A STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL DRINKING:

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF A SYMBOLIC ACT

by

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AN ABSTRACT

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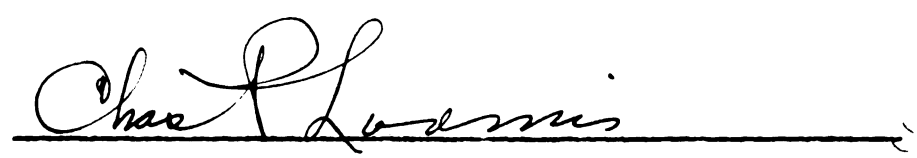
Approved 

This is an exploratory study of the pattern, social context and functional significance of the use of beverage alcohol among 1,962 students in the eleventh and twelfth grades of the public schools of a middle-sized American city. Literature on the use of alcohol has concentrated predominantly on "problem" aspects, particularly on the compulsive drinking of the alcoholic. This study approaches drinking as a form of social behavior which, like other social behavior, is culturally defined and socially structured.

Functional analysis and symbolic interaction provide the methodological and theoretical orientations of the research. The principal research instruments were a pre-tested questionnaire and focussed interviews. The questionnaire was administered to all students in the study population. From these, the 177 self-designated "drinkers" were chosen for analysis. Then, a random sample of 179 self-designated "non-drinkers" were drawn. "Drinkers" and "non-drinkers" were compared in terms of a wide range of characteristics with special attention being given to factors of age, sex, socio-economic position, normative judgments about teen-age drinking and to imputed motives for drinking.

The principal statistical measures employed were Chi Square and Kendall's coefficient of rank order correlation (Tau). For depth in analysis, a randomly selected sample of fifty-five students were intensively interviewed. These interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed for detailed analysis.

Conclusions of the study include the following:

1. Drinking among high school teen-agers in the community studies is neither frequent nor intense. Although nine in ten of the sample reported having had at least one experience with alcohol, only one in ten designated himself as a "drinker" and only about one in four reported a pattern of consistent even though generally infrequent drinking. Less than one percent would be classified as "heavy" drinkers. Among those reporting drinking,

beer was the only widely used alcoholic beverage.

2. Placing the "drinker" in the social structure, one finds that this person is most likely to be i) male; ii) older; iii) playing or expecting soon to play adult-like roles; iv) preferring adult models for behavior; v) least active in organized teen-age activities; vi) in the upper or lower strata of socio-economic status and vii) among those reporting a preference and expectations for upward occupational mobility.

3. Although one in ten students was a "drinker," almost half of them conditionally approved of drinking by their age peers. Only one in five unconditionally disapproved. There were shared definitions among all students about the appropriateness and inappropriateness of the what, where, when, how much and with whom of drinking.

4. The functions of teen-age drinking suggested by the analysis are i) status-conferral (e.g., some drinking serves as an improvised rite of passage between the adolescent age grade, perceived as predominantly abstinent, and the adult age grade, perceived as predominantly non-abstinent); ii) group identification (e.g., identifying oneself and being identified as a member of a group oriented to playing adult-like roles); iii) anticipatory socialization (e.g., parentally approved but controlled exploration of adult drinking behavior by adolescents; and iv) legitimation of unconventional behavior (e.g., behavior which is tolerated because one "does not know what he is doing" so that the projected irresponsibility is sometimes fulfilled even when the behavior cannot be explained by the actual ingestation of alcohol).

The significance of the data for sociological theories of symbolism in relation to action, age grading in relation to social structure, social norms in relation to behavior and motivation are briefly explored.

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CHAPTER I

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF TEEN-AGE DRINKING

Acceptance of the idea that drinking is culturally defined and socially structured behavior has emerged only recently in the United States. This has tended to be the case even among those who have been most interested in objective study of drinking behavior. Attention has characteristically been directed to the negative aspects of drinking--social problems, medical problems, legal problems, personal problems and other related problems. Emphasis has been placed on what alcohol does to the individual and to society. The idea that drinking could have for individuals positive symbolic significance has been largely ignored. The possibility that drinking could have positive significance, could do something for individuals and groups as well as to them, has been left unexplored until recently. There are several reasons for this truncated approach to the study of drinking behavior and for the increasing awareness of its inadequacy which are relevant to discuss as background for a sociological study of teen-age drinking.

The "Social Problem" Orientation To Drinking

One primary reason why drinking has not been studied as social behavior is that research attention has typically been directed to the negative aspects of the compulsive drinking of the alcoholic. Drinking behavior in general has frequently been thought of as only a prelude to alcoholism so that the primary distinction between drinking and alcoholism has been reduced to a matter of degree and duration. Since two basic characteristics of the alcoholic in America are that he is an adult and socially isolated, the focus of investigation has tended to be on the individual compulsive

adult drinker—his personal problems, his rehabilitation and the social problems he creates. This limited focus has placed a decisive stamp on orientations to the study of drinking, the formulation of research questions and the types of explanations of drinking behavior which have been advanced. The personal and social disfunctions of drinking have been emphasized almost to the exclusion of any broader consideration of drinking as a form of social behavior.

The penchant which many Americans in their public discussions have for equating all drinking with pre-alcoholism and all "excessive" drinking with alcoholism derives in part from a dual tradition about the use of alcohol which is part of the American cultural heritage. On the one hand there is the tradition of "the Protestant Ethic," to use Max Weber's well known phrase. The characterization of the relevance of this ethic for drinking made by Edwin M. Lemert[1] warrants presentation here:

> It is entirely possible that persons strongly indoctrinated with the Anglo-Saxon, middle-class drinking ethic, or perhaps with that which is called the "Protestant Ethic," symbolizes drinking in this kind of context as evidence of loss of (a man's) control over the self, which is a cardinal sin in the Protestant middle-class value system. Each drink is a symbolic "giving in" to a hated impulse; failures and inadequacies of all sorts become symbolized as consequences of a basic character weakness, centering around and corroborating an internal picture of the self as a sot and a drunkard, which must be erased or escaped by further intoxication. Each return to sobriety etches the self picture in sharper relief and renews the stimulus to drink.

The tradition of temperance—interestingly, defined as total abstinence by the temperance movement in the United States—has concentrated attention on

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[1] Alcohol and the Northwest Coast Indians (Berkeley: University of California Publications in Culture and Society, Volume 2, No. 6, University of California Press, 1954), 366; see also "Philosophy of the Temperance Movement: A Panel Discussion," in Alcohol, Science and Society (New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945).

what some individuals believe to be the fundamental immorality of all drinking. On the other hand, even the casual observer of the American scene could hardly fail to note that most Americans drink at some time and that this drinking at least gives the appearance of being institutionalized behavior.[2]

But even apart from the contradictory traditions about drinking in the American cultural heritage, there has often been a non-partisan concern expressed over the increasing social costs of excessive drinking and alcoholism. The estimated four million alcoholics in the United States, for example, are said to constitute a major health problem.[3] Moreover, in a highly complex, mechanized society, the demonstrable depressant effect of ingested alcohol on human response mechanisms has implications for safety and for personal and social responsibility which are only partly reflected, for example, in statistics indicating the number of automobile or industrial accidents directly or indirectly attributable to intoxication. Alcoholism and intoxication do create practical problems of health, safety and responsibility which can only speculatively be converted into dollars and cents, though the

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[2]See, for example, B. E. Macrory, "The Tavern and the Community," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 13 (1951), 609-37; John Dollard, "Drinking Mores and the Social Classes," Alcohol, Science and Society, op. cit.; and J. W. Riley and C. F. Marden, "The Social Pattern of Alcohol Drinking," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 8 (1947), 265-73; for one of the best concise historical statements on the use of beverage alcohol in the United States, see R. G. McCarthy and E. M. Douglass, Alcohol and Social Responsibility (New York: Crowell, 1949), Chapters 1-5.

[3]There were an estimated four million alcoholics in the United States in 1948; this number constitutes a rate of approximately four alcoholics for every one thousand adults in the population. An alcoholic is defined as "an excessive drinker whose dependence upon alcohol has attained such a degree that it shows a mental disturbance, or an interference with bodily or mental health, his interpersonal relations or his smooth social functioning; or who shows prodromal signs of such developments." See E. M. Jellinek and Mark Keller, "Rates of Alcoholism in the United States of America, 1940-1948," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 13 (1952), 49-59.

dollars and cents cost in itself is estimated to be high.[4]

Both the moral and social cost orientations to drinking in a way peculiarly characteristic of American society have drawn attention to the urgency of "doing something about alcohol." But what this "something to be done" should be has most generally been reflected in an intensification of the negative problem orientation. Moralistic pleas for total abstinence or legal prohibition, for example, imply that the explanation of drinking is to be found in alcohol itself or that in the absence of drinking the various problems associated with the use of alcohol would disappear. From this point of view the emphasis tends always to be on the effects of drinking rather than the causes of drinking. Moreover, much of the scientific research focusing on the rehabilitation of alcoholics has supported, though in large part unintentionally, this orientation to drinking behavior.

Interest in the physiological effects of drinking on the isolated individual alcoholic has been stimulated by the practical demands of rehabilitating the alcoholic physically and by a physiological interpretation of the addiction process. Fundamental to any program of rehabilitation of the alcoholic has been the determination of what happens to the human body when alcohol is ingested and why. A large and precise body of information is now available to answer such basic questions.[5] Alcohol has been found to be an anesthetic with decided depressant effects on the physiological and

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[4]For an assessment which estimates that the direct economic costs of hospitalization, wage loss and property loss attributable to intoxication and alcoholism alone to be in excess of three-quarters of a billion dollars a year see Benson Y. Landis, "Some Economic Aspects of Inebriety," in Alcohol, Science and Society, op. cit.

[5]For brief summaries of these data see L. A. Greenberg, "The Concentration of Alcohol in the Blood and its Significance," ibid.; H. W. Haggard, "The Physiological Effects of Large and Small Amounts of Alcohol," ibid.; E. M. Jellinek, "The Effects of Small Amounts of Alcohol on Psychological Functions," ibid.

psychological functions of the human body. There has been no convincing evidence, however, that alcoholic addiction can be explained in physiological and pharmacological terms alone. Yet there has been a persistent popular tendency to explain alcoholism, and by implication all drinking, in just these terms. Popular reference to alcoholism as an "illness," when left unelaborated, has also suggested and called attention to organic problems to the neglect of other relevant aspects. This emphasis appeared in extreme form in publicity originally given to antabuse, a drug incompatible with alcohol in the human body and productive of extreme nausea for the drinker who has previously ingested the drug. Antabuse was at one time popularly referred to as a "cure" for alcoholism.

The more cautious evaluation of antabuse by medical scientists is instructive and relevant for an understanding of the emergent interest in drinking as social behavior. Antabuse treatment alone has never "cured" an alcoholic; "therapy" has been recognized as indispensable to the "social recovery."[6] A major problem in this treatment, for example, proved to be an explanation of how antabuse contributes to the "cure" of an alcoholic. Significantly, some explanations have concentrated on the factor of conditioning: The drinker learns that he cannot drink with impunity. "Social recovery," therpay and conditioning are clearly only partly related to the physiological aspects of compulsive drinking. Increasingly it has been recognized even by physiologists that attempts to "cure" the compulsive drinking of the alcoholic by

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[6] C. T. Brown and E. C. Knoblock, "Antabuse Therapy in the Army," U. S. Armed Forces Medical Journal, 2 (1951), 191-202; also Erik Jacobsen and O. Martensen-Larsen, "Treatment of Alcoholism with Tetraetheylthiuram ('Antabuse')," The Journal of the American Medical Association, 139 (1949), 918-22.

means of drugs alone treats a symptom rather than a cause. But a symptom of what?

Again the answer has quite generally been phrased in terms of the individual but this time in terms of the dynamics of personality. The relevant psychiatric literature has concentrated primarily on the use of alcohol by disturbed personalities and specifically on the personality disturbances apparently resulting from drinking. "Anxiety reduction," "reduction of super ego demands," "regression," "latent homosexuality," "negation," and similar phrases fill the pages of this literature.[7] There is, of course, no objection to charting the personality dynamics involved in certain types of drinking just as there is no objection to the specification of the pharmacological and physiological aspects of the use of alcohol. However, the "problem" orientation in each instance has concentrated on the individual in a way that has tended to ignore the social aspects of this behavior. It has not been apparent from psychiatric data, for example, why alcohol rather than some other depressant should be used by disturbed individuals or why all disturbed individuals or all "excessive" drinkers are not also alcoholics. The recognition of these problems alone has led at least one psychiatrist to conclude that the problem of alcoholism really belongs to "social psychiatry."[8]

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[7] For example, William Fleeson and E. F. Gildea, "A Study of the Personalities of 289 Abnormal Drinkers," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 2 (1942), 433-65; Paul Schilder, "The Psychogenesis of Alcoholism," ibid., 2 (1941), 277-93; E. A. Stecker, "Chronic Alcoholism: A Psychological Survey," ibid., 2 (1941), 12-18.

[8] G. N. Thompson, "A Psychiatric Formulation of Alcoholism," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 7 (1946), 46-56. See also C. S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, "Psychoanalytic Theory and Its Application in the Social Sciences," in Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), for a discussion of the extent to which the social dimensions of psychiatry have been increasingly emphasized.

