychologically, the country is still running on the strength of the anti-Dutch propaganda and Sukarno, in spite of his almost frantic efforts to do so, has not been successful in composing a national identity for Indonesians toward which his people can move.

The problem then, as I see it in America, having seen it in Asia, is that of developing a social ethic which gives a basis to American young people on which they can stand, and of developing a school and college system which does educate the whole person and which deals with his social and moral aspirations as well as his academic training. It is because there is so little concern for this side of education and so much concern with the mechanical problems of numbers that we are presently seeing the effects of social pressure on the attitudes and values of American youth. Since he has so much less guidance than he needs, the contemporary student is thrown back on his own resources, which often means that his own resources are not yet adequate and that he adapts himself to group pressures of the society around him.

I wish next to contrast this situation for the American student with the situation for Russian youth. In most of the comparisons which have been made between American and Russian education, the emphasis has been on the superiority of the Russian curriculum and the achievements in science and foreign languages by Russian students. Very little has been said about the attitude of the Russian youth to their country, to their schools and universities, and to themselves.

When I asked the Soviet educators about what problems they met in motivation for Soviet students, and whether they had difficulty in getting all the children through the stiff Soviet curriculum, their answer was that they had no problems. I was skeptical of the reply until I saw the Soviet system in operation and realized that the system allowed no room for deviations in attitude, since the students were in a single community from morning until night, six days a week, and even their play was organized in such a way that by playing games you could feel that you were part of a group which was serving Soviet society.

In other words, the sense of social purpose is built into the foundation of the academic curriculum, and the student in school and in the university considers himself to be acquiring the means by which he is being trained to serve his society. There are no dilemmas for Soviet youth, since as of now, there are so few alternatives for the individual to consider that he lacks the material to make up a moral dilemma. Ethical and moral questions are all subsumed under the general heading of social service to the state, so that there is little opportunity even to speculate about modes of ethical conduct. Questions of private morality and personal values, so important to us in our literature and in our public and private discussions, are almost entirely absent from the consciousness of the present generation of Soviet youth.

This, I suppose, is to be expected in a society where there are so few alternatives for anyone to consider, aside from those already explicitly stated for the citizens' guidance. Confusion about ethical standards would be unlikely to develop in this situation. However, one needs to look very hard at the isolation of the Soviet Union from the influences, ethical, political, and social, of other parts of the world. The Soviet Union is an insulated society in which the young people know very little about other modes of behavior, whether political, moral, or personal, now operating in other cultures. The texts in the educational system which deal with the ethical and moral questions are written on a Marxist basis. Psychology is impersonal, old-fashioned brass instrument psychology and its philosophy is behaviorism.

However, interest in Western ideas on the part of the young and on the part of some of their teachers is deep, and there is a hunger for the ideas of Western society, a hunger for new ideas in the arts, particularly in literature, and of course, in the dance and the theater. But at this moment, the standard pattern of behavior in a moral sense is equated directly to behavior in a social sense, and if one were to try to make a distinction between the ethical and the social, it would be almost impossible. In the Soviet Union these two things are equated.

We can raise the question as to whether the policies of the Soviet

government with regard to its own curriculum for the students are not in the long run themselves conducive to moral and ethical hypocrisy. To argue for peace, to talk about the warlike Americans, and to talk about the world as divided into a benign and peace-loving Soviet bloc as against a warlike and aggressive American bloc, this itself is a violation of the ethical standard necessary to give world leadership and to solve the problem of peace itself. As the younger generation goes farther in its own inquiries, when the students do have access, as they will within the next three or four years unless Khrushchev's policies are changed, to personal experiences with European young people, with Yugoslavs, with Indians, for example, these discrepancies between the declared statements of the Soviet leadership and the actual conduct of the foreign policy by the Soviet Union will be apparent.

The spectrum of attitude among Asian and Western cultures can thus be seen in a continuum in which the Soviet social ethic is the one most clearly and dogmatically (and successfully) presented to youth; the Indian and Indonesian has not yet been formulated or practiced in a way which can give guidance to the younger generation, and the American is a bewildering mixture of private and public attitude with a dominant pattern of material values conditioning the general approach taken by the youths themselves.