Drinking As A Sociological And Social Psychological Problem

An increasing awareness both of the inadequacy of individualistic physiological and psychiatric explanations of drinking behavior and of the cumulative evidence that drinking is culturally defined and socially structured behavior has led one scientist originally trained in physiology but experienced in interdisciplinary research to conclude that

> The use of alcoholic beverages by (the members of) society has primarily a symbolic meaning, and secondarily it achieves "function." Cultures which accept this custom differ in the nature and degree of the "functions" which they regard as legitimate. The differences in these "functions" are determined by the general pattern of the culture, e.g., the need for the release and for special control of aggression, the need and the ways and means of achieving identification, the nature and intensity of anxieties and the modus of their relief and so forth. The more the symbolic character of the custom is preserved, the less room will be granted by the culture to the "functions" of drinking.
>
> Any drinking within the accepted ways is symptomatic of the culture of which the drinker is a member. Within that frame of cultural symptomatology there may be in addition individual symptoms expressed in the act of drinking. The fact that a given individual drinks a glass of beer with his meal may be the symptom of the culture which accepts such use as a refreshment, or as a "nutritional supplement." That this individual drinks at this given moment may be a symptom of his fatigue, or his elation or some other mood and thus an individual symptom but if his culture accepts the use for these purposes it is at the same time a cultural symptom.
>
> In this sense even the small or moderate use of alcoholic beverages is symptomatic and it may be said that all drinkers are culturally symptomatic drinkers, or at least, started as such.
>
> The vast majority of the users of alcoholic beverages stay within the limits of the culturally accepted drinking behavior and drink primarily as an expression of their culture and while individual expressions may be present in these behaviors, its role remains insignificant.[9]

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[9] E. M. Jellinek, "Phases of Alcohol Addiction," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 13 (1952), 675. This point of view is comparable to that developed by A. R. Lindesmith [Opiate Addiction (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1947)] with regard to the symbolic aspects of the use of opiates; though Lindesmith specifically excludes a consideration of alcoholism in this study, he does suggest the possible social psychological similarities between the use of opiates and some use of alcohol.

The ideas presented in this passage constitute a fundamental reorientation to the study and understanding of drinking behavior. The particular phrasing of the ideas which reflect the author's training is of secondary importance. The primary point is that attention is shifted from the individual to the socio-cultural context in which he operates. Attention is shifted from the compulsive drinking of the alcoholic to the more basic consideration of the symbolic significance of drinking as a type of social behavior. If the cited passage reflected only the considered judgment of a single individual, this reformulation of the problem and this shift in orientation would be interesting but of limited significance. However, in a way this passage actually summarizes the conclusion drawn from a decade of research on the uses of beverage alcohol in large part stimulated by the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies.

From its foundation in 1940 the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies has emphasized the research utility of approaching drinking as behavior which must be studied within the framework of many disciplines and not any single discipline alone. Single factor causal explanations consistently have proved to be inadequate. The initial problem of the Center, then, was to accumulate and systematize existing evidence from relevant disciplines and to guide future research in terms of filling gaps in the data. One of the most obvious of these gaps was the scarcity of anthropological and sociological data on drinking.[10] There was a recognized need, articulated particularly by the sociologist Seldon D. Bacon, for sociological and anthropological studies concentrating on representative samples of the drinking population rather

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[10] S. D. Bacon, "Sociology and the Problems of Alcohol," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 4 (1944), 402-45.

than on the clinical study of a minority of abnormal drinkers and on the culturally defined and socially structured aspects of drinking behavior. A long range program designed to report existing sociological and anthropological data and to coordinate continued research was proposed as early as 1944.

This proposed program of the Yale Center has matured in two directions. The first has been the accumulation of comparative data on the drinking behavior of peoples around the world. This research, done primarily by anthropologists, has emphasized the cultural relativity of drinking behavior. The second direction has been toward the accumulation of data about drinking behavior in the United States. This research, done primarily by sociologists, has been confined largely to surveys from which descriptive statistical summaries of drinking behavior have been compiled.[11]

There are several reasons for reporting here brief summaries of some of the more important of these studies which concentrate on drinking rather than on alcoholism per se. First, until the present time the data of these studies have not been systematically surveyed. Second, these studies provide a relevant background for a basic proposition in the sociological study of drinking: Drinking is culturally defined and socially structured behavior. An awareness of the variety of meanings imputed to the use of alcohol and to the situations in which alcohol is used by the peoples in different societies provides a better perspective for viewing the drinking behavior in our own society. Attention, therefore, will be directed first to brief summaries of several significant anthropological studies of drinking and then

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[11]The official publication of the Yale Center--The Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol--is the best single source of published sociological and anthropological research on drinking since it carries both original articles and summaries of relevant material appearing in other sources.

to a summary of survey data on drinking in the United States. It will be noted that in both types of study the research interest is on drinking behavior and not exclusively on alcoholism as a special type of drinking.

Anthropological studies of drinking behavior.- One of the early studies directed specifically to an analysis of drinking behavior in relation to culture is Ruth Bunzel's comparative analysis of the use of alcohol by Indians in a Mexican and a Guatemalan village.[12] She notes that, in spite of the fact that the Mexican Chamula were known as "bad Indians," there was a striking absence of aggressive behavior accompanying heavy drinking. This was the case even though social penalties for such aggression were light. Aggression was largely confined to verbalizing and physical encounters were limited entirely to the use of the hands. Weapons were never used in drunken brawls.[13] Drinking among these Indians appears as an integral part of convivial behavior. Alcohol is a focal point around which many social activities take place. Drunkenness is taken as a matter of course. This description of the Mexican

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[12] "The Role of Alcoholism in Two Central American Cultures," Psychiatry, 3 (1940), 361-87. The reference to alcoholism in the title of this article is misleading; the term is used to refer to intoxication primarily and not only to the alcoholic syndrome discussed in American professional literature on alcoholism.

[13] A similar observation has been made on the behavior of the Mixe Indians by Ralph Beals, The Ethnology of the Western Mixe (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, 42, 1955), 29. The Mixe are reported to quarrel frequently, especially when drunk. Though weapons are always carried, when quarreling begins participants who have been drinking hand over their weapons to bystanders. Similarly, George Devereaux ["The Function of Alcohol in Mohave Society," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcoholism, 9 (1948), 207-51], notes the use of alcohol as a mechanism for aggression avoidance. The Mohave male is capable of "passing out" after a single drink of alcohol when he is confronted with agressive behavior.

Chamula is in sharp contrast to her description of the Guatemalan Indian whose Mayan cultural heritage predisposes him to a morality which demands abstinence. Secular drinking is a modern phenomena among Mayan Indians and is confined primarily to fiestas. This drinking is accompanied by increased eroticism followed by guilt feelings; this feeling of guilt apparently stems from the sexual promiscuity and not the act of drinking, however.[14] Bunzel concludes from her comparative study that drinking is a very different phenomena in these two cultures; but in each case the differences must be understood in cultural terms.

The research of Donald Horton provides a comprehensive ethnological survey of drinking behavior in fifty-six societies selected from the Yale Human Relations Cross-Cultural Survey files.[15] Horton was concerned to present "a theory of psychological and social functions" as an explanation of certain aspects of the drinking customs of primitive peoples. His study is organized around the proposition that "the primary function of the consumption of alcohol in any society is more adequately explained by its anxiety-reducing function than any other function." It is not possible in this brief survey to review critically Horton's use of the concept of anxiety nor his research methodology. It is sufficient to note here that he relates anxiety to mechanisms of learning in a socio-cultural context. Having specified that drinking is a learned mechanism of anxiety-reduction, Horton investigates the relationship between situations which are expected to be anxiety-producing (e.g., famine, disease, war and the threat of war) and degrees of inebriety.

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[14] This is in contrast to observations made about the guilt feelings said to accompany drinking per se among persons in the Western World who subscribe to the "Protestant Ethic." On this point see the passage from E. M. Lemert, op. cit., reproduced on page 2, above.

[15] "The Functions of Alcohol in Primitive Societies: A Cross-Cultural Study," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 4 (1943), 199-311.

He reports a positive relationship. He also reports a positive relationship between inebriety and releases of physical aggression, including sexual aggression.

Equally important in his study is the documentation of the varied cultural definitions and social structure affecting drinking behavior. Horton notes, for example, that the response of a people to "anxiety-producing" situations is not invariably inebriety. Stringent social controls are typically found to accompany the use of alcohol in the presence of "real" imminent danger. Moreover, in various societies differential participation in drinking behavior is observed on the basis of age, sex and other status factors. Drinking is found to be almost exclusively group behavior and alcohol is found on occasion to provide one basis for the symbolic identification of an in-group. In brief, Horton's data suggest that drinking is culturally defined and socially structured behavior. Anxiety-reduction is only one of the functions of drinking, though Horton chooses to emphasize this as the primary function.

Robert Bales[16] continued Horton's and Bunzel's emphasis on the sociocultural aspects of drinking with a study of two identifiable ethnic subgroups in American society, the Irish and Jews. He observes that, while the incidence of drinking is high in both groups, the rates of alcoholism are strikingly different. The Jewish alcoholic is rare in contrast to the high incidence of alcoholism found among the Irish. Bales explains the differential rate of alcoholism in terms of three variables: 1) the ways in which culture operates in a particular context to bring about social disequilibrium and

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16"Cultural Differences in the Rates of Alcoholism," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 6 (1945), 480-99.

personal anxieties; 2) the kinds of attitudes which are shared by individuals in a society toward the use of alcohol and 3) the extent to which suitable alternative mechanisms of adjustment are provided. Like Horton, Bales chooses to emphasize the anxiety-reducing functions of drinking, particularly in regard to the compulsive drinking of the alcoholic. At the same time Bales notes that, even in the absence of extreme anxiety, alcohol may play an integral part in social interaction. As Bunzel observed about the Chamula, Bales concludes that people may drink because it is an integral part of a way of life and because they enjoy it. Individuals may be predisposed to use alcohol ritually, convivially or instrumentally (for example, the salesman buying drinks for prospective customers) as well as to reduce anxiety. The use of alcohol has no necessary meaning and no universal function; it may have a variety of meanings and functions.[17] Moreover, Bales stresses that there may be alternative mechanisms which "do for" individuals and groups what alcohol presumably does. Among these alternatives may be listed the strong tea and coffee of the Moslem, the ecstasy of the Balinese, the ritual of the totally abstinent Zuni or the opiates of the Oriental.[18]

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[17]For other studies of the relationship between different culturally defined meanings of drinking and differential functions of the use of alcohol, see D. C. Glad, "Attitudes and Experience of American-Jewish and American-Irish Male Youth as Related to Differences in Adult Rates of Inebriety," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 8 (1948), 406-72; R. H. Landman, "Studies in Drinking in Jewish Culture: III, Drinking Patterns of Children and Adolescents Attending Religious Schools," ibid., 13 (1951), 87-94; and G. Lolli, et al, "The Use of Wine and Other Alcoholic Beverages by Groups of Italians and Americans of Italian Extraction," ibid., 13 (1951), 27-47.

[18]With regard to the Chinese and Japanese, Weston LeBarre ["Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient," Psychiatry, 9 (1946), 375-95], has observed that these people use alcoholic beverages without the slightest trace of the ambivalence frequently noted in the Western World. The solitary drinker is unthinkable. There is no violent addiction and alcoholic frenzy is rare. Intoxication has little moral significance and the primary control of drinking comes through the positive emphasis on the honoring of social obligations. See on this point also Ruth Benedict, Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946), Chapter ix.

What drinking means, then, and the effects it has on the drinker are significantly structured and regulated by cultural definition and must be understood in the context of a way of life. J. J. Honigman has further documented this point in a study of drinking in a small community along the Alaskan highway populated by Canadian whites and Athabaskan-speaking Indians.[19] Alcohol was found to function as a symbolic mechanism for bridging the social distance between individuals and their groups and particularly between the groups composed of Indians and whites. Heightened sexual aggressiveness did not typically accompany drinking for either group. More frequently drinking was interpreted by Honigman as symbolic aggression on the part of both whites and Indians against stringent legal controls imposed by the province government on the purchase of alcohol in the community. Different styles of drinking were also apparent. Whites characteristically "sipped and relished" whiskey and their drinking was accompanied by clowning. Indians tended to gulp their liquor and clowning was absent. Drinking was largely confined for both groups to social activities and rarely interfered with the work habits of the community.

Finally, special attention is warranted by a recent study of uses of beverage alcohol by Northwest Coast Indians, including the Salish, Nootka, Kwakiutl, Tsimshian and Haida.[20] In this account E. M. Lemert reports the patterns of drinking behavior observable among these Indians in terms of the status-roles, symbolic values, the verbalized purposes and emotional qualities related to this behavior. He is also particularly interested in the public

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[19]"Drinking in an Indian-White Community," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 5 (1945), 575-619.

[20]Edwin M. Lemert, Alcohol and the Northwest Coast Indians, op. cit.

and self image of the drinker. In brief, Lemert is concerned with an exploration of the meaning, symbolic associations and sentiments attached to drinking by individuals, by the individual as a member of a group and by the relevant culture.

At the time when the study was made the traditional Indian way of life on the Northwest Coast was in a state of disintegration. Acculturation through contact with whites was well advanced. In this context drinking acquired symbolic significance as mechanism of aggression primarily against the white man and his laws. The association between drinking and sexual aggression was not found among the Indians but rather among the whites who held the stereotype that alcohol is a mechanism peculiarly adapted to the seduction of the Indian female. Apart from the symbolic aggression against the whites, drinking among the Indians was generally associated with convivial and traditional ritualistic behavior.

The use of alcohol was also clearly related to social status and an individual's conception of his social status. In the histrionic drinking an individual could in effect say, "Look, this is the way I drink." In this act an individual reflected his conception of the adult world. By means of drinking he could also assert his equality with the whites and at the same time perpetuate the old rivalry patterns of competition in wealth and display which have been traditionally characteristic of the Northwest Coast Indians. This is illustrated particularly in the case of the drinking feast.

The drinking feasts of the Northwest Coast Indians were more than occasions to display status as the potlatch, after which the feasts were patterned, had been. The drinking party was an occasion for challenges and displays of status symbols, of which large supplies of illegal alcohol was one. More than this, the party was an occasion for satirical songs and for

the expression of idiosyncratic feelings and impulses with impunity. Horseplay, verbal aggressions and personal debunking could be directed toward individuals of high status; these forms of aggressions were institutionally related to drinking and legitimate when confined to the context of the drinking feast.

The culturally defined attitude of the Northwest Coast Indians toward drinking and drunkenness was found to be permissive. The most common reaction of a sober person to an inebriate was caution and avoidance. Concepts of blame and sinfulness were not associated with drinking; on the contrary, a positive feeling of gain was expressed by some drinkers in breaking the law of the white man who prohibited sale of alcohol to Indians.

From his data Lemert concludes that group demands on behavior are integral to the understanding of drinking of these Indians. So long as an Indian remains an Indian, he has certain obligations to express himself in interaction with others by means of the instruments at hand. The use of alcohol cannot be explained in the essentially negative terms of anxiety-reduction alone. Alcohol may do something <u>for</u> the individual in relationship to the group and for a group in relation to other groups. The notion that alcohol can do something <u>to</u> and not <u>for</u> individuals and groups or that cultural integration based in any way on the use of alcohol is "spurious" rather than "genuine," reflects the moralistic cultural bias of the Protestant Ethic rather than objective analysis. Alcohol and its use, like other objects and forms of behavior, may be used to support the important values of a society even when drinking is not positively valued in itself.

In summary, the anthropological studies briefly surveyed document the utility of viewing uses of beverage alcohol as culturally defined and socially structured behavior. Drinking behavior in a particular society may be viewed

most adequately within the context of a way of life. Though certain concentrations of ingested alcohol have demonstrable physiological effects on the human organism, the observed effects of drinking on the behavior of drinkers are in important aspects culture-relative. For example, the use of alcohol may, but does not necessarily, eventuate in heightened aggressiveness and sexuality. Drinking, even when "excessive," is typically social behavior subject to group control. Who will drink what, when, where and with whom is not ordinarily left to chance alone. Moreover, drinking which results in inebriety does not necessarily eventuate in the compulsive drinking characteristic of the alcohol and imputation of sin and guilt to drinking is apparently confined largely to some segments of modern Western society. Rates of alcohol consumption and the incidence of alcoholism are not at all positively correlated in every society.

Surveys of drinking behavior in the United States. - Studies of drinking in the United States, excepting the compulsive drinking of the alcoholic, have been limited primarily to descriptive surveys. Sociological analysis and interpretation have been at a minimum.[21] The surveys appearing in the relevant literature do, however, provide basic information about the extent and pattern of the use of alcohol in American society, some of the significant social characteristics of drinkers and the social contexts which are most likely to be associated with drinking. For this reason, brief summaries of several of these studies will be presented in the following paragraphs.

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[21] Comparative studies of ethnic sub-groups which have already been noted are an exception; other exceptions include S. D. Bacon, "Inebriety, Social Integration and Marriage," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 4 (1944), 86-126; Boyd E. Macrory, "The Tavern and the Community," op. cit.; John Dollard, "Drinking Mores and Social Classes," op. cit.

The differential drinking behavior related to age and sex in the United States should be noted, the differences being especially evident when all of the data to be reported is seen in total perspective.

In 1946 the National Opinion Research Center conducted a nationwide survey of drinking behavior among persons twenty-one years of age and older.[22] In the representative national sample polled it was found that 65% of the respondents reported themselves as drinkers and 17% of these drinkers identified themselves as "regular" drinkers (more than three times a week). Males were more likely than females to be drinkers (75% as compared to 56%) and more likely to be "regular" drinkers (27% as compared to 7%). Individuals living in urban areas were also more likely than those in rural areas to be drinkers (77% as compared to 46%).[23]

Shifting its attention from the whole adult population to the late adolescent and young adult in college, the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies administered questionnaires to 17,000 students in twenty-seven colleges selected to represent different types of financing, enrollment and regions of the United States during 1950 and 1951.[24] Although 74% of the students in

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[22]Reported in J. W. Riley and C. F. Marden, "The Social Pattern of Alcohol Drinking," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, op. cit.; also J. W. Riley, et al, "The Motivational Pattern of Drinking," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 9 (1948), 353-63.

[23]These national data are corroborated in part by research in the State of Washington reported by M. A. Maxwell, "Drinking Behavior in the State of Washington," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 13 (1951), 219-39. On the basis of polling a random sample, Maxwell reports that 63% of the adult population reported themselves as drinkers. Males were more likely than females to be drinkers (76% as compared to 51%) and more likely to be "regular" drinkers (19% as compared to 3%).

[24]Robert Straus and S. D. Bacon, Drinking in College (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

this survey reported themselves to be drinkers, the percent varied in the various colleges from 95% to 55% for males and 95% to 20% for females. Among these college students, drinkers were more likely to come from higher income families than were non-drinkers. Religious affiliation was also found to be associated with drinking. Jews and Catholics were more likely to be drinkers than were Protestants; Mormons were the least likely to be drinkers. However, with the exception of Mormons, college students of all religious affiliations were more likely to be drinkers than abstainers.

Age and sex were found to be related to drinking among college students. Drinking tended to increase with age, reaching a high point about the age of twenty-one and diminishing slightly after that. Males were more likely than females to report themselves as drinkers.

The morality of drinking typically was qualified situationally. Both males and females applied a dual standard to the appropriateness of male and female drinking. These college students generally agreed that drinking is more appropriate for males than for females and also more appropriate for adults than for students. However, abstaining individuals did not characteristically generalize their abstinence as morally "right" for all other college students.

Most student drinkers reported that they had learned to drink prior to entering college. Parental appoval for their behavior was generally claimed by drinkers and 43% of them indicated that they had had experience with alcohol in childhood.

Recognition that drinking is learned behavior which is culturally defined and socially structured and that this behavior is apparently well developed by late adolescence has focused attention increasingly on adolescence. To date, however, only three fairly comprehensive studies of drinking by

adolescents have been made available. All of these have concentrated on the teen-ager in high school.[25]

The first of these studies was conducted in a suburban high school in Washington, D. C., in 1941 with replications in 1945 and 1947.[26] Here, in contrast to the studies of the adult and of the late adolescent in college, the large majority of high school teen-agers reported themselves as non-drinkers (abstainers). Though the percentage of abstainers decreased in each restudy, in 1947 only 45% of the males and 23% of the females reported themselves as drinkers. The high school drinker, as in the case of the college drinker, did report that his first experience with alcohol was in the home.

A second study of drinking by adolescents was conducted in the State of Utah among over one thousand tenth and twelfth grade students attending selected public high schools.[27] The public schools to be studied were chosen on the basis of size and location in the state. Forty-four percent of the male students and 21% of the females reported themselves to be drinkers. Though an overwhelming majority of students "disapproved" of teen-age drinking, the number of disapprovers tended to decrease with age. Teen-age drinking was thought by these high school students as most likely to occur in the

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[25]Several studies of drinking among pre-adolescents have been reported but these have concentrated on specific ethnic groups. See Footnote 17, above.

[26]R. G. McCarthy and E. M. Douglas, "Instruction on Alcohol Problems in Public Schools," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 8 (1947), 608-55.

[27]A. D. Slater, "A Study of the Use of Alcoholic Beverages Among High School Students in Utah," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 13 (1951), 78-86.

home. However, among the most common reasons given by them for drinking were to be with "the crowd" and to be "gay," suggesting activity not confined to the home alone.

A third study was made in Nassau County, Long Island, New York, among one thousand high school students.[28] While 86% of these students were found to have had experience with alcohol at some time, only 43% reported having used alcohol during the previous week. Ninety-three percent reported parental drinking and a majority of students indicated that they had drunk at home with parental approval. The percentage of students indicating some pattern of drinking was found to increase with age but to level at about the age nineteen. The most frequently designated occasions for drinking were at parties, celebrations and special events.

In none of these surveys which have been briefly summarized here was a concerted attempt made to analyze the theoretical significance of the data within a sociological framework. This does not make the data less valuable, though the absence of the analysis does point up a gap in the understanding of the behavior surveyed. These data do suggest that, contrary to expectations fostered by concentration on the abnormal or problem drinker, the "normal" drinking behavior appears to be characteristic of a majority of the

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[28] M. N. Chappell, et al, Use of Alcoholic Beverages Among High School Students (New York: The Mrs. John S. Sheppard Foundation, 1953). A fourth study, in Racine County, Wisconsin, using essentially the same procedure and questionnaire as the Chappell study has just been published. The findings of the Wisconsin study generally corroborate the Long Island data. See John L. Miller and J. R. Wahl, Attitudes of High School Students Toward Alcoholic Beverages. A study made for the Mrs. John S. Sheppard Foundation, New York, New York. Prepared by the University Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1956.

adult population in the United States. Moreover, this "normal" drinking is not observed randomly in the population. Differences in both the frequency and the patterns of drinking are observed on the basis of age, sex and religious affiliation, to mention only three factors. The data indicate further both that basic orientations to drinking are learned in the context of the home and peer group associations and that experimentation with or exposure to drinking typically begins during adolescence or before. Cultural definitions of the appropriateness of drinking make this behavior less appropriate for adolescents than for adults, and for females than for males. Though appropriateness also has a moral dimension--the "rightness" or "wrongness" of drinking--there is no indication in these data either that the majority of "normal" drinkers consider their behavior immoral or that all abstainers necessarily consider drinkers to be immoral. The data also suggest that alcohol is defined as a social beverage and not as a drug since the most common situations associated with drinking are social and convivial. The party, the ceremony, the special event appear to be the context which is most likely to suggest drinking.

Summary.- An emergent interest in the sociological aspects of drinking is observable in the relevant professional literature. The exclusive focus of study on alcoholism in the United States which has given such a distinctive stamp to the formulation of research problems has been broadened. In the past, primary attention has been devoted to what "excessive" use of alcohol does to the individual and subsequently to society. The research problems have been primarily physiological and psychological, both concentrating on the individual. The physiological and psychological aspects of drinking, while important to any comprehensive understanding of drinking, have nevertheless proved inadequate for understanding this behavior. Increasing interest has been shown in the sociological aspects of drinking as

indicated by an increasing number of anthropological and sociological studies which approach drinking as culturally defined and socially structured behavior.

Anthropological research has established several general propositions which may be taken as basic for subsequent research:

1. Uses of beverage alcohol and the "effects" of these uses on behavior are culture-relative. This does not mean that the physiological effects of the same amounts of alcohol for comparable individuals are different; rather the social effects are different. Alcoholism and excessive drinking are not identical forms of behavior.

2. Drinking may do something <u>for</u> as well as <u>to</u> individuals and the groups in which they interact. Drinking may be positively valued behavior which contributes directly or indirectly to the achievement of desired personal and social goals. Drinking may be functional as well as disfunctional.

3. Drinking characteristically is social behavior subject to group controls. Individuals learn to drink or to abstain as the case may be. They also learn shared rules specifying who drinks what, where, when and with whom.

Sociological surveys concentrating on the pattern and social context of drinking have also established several points about the use of alcohol in the United States which provide relevant background for subsequent research:

1. Drinking is common adult behavior. There is no indication that this behavior necessarily produces the intense feelings of ambivalence which has been generalized from the clinical study of alcoholics to the larger drinking population.

2. Drinking is social behavior typically subject to group controls. Individuals learn to drink. Like individuals in other societies, Americans

also learn shared rules specifying who drinks what, where, when and with whom. Age and sex distinctions appar to be especially relevant in understanding observed differences in drinking behavior.

3. Drinking may do something for as well as to individuals and the groups in which they participate. Though the institutionalized aspects of drinking have not been studied extensively in this country, the groundwork for such study has been laid.

The Problem Of This Research

This is a report of the research findings of a sociological and social psychological study of the drinking behavior of 1,962 teen-agers in the eleventh and twelfth grades of the three public high schools of a middle-sized Midwestern city. In broad perspective the research follows the orientation to the study of drinking as social behavior implied in Jellinek's statement that "The use of alcoholic beverages by society has primarily a symbolic meaning, and secondarily it achieves 'function.'"[29] The use and nonuse of beverage alcohol is approached as socially structured and culturally defined behavior.