In this situation, what forms of education in the high school and in the college can be most effective in developing a moral and ethical sense? The results of American research on student attitudes are not very complimentary to the present forms. Such studies as we have show very little relation between the academic programs of the school and college and the ethical values developed by students.

When we look for positive ways in which to change the present situation, we must first answer the question as to how teachers and educators can best come into direct relation with students. Then we must examine the practical matter of how the educational process can affect the attitudes of students in order to bring a greater degree of concern for the moral issues of the twentieth century.

In the smaller educational communities, in schools and colleges where ideas are taken seriously and where the student as an individ-

ual is taken seriously, we do find changes taking place in the attitudes of students toward themselves and toward their society. These changes occur when two major factors are present. The first is the presence of idealistic, sensitive teachers who care about their students and who develop ways of helping them to find the guidance they need. The second is a community life in which the students are called upon to concern themselves with their relations to each other and to their world, not merely on the extroverted basis provided by sports and social engagements, but by the structure of the community itself.

The modern parent also creates a problem for the modern child. We have in the American colleges just now the first generation of understood children. The understood child has his own pathology stemming from the lack of the opportunity for rebellion against parents who understand him rather than direct him. In the days of parental authority, there were specific goals and ideals which formed the basis of a family pattern, and the authority of the family both as a group and of the father and mother as arbiters was the strongest factor in establishing attitudes. With the shift in parental attitude toward the child, a problem is created rather like the one encountered in dreams when the sleeper fights and strikes blows which do not land on anything.

The parental authority is to some degree replaced by the attitudes of the teacher, the school community and the child's peer group. Thus, the presence or absence of fraternities in the colleges makes a difference. The character of the social activities sponsored by the college, the quality of the campus religious counsellors, the opportunities for students to make known their needs, wishes, and ideas to the administration and faculty, the encouragement by the college of student efforts to deal with ethical and political issues on the campus, these are factors in the development of student attitudes to ethical standards.

We also need to consider the responsibility of educators and teachers for developing what one might call a resistance movement to the social patterns which are to be found in contemporary Ameri-

can culture. Educators must be concerned with the world issues, the human issues around which political and social decisions are made—the arguments about nuclear bomb testing, reliance on military power in foreign policy, competition in arms with the Soviet Union, equality for the Negro, the emphasis on material values. If we are to have informed and interested citizens, our schools and colleges must deal with the whole cluster of problems which emerge in the nuclear age, the schools and colleges must teach the use of creative intelligence for dealing with them. If the schools and colleges fail to do it, students will remain unaware that there are real issues which citizens have a responsibility to decide.

The American university community has failed to concern itself with the big public questions which plague American society. Too few social scientists involve themselves with the process of national decisionmaking in which they could play a part if they wished. The philosophers, who in my judgment have a direct responsibility for putting their minds to work on moral and social questions, have evaded the major issues of the past fifteen years and have in recent time been more concerned with linguistic analysis and logical questions than with the crisis in world society.

Nor has the attention of the student in school and college been drawn to the creative arts and their importance in human life. Those courses in the arts which have been offered in the colleges are either historical or analytical, they do not capture the experience of the arts but instead categorize the forms of art into periods, forms, and styles. Experience with the arts themselves is a means by which a student can not only deepen his sensibility, but can learn to understand the values of civilized communities. We know enough about the role of the arts in a culture to know that those civilizations which can communicate with each other in terms of literature, dance, theater, paintings, and music are learning to understand more about contrasting values and ideas than is possible through any amount of diplomatic exchange or political persuasion. A concern with the arts has a direct result in raising the level of exchange of ideas between individuals and cultures. It also has a direct role in

the education of the student, by involving him in the process of making discriminations among esthetic values and leading him to a concern with ethical and social issues.

We have paid too little attention, as far as our national policy is concerned, to the significance of the creative arts in our culture. If we are concerned, as we must be, with the relations of the United States to the Soviet Union, we will further the cause of mutual understanding by direct experience with the arts and the intellectual content of Soviet culture. We must start by taking seriously the role of the creative arts in the American school and college curriculum.