More specifically, the research concentrates on two problems. The first involves the delineation of the pattern and social context of the common illegal act of drinking by some specifically designated high school teen-agers in a specific community. This objective of the study follows generally other surveys of drinking in the United States which are reported in the previous paragraphs and with which the findings reported in subsequent chapters of this monograph may be compared. Second, the research reported

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[29] "Phases of Alcohol Addiction," op. cit. The explicit imputation of priority in this statement is not crucial to its essential meaning.

here explores some of the functional aspects of teen-age drinking within the framework of a theory of symbolic interaction. In this objective the study goes beyond most of the work previously done by sociologists surveying various aspects of drinking behavior and follows more closely the work of the anthropologists reported above insofar as their work has emphasized analysis as well as description. This does not mean that sociological theory is inadequate or less adequate than anthropological theory to handle the analysis of drinking behavior. Rather the implication here is that sociologists generally have failed to analyze available data in this area of human behavior as fully as have anthropologists. The data on drinking as they will be presented here remain sociological in orientation and have relevance for the analysis of an age graded social structure, reference group theory, a theory of social norms, a sociological theory of motivation and a theory of self-and-other-in-symbolic-interaction. Since the relevant literature for these specialized theoretical interests will be reported at appropriate points in the subsequent discussion, it need not be explored here.

An Overview Of The Presentation Of The Research

Chapter II concentrates on the research procedure and design of the study. It includes information about methodological and theoretical orientations, techniques and instruments used for securing data, sampling procedure, the reliability of sampling procedure and research instruments, specific hypotheses of the study and the design of proof. Chapter III focuses on the delineation of the pattern and social context of the drinking of high school teen-agers--and implicitly their non-use--with special attention directed to the significance of this behavior in an age-graded social structure. Chapter IV explores the relevance of the data for a theory of social norms while Chapter V explores the implication of the data for a sociological theory of

motivation. All of these chapters are developed within the framework of a theory of self-and-other-in-symbolic-interaction. Finally, Chapter VI summarizes the findings, presents summary conclusions about the functinal significance of drinking by high school teen-agers in an age-graded society and suggests some general theoretical implications of the data for sociological theory.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

This chapter will concentrate on the various factors involved in the development of the research design and on a description of actual research procedure in gathering and analyzing data. Attention will be directed variously to the theoretical and methodological orientations, the research techniques, problems of reliability, the research population and procedures of analysis utilized in this study of the drinking behavior of 1,962 eleventh and twelfth grade public school students in the spring of 1955.

Sociology: Pure and applied.- It is always as relevant to ask "What is the theoretical relevance of applied sociological research?" as it is to ask "What is the practical application of sociological theory?"[1] There is no desire to digress in order to argue this proposition. The point is mentioned only because the research to be reported here does provide at least a partial illustration of some of the possibilities and limitations of attempting to combine interests in survey and applied research designed to find the solution to practical administrative problems encountered in business or government with interests in crucial research designed specifically to test some theory.[2]

The State Board of Alcoholism, which is partly responsible for developing policies and programs of alcohol education of teen-agers in Michigan,

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[1]See W. J. Goode and P. K. Hatt, Methods of Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952), Chapter 4, for an adequate discussion of this point.

[2]The typology of research interests distinguishing survey, applied technique and crucial research is taken from Allen L. Edwards, "Experiments: Their Planning and Execution," in The Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), 259f, ed., Gardner Lindzey.

originally approached the Social Research Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Michigan State University with a specific problem. The agency requested a survey of the pattern and social context of teen-age drinking and of teen-age attitudes toward drinking. The desired survey was conceived to be similar to those noted in the survey of literature reported in the previous chapter. The expectation on the part of the agency was that such factual data would be useful in understanding the nature and extent of the "problem" of teen-age drinking and would also provide relevant background for assessing and development the agency's programs and policies for alcohol education.

Beyond insisting upon a survey of the extent, pattern and social context of teen-age drinking, the agency proved to be permissive in allowing a research team of the Social Research Service to use its own discretion in defining the research "problem" in sociological terms. In this way it became possible to incorporate interests in sociological theory into the design of essentially applied research.[3] Within the context of this permissive relationship the basic question was not <u>whether</u> applied and crucial research could be combined but rather <u>how</u> the two could be combined in such a way that the specific requests of the sponsoring agency could be met without precluding the inclusion of the theoretical interests of a research team composed of two sociologists and a social anthropologist. The essential problem proved to be one of balancing varied applied and theoretical interests

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[3]This permissiveness, which is a prerequisite in combining applied and crucial research, is frequently absent. See on this point an excellent discussion by Lyman Bryson, "Notes on a Theory of Advice," <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>, LXVI (1951), 321-39; also Robert K. Merton, "The Role of Applied Social Science in the Formation of Policy: A Research Memorandum," <u>Philosophy of Science</u> (July, 1952), 161-81.

within the limitations set by time and resources. How well this balance was achieved may be evaluated in terms of the total presentation of the research in the following chapters.

Methodological And Theoretical Orientations

Methodologically the study is best described as a type of "functional analysis" concentrating on the analysis of specific concrete social systems. Theoretically the orientation is derived primarily from a theory of symbolic interaction. The basic concepts which will be used include structure (pattern), function, social system, position-role, status, symbol, self, social norms, cultural heritage, reference group, and age grade. In order to maintain conceptual clarity the referents of these concepts will be specified in the following paragraphs.

Functional analysis is a way of analyzing regularities in social phenomena in relation to some system. Function refers to the operation of some regularity in behavior (structure) for achieving or maintaining the integration of some social system or sub-system.[4] Social system as it is used here will refer to a membership unit, a concrete plurality of individual actors (selves) whose relationship with each other and with their environment are defined and mediated in terms of culturally structured and shared symbols.[5]

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[4] Detailed discussion of the assumptions of functional analysis and some of the logical and procedural problems arising in its application is found in the following selected references: Robert K. Merton, "Manifest and Latent Function," in Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949); Marion J. Levy, Jr., The Structure of Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Function in the Social Sciences," American Anthropologist, 37 (1936), 394-402; Harry G. Bredemeier, "The Methodology of Functionalism," American Sociological Review, 20 (1955), 173-80; and Raymond Firth, "Function," in Yearbook of Anthropology, 1955 (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1955), ed. W. L. Thomas, Jr.

[5] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press,

It should be emphasized at this point that functional analysis of teen-age drinking behavior is used heuristically both as a descriptive protocol and as a logic of procedure.

Functional analysis as a descriptive protocol concentrates on 1) some observed regularity in social relationships within a concrete social interaction situation; 2) the positioning of the individual participants in whose behavior the regularity is observed within some ordered arrangement of social relationships; 3) the meaning which is imputed to the relevant regularity by the participants or is inferred from their behavior by an observer, making it possible to distinguish between manifest and latent aspects of the situation; and 4) alternative structures which are or might be on occasion substituted for the relevant structure.

Functional analysis as a logic of procedure concentrates on 1) the specification of the social system(s) in relation to which the relevant structure is said to make a functional contribution; 2) determination of the institutional setting of the concrete social systems which limit possible variations in the relevant functional structure or alternatives to it; 3) identification of certain minimal structures which typically operate in system(s) concomitantly with the relevant structure; and 4) the assessment of the functional contribution of the relevant structure to the maintenance of the specified social system(s).

The theoretical orientation to the analysis of teen-age drinking in

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1951), 5f; see also the discussion of C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), 3ff, which places especial emphasis on concrete membership units. While social systems may also be treated analytically, as Parsons does, the emphasis of this study is on concrete systems.

this study will be within the theoretical framework of symbolic interaction.[6] The outline of this framework and the interrelationship of its analytic concepts may be presented schematically. Figure I depicts the most simple social situation in which two actors, A and B, confront each other. Analytically it is possible and initially it is useful to consider the situation from the standpoint of A and B separately. In this illustration B presents a stimulus, a sign-in-situation, to A. This occasions for A an act of symbolic reference; he transforms the sign into a symbol.[7] The presence of B is an event or stimulus in the experience of A which A relates to other experience. A's act of symbolic reference, his recognition of the sign-in-situation presented by B and his placement of the sign in some meaningful context of experience, provides a basis for A's anticipation of the response of B to him and of himself to B. The double contingency of the interaction relationship is illustrated by repeating this analysis from the standpoint of B. The interaction process from the point of view of A and B simultaneously is presented in Figure II.

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[6] This theoretical orientation is associated especially with the work of George Herbert Mead, particularly his Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); see also Leonard Cottrell, "The Analysis of Situational Fields in Social Psychology," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), 370-82; Talcott Parsons, op. cit.; T. M. Newcomb, "An Approach to the Study of Communicative Acts," Psychological Review, 60 (1953), 393-404; and Gregory Stone, "A Paradigm for the Analytic Investigation of Significant Communication," Unpublished Manuscript (Michigan State University, February, 1955).

[7] The interpretation of signs and symbols in relation to action presented here is similar to that in C. K. Ogden and O. I. Richards, The Meaning of Meaning (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930), 11ff. An expansion of the relevance of these concepts will be presented in subsequent paragraphs.

FIGURE I

A PARADIGM OF ANTICIPATORY INTERACTION FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A SINGLE ACTOR

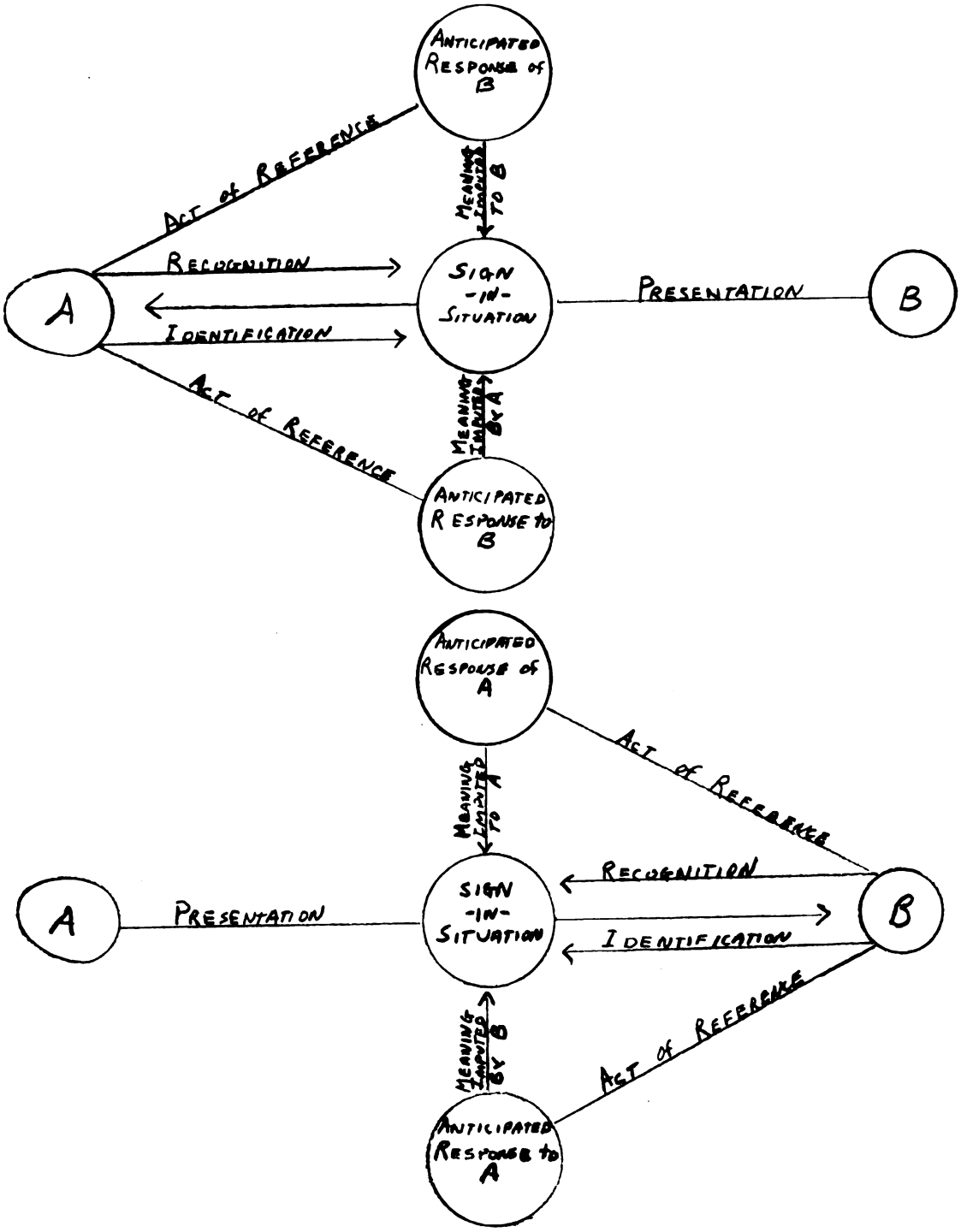

FIGURE II

A PARADIGM OF SIGNIFICANT
SOCIAL INTERACTION

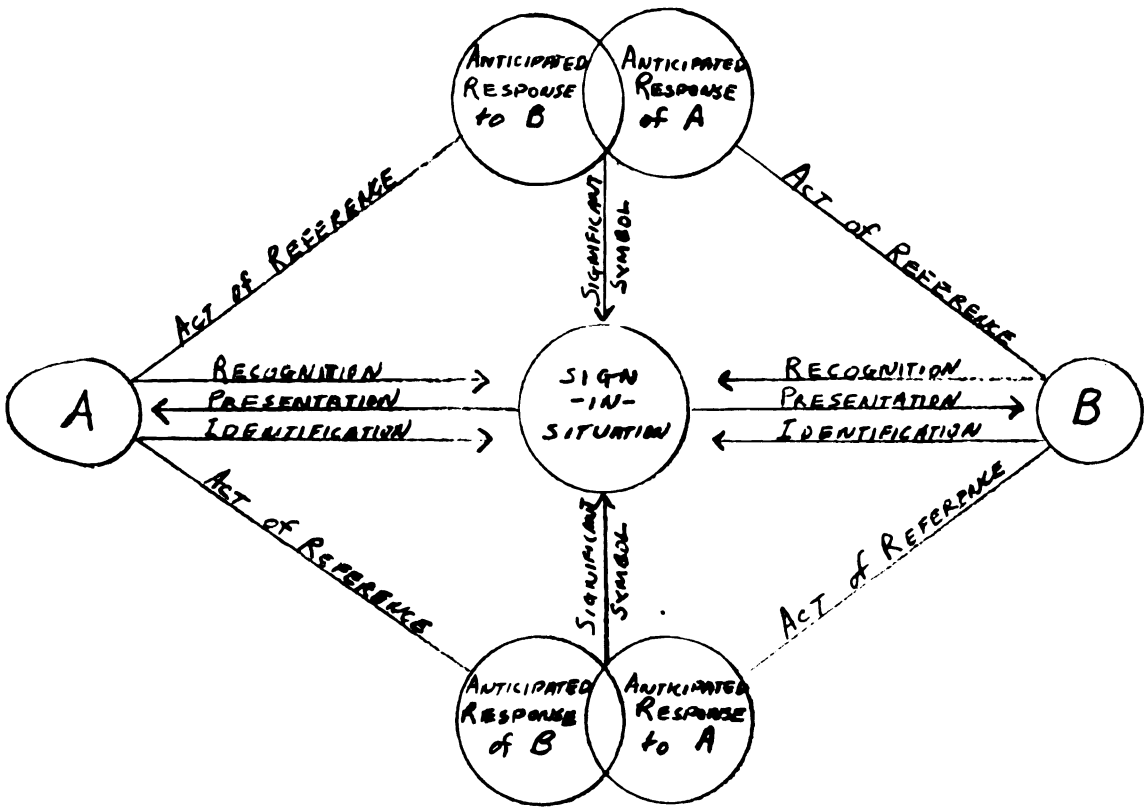

Figure I implies that both A and B individually are capable of placing a given sign-in-situation in a context of meaning which suggests both the anticipated respnse of the other and the response of the self to the other. This is, in fact, typically the case for two individuals who have been socialized as members of the same social system. Such individuals have observed or been informed about the appropriate and expected response of others in the presence of given signs-in-situation; this observation or information provides a basis for the shared expectations for action of self and other in the presence of a given sign. Individuals come to recognize signs-in-situation and, by means of acts of reference, to expect certain regularities in behavior to follow the presentation of these signs. These expectations about appropriate behavior in given situations are social norms.

Normative expectations applied to the behavior of individuals occupying identifiable positions in a social system may be referred to as roles and that part of the act of reference involving anticipation of the expected behavior in response to a symbol-in-situation as role-taking. The concept role refers to regularities (structures) in behavior which are thought to constitute an identifiable unit and considered appropriate for a person occupying in a system of relationships 1) a formally defined position (e.g., policeman, doctor), 2) an informally defined position (e.g., friend, brother), or 3) a position defined by a particular value (e.g., honest man, a successful man). This trichotomy of position definitions is suggestive and not exclusive. The positioning of the person by means of acts of symbolic reference and the anticipation of behavior from and toward that person are integrally related and separable only in an analytical sense. Figure I, for example, illustrates schematically how, from the standpoint of each of two actors, the presentation of signs-in-situation is related through symbolic reference to

shared normative expectations of the behavior of both self and other. Figure II illustrates how each of two actors in the presence of presented signs may anticipate the response of the self to other and the other to self in a very similar way. When there is convergence of expectations of behavior in the presence of a given sign-in-situation, the sign is converted into a symbol which has the same significance for each of the actors; in the presence of a significant symbol, A and B are able to anticipate with some certainty the response of self and other in interaction. When many signs and related responses are shared by actors, they may be said to share a system of significant symbols. These significant symbols are an important and fundamental part of one's cultural heritage.

Role in the generic sense implies the rights and duties inhering in social positions and the behavior legitimately expected by self and others in an interaction situation and is essentially structural and normative. The learning of roles is basic in the development of a self. Role playing or role behavior refers to the process of enacting roles which have been or are being learned. It refers to the actual behavior of an individual appropriate for a person placed in a given position in a social system. Role in the generic sense is normative or ideal; role behavior refers to observed or actual behavior. Role behavior may but does not necessarily coincide with normative role expectations.

The most elemental observation about roles is that they involve both a positional and a processual aspect. How a system of significant symbols makes possible the placement of individuals and the anticipation of their behavior in an interaction context has already been suggested. Two other aspects of the concept may also be suggested: 1) the relationship of the generic concept role to the development of role taking and role playing by

an individual; and 2) the development of the content of significant symbols.[8] The first of these refers to the socialization or enculturation processes by which systems of significant symbols are transmitted, learned and come to be shared. The second refers to the relationship among symbols, social interaction and cultural heritage.

The socialization process basically involves the internalization by individuals of a system of significant symbols. The socialization process requires the concept of a self. Within a sociological framework self will be used to refer to a system of roles within a given social system with which an actor identifies himself and presents to others as his social identity in interaction contexts. In the framework being developed here, self and roles are related by means of significant symbols which an individual learns. Also relevant to a consideration of socialization, especially so in social systems in the United States, is the process of age-grading. Age grade refers to a culturally defined period in the life cycle of an individual to which social significance is attached in terms of the roles which may be or must be assumed and of tasks which must be accomplished. Common sense distinctions among infancy, childhood, adolescence and adulthood suggest what is implied in the concept in American society.

Between the recognition expectations implicit in roles and the enactment of roles in behavior are two processes which are fundamental in understanding processes of socialization--role taking and "playing at roles."[9]

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[8] A third aspect which is not considered here is the differential ability of individuals at role taking and role playing--the empathetic ability of an individual.

[9] On the distinctions among role, role behavior, role taking and "playing at roles" see Walter Coutu, "Role Playing and Role Taking: An Appeal for Clarification," American Sociological Review, 16 (1951), 180-87.

Role taking is essentially a social psychological activity, a phase in the process which has been referred to in this discussion as symbolic reference. In role taking the individual momentarily pretends he is the relevant other in some real or imagined interaction situation in order to get insight into the probable behavior of the other in relation to self. For example, in Figure I, A's anticipation of B's response schematically presents the role taking process. Figure II presents a situation in which the accuracy of role taking of both A and B is corroborated in interaction; in this interaction A's anticipated response of B corresponds to B's anticipated response to A and vice versa.

It is in the continued interaction of persons in a social system that a system of shared symbol-response relationships are developed which make role taking possible. The process of role taking is related in turn to "playing at" roles which is essentially an imaginative procedure in which an individual assumes the role of the other and play-acts the response to imaginary symbols. This "playing at" roles is especially characteristic of children, for example, who assume in play the role of parents or other adult figures. In doing this they typically use the clothing, speech patterns and behavior--the symbols by which adults are recognized--in such a way that the relationship of the positional and processual symbols in role playing are clearly evident. Such imaginative play is obviously related to the role taking process in situations in which the child later interacts with those individuals in positions the related roles of which he has previously played in imagination.

Every enduring social system involves individuals who share a traditional system of significant symbols. That this symbol system is a fundamental aspect of one's cultural heritage has already been suggested. Roles

which structure normatively the interaction of these individuals are a part of this symbol system. The novice who is introduced to a social system does not create de novo either the system of significant symbols nor the roles which relate these symbols to behavior; he discovers them in the process of interaction. They are part of the shared heritage of his social system. This does not mean that the process of socialization is a simple transfer of symbols and role expectations from one generation to another without change. It does mean that, if a social system is to maintain itself, there must be an essential consistency between symbols and responses to symbols in interaction. This essential consistency is achieved in the socialization process.

The social self develops in social interaction. Patterns of role behavior or roles with which or by which the individual is identified become objects of awareness and referents for the "I." In answer to the question, "Who am I?" an individual is able to answer in terms of a system of symbol-response relationships implicit in roles. The answer to "Who am I?" in large part is contingent on the answer to "Who do others think I am?". While one's self-identity and social-identity are not necessarily synonymous, the process of socialization in a stable social system helps to explain why convergence is expected between the two. One condition of meaningful social interaction is that this convergence is achieved. However, how other identify an individual and what they expect him to do is not necessarily determinative for his behavior.

In a given social situation, when role taking includes the adoption of the standpoint of the other, the expectations of the other are determinative for action. The other has motivational significance for a self. Motivation here refers to the mobilization and selective direction of energy

toward one's environment. Self-identity and social identity converge in such a case. To return to the figures cited above, if A adopts the imputed standpoint of B as his own in role taking, then A's behavior will conform to the expectations he imputed to B in the interaction situation. But at this point the essential weakness of the dyadic relationship schematized in Figures I and II is apparent.

In a given situation there may be multiple others, not necessarily physically present, who may be involved in the process of role taking and who have significance for determining the response of an individual. At least two situations in which the relevant other in a given self-other relationship may be divested of determinative significance for the action of an individual have been suggested.[10] First, an individual may "take the standpoint of the third party." This third party may be a person, a group or a depersonalized norm. When the standpoint of the third party is taken, the relevant other in the interaction situation becomes a datum to be taken into account but a datum without necessarily having determinative significance for action. To return to Figures I and II, a directive from a "third party" may prohibit A from responding to B as B anticipates even when A is able to "take the role" of B accurately. Such a situation may be illustrated by one teen-ager offering an alcoholic beverage to another. Teen-ager A, to whom the beverage is being offered, may recognize that teen-ager B, the relevant other, expects him to drink the beverage. However, a directive against drinking made by a third party--perhaps a parent, other teen-agers, a moral norm--may prove to be the "significant other" in the determination of A's response. A second type of situation in which the standpoint of the

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[10]Ralph H. Turner, "Role Taking, Role Standpoint and Reference Group Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (1955), 316-29.

relevant other is a datum which is determinative for action only in a limited sense may be illustrated by an instrumental or manipulative type of role taking. The expectations of the other may sometimes be a datum necessary for the implementation of the achievement of some end. The teenager, for example, in a group drinking situation may "go through the motions" of drinking or may actually drink, as a condition of "being one of the crowd." In other situations he may be "abstinent" as a condition of "being one of the crowd" among non-drinkers.

The possibility of multiple others in an interaction situation suggests the relevance of reference group theory in understanding social behavior. In the growing body of literature on reference group behavior, three primary uses of the concept have emerged. Reference group has been used to refer to 1) a group with which one compares himself in making self-judgments,[11] 2) the source of an individual's values and perspectives,[12] and 3) the group whose acceptance one seeks.[13] All of these uses have in common the implication that it is the desire to be accepted or to be identified with a given group that is the mechanism which leads to the adoption of both membership and non-membership of groups as a reference for self-evaluation, values and perspectives.

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[11] Herbert Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," Archives of Psychology, No. 269 (June, 1942); Robert K. Merton and Alice Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Continuities in Social Research, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), ed. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld.

[12] Harold H. Kelly, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, 1952), eds. Guy E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley; Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology, LX (1955), 562-69; M. Sherif, "The Concept of Reference Groups in Human Relations," in Group Relations at the Crossroads, (New York: Harper, 1953), eds. M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson; T. M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: Dryden, 1950), 220ff; E. L. Hartley, "Psychological Problems of Multiple Group Membership," in Social Psychology at the Crossroads (New York: Harper, 1951), eds. John H. Rohrer and M. Sherif.

[13] Shibutani, op. cit., and Merton and Kitt, op. cit.

Reference groups are also audiences to which behavior is directed; the reference groups are essentially a generalized other which are significant for behavior. Since there is an obvious similarity between a single relevant other in an interaction situation and a generalized other--a reference group--the analysis which has previously been applied to self-other interaction may in large part be applied to the relationship between an individual and a reference group. A reference group may validate or be expected to validate a self-image of the individual which is rejected by particular relevant others in some concrete interaction situation. Reference groups may also provide the "standpoint of the third party" which divests a particular relevant other of motivational significance or modifies that significance. For this reason, even reference groups as audiences to which individuals direct their behavior must be distinguished. Reference groups which serve as audiences which validate an individual's self-image must be distinguished from reference groups as audiences which the individual is necessarily forced to take into account in day to day activities but which do not necessarily provide a basis for validating the individual's self image. For example, an adolescent who drinks may in the course of daily activities be forced to interact primarily with abstinent adolescents and with adults who disapprove of drinking by adolescents. These interaction audiences may not be the audiences to which the drinking adolescent directs his behavior for validating his own self-image. His teen-age peers who are also drinkers may do this for him. The relevant other in an interaction situation is not, therefore, necessarily a significant other in the sense of being determinative for behavior. The standpoint of the relevant other may not be taken reflexively. The expectations for behavior imputed to an other in the process of role taking may be only a datum to be considered

instrumentally or to be disregarded. The determination of whether an other is a significant other for the individual in an interaction situation involves a consideration of the current organization of roles in a social system, one's self-conception (who one thinks he is) and the mechanism of identification, that is, the investment of the other with some significance for the social validation of one's self-image.[13] How these three factors are interrelated may be indicated by introducing at this point a theory of symbolism in relation to action.