In recent months we have heard many pleas from public figures to concentrate our national attention in education on training in science, and there has been a tendency to regard the creative arts as extra, timewasting parts of the educational system. Nothing could be farther from the truth. If we wish to develop young people who are able to think for themselves about ethical and moral issues, both in their personal lives and in the content of their culture, we must engage their interest in works of literature where moral questions are raised, we must teach them to understand the meaning of art through direct experience with it.

In the last analysis, we must look to the life of the American community in relation to its educational programs for help in raising ethical standards and clarifying personal aims. The role of the church in the community is not to add more social events to the dozens of activities already under way, but to provide an opportunity to learn the meaning of religious values as they function in the moral improvement of contemporary society. The role of the school is not to hand on to the next generation the values and ideas of the society which the school represents, but to create new ideas for enhancing the moral dimension of the community. The curriculum must not be considered as merely a body of material to be used for training students in the techniques of living and working in a modern industrial society, but rather as a means through which the student may achieve a moral and intellectual maturity.

My plea is for a restoration of the personal element in education at a time when the older and the younger generation have

grown farther apart and when the complications of society have expanded faster than the means by which we can deal with them. The education of youth in ethical values can proceed only when the young people are made aware of the issues they must tackle and the personal responsibility which is theirs. This can be done only by teachers who raise the issues and who give sympathetic and direct help in settling them.

XI

NEW OPPORTUNITIES AWAITING CONTEMPORARY YOUTH

BY

ELI E. COHEN

Our troubled world does not lend itself easily to a discussion of positive opportunities. We are so aware of its dreadful aspects and their "beat" and restless progeny that we find it hard to imagine that there might be golden opportunities around the corner.

The organizers of this series were wise to provide an occasion for us to take time out from our preoccupation with problems to think about promises. Opportunities can exist for our youth, if we have the imagination and the will to bring them to life.

Let us examine some of the opportunities that may await today's youth. On the most mundane level, we can see that they will probably enjoy an increased standard of living. To be exact, their living standard is likely to be twenty-five per cent higher than ours, thanks to an expanding technology and expanding manpower potential. This estimate is taken from predictions for the 1960s made by the United States Department of Labor on the basis of data collected by several government agencies. These predictions show that the production of goods and services will probably increase by fifty per cent between 1960 and 1970; the gross national product (which averaged \$350 billion in 1950 and is estimated at \$500 billion in 1960) will rise to \$750 billion by 1970. The annual gross national product per person (only \$2,300 in 1950) is expected to climb from \$2,800 in 1960 to \$3,500 in 1970. If these predictions stand up, our nation will have the material means to offer its young people great advantages.

They will also enjoy educational advantages. More young people

will go to school longer and, I hope, will benefit from better education. Seventy per cent of the nation's total population is expected to have a high school education or better, compared with only sixty per cent in the 1950s. College enrollments will jump seventy per cent—from 3,800,000 in 1960 to 6,400,000 in 1970. It is to be hoped that some of the additional students will come from that group with college ability which doesn't enter college now (whether from lack of money, motivation, or otherwise). Today this noncollege group accounts for half the youngsters with college ability.

The predicted increase in college enrollment also augurs well for the future job level of youth. It has been pretty well established that education is a major determinant of job level and upward mobility. Young people who make use of the increased educational opportunities will have better chances for higher level occupations. We can also expect them to be more productive citizens, if the increased education is meaningful.

Greater opportunities for finding dignity, meaning, challenge, and satisfaction in work will come to them from many of tomorrow's jobs. There will be fewer unskilled jobs, because advances in technology will demand more skills, intelligence, and creativity. The greatest job growth in the next ten years is expected to occur in the professional and technical fields. There will be forty per cent more jobs for engineers, scientists, teachers, medical people, technicians, and, I hope, for social scientists.

Automation may well free us from the slavery of tending machines. It should open up productive opportunities for men and women to be the creators and masters of machines. This may be the beginning of the golden age of a new industrial revolution.