The uniqueness of man consists largely in his capacity for symbolic behavior.[14] Signs-in-situation or events in human experience have no inherent meaning. Rather, signs have meaning imputed to them in acts of symbolic reference. Signs become significant symbols when they occasion the same or mutually supporting responses from two or more interacting individuals (see Figure II). A symbol, then, is a special class of signs-in-situation which have been related to other signs, experiences or beliefs. Symbols in the interaction context are suspended between the motivation of the individuals to respond in a given way and the object or state of affairs in relation to which they respond.

Symbols-in-situation have simultaneously cognitive, evaluative and emotional significance. In the framework of social interaction an act of

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[13] On this point see T. R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in Handbook of Social Psychology, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1954), ed. Gardner Lindzey.

[14] The following discussion of symbolism in relation to action draws primarily on Talcott Parsons, "A Theory of Symbolism in Relation to Action," in Working Papers in the Theory of Action, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953), eds. Talcott Parsons, R. F. Bales and Edward Shils; and Milford E. Spiro, "Culture and Personality: The Natural History of a False Dichotomy," Psychiatry, 14 (1950), 19-46.

symbolic reference involves 1) the recognition of a sign, 2) the association of the sign with a normative description of legitimate or appropriate response and 3) the association between the sign and its significance for the validation of the individual's self and social identity (act of identification).

As has already been indicated, an individual typically does not invent a system of significant symbols but rather discovers it in the process of interaction with other individuals in a persisting social system. The basic elements of a shared symbol system are transmitted from generation to generation in the process of socialization.[15] What occurs in this process is that individuals internalize a shared system of symbols. Interrelated symbols come to be bound up with patterns of cognition, evaluation and emotions which constitute the essence of the self-identities of individuals. What objects of the environment "are," who individuals "are," and what objects and individuals mean in terms of appropriate modes of interaction are learned through interaction. The individual learns what signs-in-situation denote. He also learns what they connote.

One aspect of the connotative significance of certain symbols in interaction contexts involves the normative specification of appropriate behavioral response of individuals to the objects or other individuals denoted by the symbols. This normative aspect is specified in the organization of roles in a social system. A second connotative aspect of certain symbols-

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[15] If a system of shared symbols is considered as abstractable from concrete social systems it becomes essentially what the anthropologist refers to as culture, or better, ideal culture; the process of transmitting the symbol system from generation to generation might as well be called enculturation. See Spiro, op. cit.

in-situation involves their motivational significance, the emotional significance which the symbol has for the individual.[16]

Language as one type of significant symbol provides an illustration of the interrelation between significant symbols and behavior. One facet of this relationship has been stated by B. L. Whorf:[17]

> The cue to a certain line of behavior is often given by the analogies of the linguistic formula in which the situation is spoken of, and by which it is analyzed, classified and alloted its place in that world which is to a large extent built upon the language habits of the group....People act about situations in ways which are like the ways they talk about them.

The point here is that the meanings of symbols which grow out of social interaction to become traditional in turn structure the analysis, classification and placement of subsequent events in experience. If individuals in groups do in fact act in situations the way they talk about them, it is because the symbols which they use to denote various elements of the situation connote both the appropriate behavioral response and the motivational significance which the elements denoted by the symbols should have for the individuals involved. A single illustration may be useful in concretizing this idea.

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[16] E. M. Lemert [Alcohol and the Northwest Coast Indians (Berkeley: University of California Publications in Culture and Society, Volume 2, No. 6, pp. 303-406, 1954), 304] refers to symbolic values which he defines as "the ideational and affective qualities of behavior as they relate to the public and self image (of an actor)." This is essentially what is meant here by the motivational significance of a symbol.

[17] "The Relationship of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language," in Language, Culture and Personality (Menasha, Wisconsin: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941), ed. L. Spier, 77ff. The use of this quotation does not imply an endorsement of the full range of hypotheses developed by Whorf. For a critical discussion of Whorf's point of view, see Harry Hoijer, "The Relation of Language to Culture," in Anthropology Today (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), ed. A. L. Kroeber.

In current American fiction and non-fiction, in the mass media of communication and in observable speech and behavior patterns in day to day activity, drinking (the use of beverage alcohol) is handled in two quite distinct ways. On the one hand, the use of beverage alcohol appears to denote the use of a drug which does something undesirable to individuals. Drinking connotes anti-social, immoral behavior which must be avoided if an individual is to avoid a sense of personal guilt, if not the degradation of alcoholism. Drinking connotes personal weakness and sinfulness. On the other hand, drinking also appears to denote the use of a social beverage which does something <u>for</u> as well as <u>to</u> individuals. Drinking connotes social, amoral behavior in which the individual must engage if he is to be identified as a fully accepted member of certain groupings of his peers. Drinking connotes manliness, conviviality and sociability. In Whorf's terms, the symbol formula chosen to speak about drinking reflects the language habits of different groups. But more, the symbol formula is based on the selective use of symbols from those which are available. Therefore, the ways in which people consistently talk about situations may well provide an indication of the way they will act in those situations in which the symbols appear. This is the case to the extent to which the choice of symbols also suggests the appropriate behavioral response in the situation described and the emotional significance of this behavior for the individual.

The implication of the connotative significance of symbols, then, is both normative and motivational. Individuals learn through social interaction the symbols-in-situation which <u>should</u> motivate them. The investment of a symbol with motivational significance for the self involves the mechanism

of identification.[18] Identification implies that the normative connotations of certain symbols are applied reflexively by the individual. The action connoted as appropriate in response to the presentation of a sign is felt to be contributory to the maintenance of the self-identity or social-identity of the individual. It is on this basis that significant symbols-in-situation provide clues to the behavior of interacting individuals. A system of significant symbols shared by the members of a social system is integrally related to the organization of social roles and the internalization of certain combinations of these roles by individuals in the form of self and social identities.[19]

So much, then, for the basic concepts to be used in this study. The next consideration is how the methodological and theoretical orientations of the study are incorporated into a research procedure and design.

Hypotheses Of The Study

Both the relevant literature surveyed and the theoretical orientation which has been outlined provide a basis for developing a number of specific hypotheses.[20] It should be explicitly emphasized that these hypotheses are

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[18]See Nelson Foote, "Identification as the Basis of a Theory of Motivation," American Sociological Review, 16 (1951), 14-22; also C. W. Mills, "Situational Actions and Vocabularies of Motives," American Sociological Review, 5 (1940), 904-12.

[19]This point has been made in another context by both Merton and Kitt, op. cit., and S. M. Eisenstadt, "Reference Group Behavior and Social Integration: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 19 (1954), 175-85. They point out that institutional definitions of social structure focus attention of the individuals in a social system upon certain reference groups as more significant than others for the determination of appropriate action.

[20]A clear distinction between hypotheses and empirical generalizations may be difficult to make in exploratory research. In some cases what are designated as hypotheses are in fact statements of conclusions. The design of this research was not specifically formulated to test these hypotheses

to some undetermined extent culture relative and limited to the population of teen-agers under study. In the first, instance, then, a number of empirical generalizations about the individuals under study are predicted by these hypotheses. The general theoretical significance of these hypotheses will be explored in a later chapter.

The basic general proposition under which the various hypotheses of the study are subsumed is that the use and non-use of beverage alcohol by teen-agers is culturally defined and socially structured behavior. From this general proposition it is predicted that:

1. The male teen-ager is more likely than the female teen-ager to report drinking and to self-designate, that is, to have an image of himself as a "drinker."

2. Teen-agers, whether self-designating themselves as "drinkers" or "non-drinkers," share a similar image of the pattern and social context of drinking in the community.

Corollary 1: The "effects" imputed by teen-agers to drinking tend to emphasize social rather than physiological consequences and to emphasize "socially desirable" rather than "socially undesirable" consequences.

Corollary 2: Teen-agers share a "vocabulary of motives" by which they explain "why" adults and adolescents drink.

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as they now stand. In this sense the research provides something less than a "crucial" test. Yet these statements of expected relationships are not adequately designated as empirical generalizations in the present case. While some key concepts and some insights into the possible significance of certain relationships were suggested in preliminary analyses of the data, the hypotheses as they now stand were formulated prior to the final analysis of the data. Consideration of the adequacy of these formulations is found in Chapter VI.

3. Insofar as teen-agers share the image of the adult as a drinker and the adolescent as an abstainer, drinking functions to identify the position-role of the adult and abstinence the position-role of the adolescent.

Corollary 1: Drinking and self-identification as a "drinker" tend to increase with age and to appear at a maximum among teen-agers who are graduating from high school.

Corollary 2: Drinking functions as an improvised rite of passage between adolescence and adulthood.

Corollary 3: Teen-agers who are playing or who identify themselves with adult-like roles are more likely than others to report drinking and to identify themselves as a "drinker."

Corollary 4: Teen-agers from families in the lower socio-economic strata of the community are more likely than others to assume adult-like position-roles while still in high school or to expect to assume them immediately after graduation; they are, therefore, more likely than others to report drinking and to identify themselves as "drinkers."

4. Insofar as teen-agers share the image of the adult as a drinker and the adolescent as an abstainer, drinking, on the one hand, functions as a symbol of peer group identification among self-designated "drinkers" while abstinence, on the other hand, functions as a symbol of peer group identification among self-designated "non-drinkers."

Corollary: Teen-agers who are less active in organized activity for adolescents in the community and especially activities centered in the school are more likely than others to identify themselves as "drinkers."

5. The social norms which teen-agers articulate or which are inferred from their reported behavior as governing their use or non-use of alcohol are situationally relative.

Corollary: Teen-agers, whether self-designated "drinkers" or "non-drinkers," share a similar image of the differential appropriateness of drinking for males and females, for adults and adolescents and of drinking on various specific occasions and in specific places.

It should be re-emphasized at this point that the references to the functional significance of some teen-ager drinking does not imply either that the functions suggested are exhaustive or that all teen-age drinking is functional rather than disfunctional for the various sub-systems in which teen-agers are members.

Techniques Used In The Research

The basic techniques used in securing the data of the study were the pre-coded questionnaire and focussed interviews. The research group originally intended to use participant observers among the teen-age population being studied. This idea was abandoned finally for two basic reasons. First, the observers would be implicated in illegal behavior. In addition, the administration of the public schools in which the research was to be done insisted that anonymity of the high school students be maintained throughout the study. While the use of participant observers might not have prejudiced rapport established with the school administration, their proposed use was abandoned as an unnecessary risk.

The general problems of developing a questionnaire that provides reliable and valid data which is relevant to some particular problem of research are well known and need not be reproduced here.[21] One problem, that

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[21] See, for example, Goode and Hatt, op. cit., Chapter II; also Marie Jahoda, et al, Research Methods in Social Relations, I (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), Chapter 6.

of maintaining the anonymity of the respondents, does warrant special note, however. The public school administration insisted on anonymity as a matter of policy and the fact that students were asked to indicate their participation in illegal behavior also posed a problem for securing reliable answers to some questions about drinking behavior. At the same time the design of the research called for focussed interviews with individuals whose questionnaires could be identified. To circumvent this difficulty the research group proposed to attach to each questionnaire a detachable face sheet numbered to correspond with a number identifying the questionnaire. Each student was to write his name on the face sheet, detach it and have it deposited with an official of the school before beginning to answer the questionnaire. In each instance both a school official and a member of the research group were to explain to students that only the school officials would have access to the names of the student respondents and that only the research group would have access to the completed questionnaires identified only by a number. In this way students to be interviewed later could be requested by questionnaire number and school officials could then contact the relevant student. The anonymity of students could be maintained throughout. The school administration agreed to this plan. There was little indication in a subsequent re-test or in the interviews that the reliability of the questionnaire data was adversely affected by lack of confidence on the part of students in the good faith of the research group in respecting the confidentiality of information about drinking behavior.

The pre-coding of the questionnaire was developed in pre-testing. This was done in a small agricultural high school of a township in a county adjacent to the county in which Lansing, Michigan, the principal research site, is located. In 1950 the township had a total populatin of 2,804 and no

concentrations of population of 1,000 or more. Of the fifty-nine eleventh and twelfth grade students involved in the pre-test, about one-fourth indicated that the occupation of the father was farming while half of them specified occupations defined by the census as "operatives" or "craftsmen." An undetermined number of the latter category were known to commute for work to the city in which the principal research was to be done.

The pre-test group responded to two roughly identical questionnaires and were later interviewed. The students first responded to an open-ended questionnaire. These questionnaires were developed in large part from information provided by almost two hundred essays written by students in several introductory social psychology classes at Michigan State University about their drinking experiences in high school. Then the pre-test group responded to a pre-coded questionnaire containing approximately identical questions. This was done to provide a basis for comparing the adequacy of the pre-codes in covering the observed range of open-ended responses. Subsequently, all the students were divided into eight groups for group interviews in which teen-age drinking in general and student reactions to the questionnaire in particular were discussed. Finally, several individuals from each of these groups were selected for more intensive interviewing.

Following the pre-test, the revised pre-coded questionnaire was administered en mass to all eleventh and twelfth grade students present in each of the three public schools of the city chosen as the site of the study. A total of 1,962 questionnaires were completed.[22] The students were not told

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[22]Public school records indicate that 2,072 students were enrolled in the relevant grades at the time the questionnaire was administered. Thus, 95% of the students completed questionnaires.

in advance of the nature of the research. This briefing was done in broad outline by a member of the research group immediately prior to the distribution of the questionnaire. As indicated previously, both a member of the research group and a school official assured the respondents of anonymity and explained how this would be achieved. Research personnel were stationed strategically throughout the auditorium in which the students worked and public school personnel remained primarily in the background throughout. About one hour was required to complete the questionnaire.

The focussed interview was conceived as a device for providing depth and coherence to the descriptive material secured by the questionnaires. This type of interview, as discussed especially by Robert K. Merton and Patricia L. Kendall,[23] has been suggested as a useful technique for bridging the gap between "qualitative" and "quantitative" data. The distinguishing characteristics of the focussed interview are that 1) the persons interviewed are known to have been involved in some concrete situation of interest to the interviewer (in this case a questionnaire); 2) there is a set of more or less precise hypotheses about the most relevant points to be covered; 3) an interview schedule provides structure to the interview although the emphasis is on non-directive, respondent-centered intercommunication; and 4) in focussing on the subjective experiences of respondents the interviewer is alert to unanticipated responses. In sum, the focussed interview is concerned with non-direction, specificity (a "for instance"), depth and range of response.

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[23] "The Focussed Interview," American Journal of Sociology, 51 (1946), 541-47; see also the application of this technique in Robert K. Merton, et al, Mass Persuasion (New York: Harper, 1946).

Fifty-five focussed interviews of about one hour in length were completed. These were tape recorded and later transcribed verbatim for analysis. The interview materials, in addition to providing depth and coherence to the interpretation of the questionnaire data, also provided a check on the reliability of questionnaire responses and illustrative material useful in the presentation of the data.

Several weeks after the administration of the pre-coded questionnaire a check was made on the reliability of data secured by this instrument. Thirty-eight eleventh and twelfth grade students in two home rooms chosen at random in one of the schools initially studied completed a questionnaire having a changed format but containing many questions previously asked and answered. While no attempt was made to check the responses of each student question by question in the initial and the re-test questionnaire, it was possible to check the gross results obtained in the re-test with those obtained earlier. For example, differences in the sex distribution of the re-test category and the research population were not significantly different ($.5<P<.6$).[24] Moreover, the percentage of self-designated "drinkers" in the re-test group proved to be identical with the percentage observed in a random sample of two hundred students drawn from the study population. Finally, by way of illustration, approximately the same percentage of students in the re-test situation and in a random sample of two hundred drawn from the population indicated subjective evaluations of approval and disapproval of teenage drinking.

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[24] Significance of difference between proportions; see M. J. Hagood and D. O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists, Revised Edition (New York: Holt, 1952), 315ff.

Sampling Procedure And Reliability

Since detailed analysis of all 1,962 completed questionnaires was economically unfeasible, two samples were selected from the study population. The basic selection procedure was dictated by a theoretical interest in the self-designation, that is, the self-image, teen-agers had of themselves as "drinkers" and "non-drinkers." First, all 177 self-designated "drinkers" were withdrawn from the population and the data transferred in terms of the pre-code to IBM cards. Then a sample of two hundred was drawn from the total population, including the self-designated "drinkers," on the basis of a table of random numbers. From this sample the self-designated "drinkers" were withdrawn and the data from remaining random sample of 179 self-designated "non-drinkers" were transferred to the IBM cards. In subsequent analysis, therefore, it was possible to analyze comparatively the data for the universe of 177 self-designated "drinkers" with the random sample of 179 "non-drinkers." This distinction on the basis of self-images, in addition to the basic distinction of sex, provided the basis for the format of the statistical tables in the initial analysis.

The reliability of the sampling procedure is tested in several ways. When the percentage of self-designated "drinkers" in the study universe (9%) is compared with the percentage of persons with the same designation in the random sample of two hundred (10.5%), the significance of the difference between the proportions can be explained on the basis of chance alone ($.8<P<.9$). The sex distribution in the random sample of two hundred is observed to be 45.5% male and 54% female. When this sex distribution is compared with that observed among eleventh and twelfth grade students in the state as a whole in 1950, the difference can be explained on the basis of chance alone ($.4<P<.5$). Public school enrollment records indicate that the sex distribution

in these two grades for the three public schools in the period studied was 45% male and 55% female, almost identical with the sample distribution.

No attempt was made to compare the occupational distribution of the fathers of the respondents since this would have required analysis of occupational distributions in all 1,962 questionnaires. Comparison of the occupational distributions of the fathers of students with occupatinal distributions in the general population is theoretically unjustifiable since there is reason to believe that there is a selective but undetermined bias toward higher occupational classifications among the parents of students in high school. Such a comparison would not be of value in testing the reliability of the sampling procedure in this case since the comparison is between the sample and the study population and not the population of the state or locale in general.

In the selection of students to be interviewed no attempt was made to achieve representativeness though random procedure was used in the selection of both the self-designated "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" in the interview sample. In the random selection of the sample of two hundred students previously mentioned the first fifty selected were designated "to be interviewed." There were forty-nine "non-drinkers" and only one "drinker" in this group. When the total two hundred questionnaires had been selected, fifteen of the remaining twenty "drinkers" in the sample were added to the interview sample for a total of sixty-six students to be interviewed. Therefore, there was a random selection of self-designated "non-drinkers" and of "drinkers" although the proportion of "drinkers" in the interview sample was intentionally larger than the proportion observed in the study population. The interview sample was randomly selected but not properly representative of the research population.

Of the interviews with students which were requested, fifty-five were finally completed after the appropriate questionnaire number were submitted to the public school administration. The administration identified students by name and notified them that an interview was being requested. The students were asked to obtain written permission from their parents before being interviewed and were given the right to decline being interviewed. Whether the loss of eleven students with whom interviews were expected but not completed is attributable to personal refusal, the refusal of parents or the negligence of students in obtaining written permission from parents was not determined. Of the fifty-five students who were finally interviewed thirteen were self-designated "drinkers" and forty-two "non-drinkers." This means that eighty-one percent of the interviews requested with "drinkers" and eighty-six percent of those with "non-drinkers" were completed.

The interviews, lasting about one hour on the average, were tape recorded. An opportunity was given to each respondent, after the recording machine had been obviously turned off, to make any "off the record responses." The recorded interviews were then transcribed verbatim for analysis.

The Research Site And Population

The research group did not attempt to find a "typical" or "representative" locale from which generalizations to some comprehensive population might be reliably made. Given the responsibility for supplying intensive survey information and for maximizing the sociological relevance of the research on a limited budget, the group selected a city near the university facilities. This selection was made in order to devote a maximum of the research budget to a small, relatively homogeneous population of teen-agers in the eleventh and twelfth grades of three public high schools of a middle-sized city in the Mid-west. While there was no attempt to find a "typical"

community for study, it is nevertheless relevant to indicate that the community chosen for study had no peculiarities which would be likely to bias the findings. It is for this reason that it is relevant to describe briefly some of the demographic characteristics of the research site.

The city selected as the locale of the research reported a population of 92,129 in 1950 and is the central city of a Standard Metropolitan Area reporting a population of 172,941 in the same year. The Standard Metropolitan Area showed a population increase of 32.4% over 1940 in contrast to 21.4% for the state as a whole. The central city had a 17% increase in population over the census decade in contrast to an 18.6% increase reported for all urban areas of the state.

Occupationally the city and Standard Metropolitan Area show some distinctive characteristics but these differences are not significantly different statistically from the same characteristics for the state as a whole. The census occupational distribution for the Standard Metropolitan Area in 1950 indicates that there were higher percentages of professionals, clerical-sales workers and service workers and lower percentages of farm-related, managerial-proprietor and industrial (craftsmen, operatives, laborers) occupations than in the state as a whole. The differences were not significant, however. The median income for persons over 14 in the central city was $2,646 in comparison with $2,513 for the same category of persons classified as urban or rural non-farm in the state as a whole.

Ethnically the Standard Metropolitan Area has a larger native white population than the state taken as a whole. In 1950 the Negro population comprised only 1.9% of the total population of the Standard Metropolitan Area as compared to 6.9% of the population of the state. Similarly, only 4.1% of the Standard Metropolitan Area population were foreign born in contrast

to 9.4% for the state. Information concerning the state of birth of the Standard Metropolitan Area was not available.

In summary, while the research site was not selected as "typical" or "representative" of any more comprehensive social or geographic unit, it does not appear to be significantly different, except perhaps in its ethnic composition, from other urbanized areas in the state. In the case of ethnic composition the population in the research site is more homogeneous than the composition of the state as a whole.

In selecting eleventh and twelfth grade students in public schools the research group consciously excluded some teen-agers of the same age as those studied. For example, students in parochial schools, "dropouts" (students of the same age as the students studied but not in school) and students in a state correctional institution located within the research locale were not included in the study. At one point a sub-study of the use of alcohol by legally defined delinquents was contemplated and nine guided autobiographies written by teen-age males in a boys' vocational school were secured. For various reasons, primarily economic, this additional study was not carried through.

The decision to study public school students in all probability biases to some undetermined extent the distribution of teen-agers studied in favor of the higher socio-economic classifications in the city. The extent of the bias cannot be determined accurately since information about the number of children of high school age in each socio-economic classification is not available for the Standard Metropolitan Area. However, some indication of this bias is given by a comparison of the gross occupational distribution for 1950 in the Standard Metropolitan Area with the distribution of occupations reported for the fathers of students in random samples of two hundred students

used in the analysis. The same percentage of students in the sample report that fathers have a professional occupation as was observed in the Standard Metropolitan Area population in 1950. Managers-proprietors and craftsmen-foremen are over-represented in the sample in comparison with the Standard Metropolitan Area distribution while operatives, laborers and service workers are under-represented.

Research on a controversial topic such as teen-age drinking within the jurisdiction of a public institution conscious of public relations produces several other limitations. The special pecautions necessary to assure the students of anonymity have already been mentioned. In addition the school administration, for reasons of its own, stipulated that race and religious preference should not be ascertained. The research group accepted this stipulation.

Analysis And The Design Of Proof

In the initial analysis of relationship among the data, sex and the self-designation as "drinker" or "non-drinker" were combined as a working "independent variable," or more properly, "independent attributes." The cross tabulation of these attributes with various other attributes or variables was merely a formal and economical method of arranging the data for logical and statistical analysis. Since the results of cross tabulations alone are not themselves necessarily meaningful, it is frequently useful to introduce other variables and attributes into the analysis to elaborate on certain apparent relationships.

Kendall and Lazarsfeld have given a classification of three typs of elaborations of analysis which they call interpretation, explanation and specification.[25] Interpretation refers to the process of stratifying a

[25]Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis,"

previous cross tabulation by another variable or attribute; other variables and attributes are considered as intervening between the independent and dependent attribute or variable. Explanation refers to the same kind of reasoning as interpretation in that it seeks to reduce an originally observed relationship through the use of an intervening factor. The test factor in this case, however, is considered an antecedent rather than an intervening factor. Finally, specification refers to the determination of the varying conditions under which an existing relationship will be observed to have a greater or lesser intensity. While the process of elaboration as it is described here is particularly relevant in the analysis of experimental situations in which intervention and antecedence have a temporal reference, the process also has general applicability in any analysis where the operation of multiple factors are thought to be relevant in the understanding of observed relationships. It is in this more general sense that elaboration is used in this study to explore the relationship of such factors as socio-economic status, "approval-disapproval" of teen-age drinking, participation in organized teen-age activities, and so on, to the self-designation of teen-agers of themselves as "drinkers" and "non-drinkers."

Statistical analysis of the data included both descriptive statistics and the analysis of the significance of relationship between expected and observed distributions of attributes and variables and among various categories of observed distributions. Chi Square, the T coefficient in in those cases in which Chi Squares are found to be significant and Kendall's

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Continuities in Social Research (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950), eds. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld; for a discussion of the general problems of data analysis see W. F. Goode and P. K. Hatt, op. cit., Chapter 20.

coefficient of rank correlation (tau)[26] are the principal statistics employed. In all cases the five percentile level is used in assessing the significance of relationships between data; probabilities greater than the twenty percentile level are simply designated P .20. Even when non-significance of difference between observed and hypothetically expected distributions has been observed, however, signs have been employed in the analysis to indicate the direction of over- and under-representation in the various categories of distributions and are reported where relevant. This practice has general utility in analysis and especially in situations where multiple factors which are not carefully controlled are operative.