Automation and the increased standard of living will undoubtedly lead to increased leisure time. Young people will work fewer hours, and they will have more time than any previous generation to pursue avocations. Those who have the interest, the capacity, and the motivation will be able to take advantage of unprecedented opportunities. Hopefully, more young people than ever will be interested in music, the arts, literature, philosophy, and crafts. They will have the chance to live a more rounded life than their fathers.

The final area of new opportunity for youth is hard to define. Opportunities will arise from the new knowledge acquired as we break through new frontiers. Advancements in science, for example, may bring our children better health and longer lives, provided we can maintain peace in the world. We are learning more and more about the human body, about disease, and about pathology. Medical men are closer to unlocking such secrets as the cause of cancer. We also have the vast areas of the oceans yet to explore and the minerals that lie there. The secrets of outer space will certainly teach us much. If we have the wisdom to use this scientific knowledge properly, it will certainly improve the lives of youth. But an even more important kind of knowledge is knowledge about people—knowledge that could free us of many prejudices. We already know that cultural deprivation (not heredity) prevents our minorities from achieving their full potential. More knowledge of this kind could enable our young people to live better as adults at peace with themselves and with others.

All in all, I think young people today have great potentials for personal fulfilment and better lives. Identifying their opportunities is not nearly so hard as developing the programs that will make the opportunities come to life for individuals. That is not going to happen by magic, even with automation.

Twenty-six million young people will be coming of age, entering the job market, and becoming adults in the next ten years. Twenty-six million is a lot of youth! It is forty per cent more than in the fifties, the largest number ever to reach this status in the history of our country.

We must ask ourselves whether we will be able to provide the conditions that will enable them to achieve these new opportunities. Will we, for example, be able to offer them the increased training they will need to get requisite skills or to become professionals? Are we going to expand and strengthen our school and college facilities? Will we be able to provide the teachers, the buildings, the books, and the libraries? Are we going to provide equality of opportunity, so that all races, creeds, and ethnic groups may benefit? Will we be able to end discrimination in hiring and in upgrading?

Are we going to find ways of stimulating incentive and motivation in disadvantaged youngsters, children from minority groups, and those who drop out of school before graduation?

To digress for a moment, we should note that many minority group members face a vicious circle when it comes to employment, despite the fair employment progress made in the past ten or fifteen years. Even when jobs do not discriminate racially, they do require training that many Negro youngsters (for example) do not have. Years of discrimination have lowered their sights until they feel, "No one is going to hire me; why should I take that training?" If we want them to take the training they need to qualify for better jobs, we are going to have to find ways to help them get the incentive, the motivation, and the cultural uplift that will make them want to take advantage of their opportunities.

Another question that presents itself is whether we can provide the kind of guidance and counseling that will help young people make the decisions that will enable them to fulfil their potentials. This question is particularly pertinent for rural youth. Many are unprepared for life in the cities, and more and more are having to move to them. The United States Department of Agriculture estimates that sixty-five per cent will be unable to find employment on farms.

A more general problem is presented by the paradox of relatively early physical maturation combined with delayed social responsibility. How can young people be prepared to assume independence when adolescence and dependence are prolonged by delayed entry into the job market? Those who are not academically oriented, in particular, need experiences that will help them prepare for responsibility—experiences such as part-time employment, summer jobs, programs in which they go to school part-time and do a job part-time, and volunteer work for various community groups.

Can we achieve and maintain a high level of employment, even full employment? If not, young people (with the least seniority and least experience) will be the first to suffer. Their rate of unemployment, according to government census figures, is the highest of any age group, twice the national average.

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Finally, do we have the imagination and wisdom to lead our youth to a constructive use of their leisure time? This question can be answered affirmatively, as can all the others, if we work with dedication for its solution.

But first we must change adult attitudes toward youth. Too many adults are hostile and use young people as scapegoats. We must stop rejecting them and respond to their problems with goodwill and cooperation. Only in this spirit can we begin to create the programs that will offer new opportunities to contemporary youth.

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