Beyond the simple presentation of pattern (complex of regularities) and social context of teen-age drinking based on the survey data, the design of proof in the study concentrates on an analysis of the concomitance of selected socially significant characteristics clustering around self-designated "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" in the teen-age population studied. The analysis of concomitance and covariation in characteristics is a basic procedure in functional analysis.[27] Concomitance and covariation, however, do not in themselves specify the nature of an imputed functional relationship nor the extent to which an imputed function makes an indispensable contribution to the operation and maintenance of some concrete social system. Basic statistical analysis does provide a way of ordering in a formal way patterns of interrelationships and in this sense is valuable if not indispensable to more elaborate analysis which depends primarily on participant observation or the insights of an analyst familiar with a wide range or relevant data

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[26]See M. J. Hagood and D. O. Price, op. cit., 370f, 469ff.

[27]See, for example, Raymond Firth, "Function," Yearbook of Anthropology, 1955 (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation, 1955), ed. W. L. Thomas, Jr.

about the social system which is under analysis. In the research reported here both statistical analysis based on questionnaire data and insights based on the patterns of relationships among socially relevant characteristics and on the focussed interview material have been used in the assessment of the functional significance of drinking among teen-agers in high school. How this analysis was carried out is best illustrated by the handling of substantive materials reported in the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER III

DRINKING AS SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Introduction

This chapter and the two which follow present the substantive findings of the study. The total presentation in these three chapters concentrates on selected symbolic and functional aspects of the use of beverage alcohol by teen-agers in high school. The data are organized around the assumption that both alcohol and its use as a beverage are symbols--events with shared meaning in self/other interaction--which may be analyzed in terms of cognitive, evaluative and affective modes. The organization of data in these chapters also follows a modification and simplification of the descriptive and procedural protocols of functional analysis summarized by Robert K. Merton.[1] The protocols to be used here include: 1) specification of the unit of behavior to which functional significance is imputed; 2) location of the participants within the structure and organization of a concrete social system; 3) assessment of the subjective meaning and 4) determination of the functional significance of the relevant behavior for the specified social system.

Both the theoretical and methodological orientations of the study are combined to provide a basis of organization for this chapter and the two subsequent chapters in the following way. Chapter III specifies the act to

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[1] "Manifest and Latent Function," in his Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949), especially 47-61.

which functional significance is imputed and locates the actors within a concrete social system. The primarily cognitive aspects of the symbolic act of drinking are emphasized. Next, Chapter IV concentrates on both the formal and informal or, in Ralph Linton's terms, ideal and actual normative connotations of the act of drinking and accepting the self-designation "drinker" by teen-agers. In this chapter the primarily evaluative aspects of the symbolism are emphasized. Finally, Chapter V has as its point of focus some non-normative aspects of meaning imputed to the act of drinking and of the corresponding self-designation; interest centers on problems of motivation and function, both latent and manifest. The primarily affective aspects of the symbolism of drinking are emphasized.

The principal concern of this chapter is the delineation of a pattern of teen-age drinking. Pattern of drinking in the sense it is used here is not precisely comparable to structure and regularity in a narrow or singular sense but rather refers to a complex of regularities centering around the act of drinking. E. M. Lemert,[2] for example, has used this term to designate specific drinking behavior in terms of its occurrence in time and space and in terms of the location of the participants within some social system. This is the sense in which the term will be used here. Attention will be directed first to a description of drinking behavior reported by teen-agers in high school in terms of how much of what beverage alcohol is drunk and when and where it is drunk. Particular attention will be given to the importance of the student's act of self-designating himself as a "drinker" or "non-drinker." Then attention will be turned to a consideration of locating the drinker in a concrete social system.

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[2]Alcohol and the Northwest Coast Indians (Berkeley: University of California Publications in Culture and Society, Volume 2:6, 1954), 303f.

A Description Of Teen-age Drinking Behavior

Prevalence of drinking.- Determination of the prevalence of teen-age drinking depends on how one defines a "drinker." When the 1,962 high school teen-agers in the study were asked, "Do you consider yourself to be a drinker?" only 177--or about 9%--responded affirmatively. As Table 1 illustrates, however, the self-designation "non-drinker" is not equivalent to abstention. In answer to the question, "If you are a drinker, how frequently

TABLE 1

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF FREQUENCY OF THEIR DRINKING[a]

Frequency	"Non-drinker"[b]		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Very often	0	0	4	2
Often	0	0	10	10
Sometimes	4	1	52	40
Rarely	18	15	31	44
No answer	78	84	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100
Total number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When male and female "drinkers" are compared, X^2 (Chi Square) $\sim P > .20$.

[b] Inappropriate responses to the question, "If you are a drinker, how frequently do you drink?"

do you drink?" 22% of the males and 16% of the females who self-designated themselves as "non-drinkers" indicated by their inappropriate responses that they are not abstainers. Twenty-seven percent of a random sample of two hundred students drawn from the total research population[3] indicated that they

[3] This sample which is assumed to be representative of the research population is not equivalent to either "drinkers" or "non-drinkers." It is from this original sample of two hundred that 21 self-designated "drinkers" were withdrawn leaving the 179 "non-drinkers" used in the statistical analysis

drink at least "rarely." This means that three times as many students reported that they do not abstain from the use of alcohol as self-designated themselves "drinkers." Among "non-drinkers" and "drinkers" combined, only 8% of the students reported that they had never tasted alcohol. On the other hand, only 24 of the universe of 177 "drinkers" reported that they drink "often" or "heavily." This is only slightly more than 1% of all the teen-agers studied and about 14% of the "drinkers."

These data suggest, then, that in answering a question about the extent of drinking, attention must be given to determining what constitutes a drinker. Depending on the criteria chosen, one may summarize answers to the question in several different ways:

1) 92% of the teen-agers studied had drunk or "tasted" alcohol at some time;

2) 27% reported that they are not abstainers and that they drink at least "rarely;"[4]

3) 9% self-designated themselves as "drinkers;"

4) 8% indicated that they had never "tasted" alcohol;

5) Slightly more than 1% reported drinking subjectively as "often" or "heavily."

The possible significance of this reluctance of some students to self-designate themselves as "drinkers" in spite of the fact that they reported drinking on some occasions is suggested in the interview data. The students interviewed preferred to make rather definite distinctions among "tasters,"

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throughout the study. Subsequently, when there is occasion to refer to this sample, it will be designated simply as "the sample of two hundred."

[4] Neither this nor the preceding item corresponds exactly with the designation user which has been employed by Robert Straus and S. D. Bacon [Drinking in College (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 46n]. User is defined by them as "all students who have used alcohol apart from 1) experimental, joking, or ceremonial use before age 11, and 2) purely incidental, isolated experience."

"social drinkers," and the "drinker/drunkard/alcoholic." One interviewee phrased succinctly the objection to the self-designation "drinker" which was frequently encountered,

> If you asked me if I were a drinker, I would think you would ask me if I go out every night and I'd tell you no, because I don't drink often. But if you ask me if I drink rarely, I'd say yes, because I do. I consider myself a person who drinks but not a drinker. (Interview 33)

"Social drinking" for these teen-agers implies "going out on town, all fixed up and maybe talking to someone," or being with the crowd. As for distinctions among drinkers, drunkards and alcoholics, there was less clarity beyond distinguishing them from "social drinkers." The drinker/drunkard was typically described as a person "who spends most of his time drinking." Emphasis was placed on the extent of, motivation for, and degree of dependence on drinking, although none of these points was developed by students with much precision. Major emphasis was placed on distinguishing the "drinker/drunkard/alcoholic" from the "social drinker." While the former was sometimes described as a person "drowning his sorrow" with alcohol or one who "just can't stay away from it," the latter was never referred to in these terms.

The decision to center the basic analysis of this study on the self-designated "drinker" in contrast to the "non-drinker" rather than on reported use of alcohol involved both practical and theoretical consideration. Basically, the distinction appeared to be important to teen-agers themselves. From a practical standpoint, the research group assumed that the sponsoring agency would be more interested in the teen-age student who not only drinks but also considers the act of drinking as integral to his self image. From a theoretical standpoint, exploring the implications of this act of self-designation for both an understanding of self/other interaction and the act of drinking appeared worthwhile. In the interest of clarity, however, it

should be re-emphasized that subsequent references to "drinkers" refer to those who self-designated themselves in this way and not to individuals who report that they drink. As has been indicated, some "non-drinkers" drink. All "drinkers" drink. The focus of interest in this study remains nevertheless on the self-designated "drinker," and, implicitly, the "non-drinker." Theoretically, the act of self-designation is as interesting as the act of drinking.

What and how much do teen-age students drink?- Beer is the most frequently used beverage for male students who self-designate themselves as "drinkers" (Table 2). Slightly more than half of these teen-agers report drinking one or more bottles of beer in an average week, one in eight of them reporting six or more bottles consumed.[5] Although one in four of the female "drinkers" indicate the consumption of one or more bottles of beer during an average week, the reported amount of their drinking is significantly less than that indicated by the males. Wine, the second most frequently reported beverage for "drinkers," is reportedly used by approximately the same percentage of males and females (Table 3). One in three of the females in the "drinker" category drank one or more glasses of wine during an average week while one in four of the males used this amount. Among users of wine, however, the male was more likely than the female to drink three or more glasses of wine during the average week.

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[5]The credibility of reported amounts and frequency of drinking was not investigated since precise accuracy in responses is not crucial in the analysis. Both the tests of reliability of the questionnaire and impressions from interviews with students provide a basis for confidence in the general accuracy of responses. Subsequently it should be understood that references to student behavior refers to reported behavior, not observed behavior.

TABLE 2

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF PERSONAL CONSUMPTION OF BEER IN AN AVERAGE WEEK[a]

Average weekly consumption	"Non-drinker"[b]		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Rarely or never use beer	73	65	44	73
Between 1 and 3 bottles	1	1	22	15
Between 3 and 6 bottles	0	0	19	8
More than six bottles	0	0	13	2
No answer or inapplicable	26	34	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When male and female "drinkers" are compared, $X^2 \sim P < .01$, $T = .207$.

[b] Includes inappropriate responses to the question, "If you drink beer, how much do you drink in an average week?"

TABLE 3

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF PERSONAL CONSUMPTION OF WINE IN AN AVERAGE WEEK[a]

Average weekly consumption	"Non-drinker"[b]		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Rarely or never use wine	61	66	60	61
Between 1 and 3 wine glasses	3	0	18	25
Between 3 and 6 wine glasses	0	0	5	0
More than 6 wine glasses	0	0	3	4
No answer or inapplicable	36	34	14	10
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When male and female "drinkers" are compared, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

[b] Includes inappropriate responses to the question, "If you drink wine, how much do you drink in an average week?"

Whiskey and mixed drinks are the beverage least frequently used among teen-agers. About one in four of the male "drinkers" indicated that they drink one or more shot glasses of whiskey or highballs during an average wekk. Only a slightly smaller number of the females in this category drank this amount (Table 4). As in the case of using wine, the male was more likely than the female to consume larger amounts. Only one in six of the male "drinkers" had one or more mixed drinks in an average week while almost one in four of the females in this category drink this amount (Table 5). However, the use by males is confused by the failure of 21% of them in answering the question. There is no basis in the data for attempting an interpretatin of this failure.

In brief, about one in two male "drinkers" report the consumption of beer one or more times a week and about one in four of this category indicate that they use wine, whiskey and/or mixed drinks one or more times in the average week. About one in four female "drinkers" reveal a pattern of drinking which includes the use of one or more of these beverages on the average of at least once a week. On the basis of interview data the differences in patterns of usage are at least partially explained by three considerations: 1) the students indicated an awareness that whiskey is "more powerful" than beer or wine; 2) beer, and to some extent wine, is a common beverage in many homes, is on sale in most grocery stores and is, therefore, easily available to them; 3) there is a slight but identifiable association on the part of the students between masculinity and the use of beer and whiskey, on the one hand, and feminity and the use of wine and mixed drinks, on the other.

Occasions for drinking.- All the students, regardless of their self-designations as "drinker" and "non-drinker," were essentially agreed that

TABLE 4

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF PERSONAL CONSUMPTION OF WHISKEY IN AN AVERAGE WEEK[a]

Average weekly consumption	"Non-drinker"[b]		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Never or rarely use whiskey	64	58	64	69
Between 1 and 3 shot glasses	0	0	16	17
Between 3 and 6 shot glasses	0	0	5	4
More than 6 shot glasses	0	0	6	2
No answer or inapplicable	36	42	9	8
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When male and female "drinkers" are compared, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

[b] Includes inappropriate responses to the question, "If you drink whiskey, how much do you drink in an average week?"

TABLE 5

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF PERSONAL CONSUMPTION OF MIXED DRINKS IN AN AVERAGE WEEK[a]

Average weekly consumption	"Non-drinker"[b]		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Never or rarely use mixed drinks	62	55	63	69
Between 1 and 3 mixed drinks	1	3	9	19
Between 3 and 6 mixed drinks	0	0	4	2
More than 6 mixed drinks	0	0	3	2
No answer or inapplicable	37	42	21	8
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 3 and 4 are collapsed in male and female "drinker" columns and these categories are compared, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$.

[b] Includes inappropriate responses to the question, "If you drink mixed drinks, how much do you drink in an average week?"

the most likely occasion for teen-age drinking is at a party, particularly a "wild," "beer" or "unsupervised" party (Table 6). Students were asked to list the three most likely occasions for drinking among teen-agers. The number of times any particular occasion was listed either as first, second or third were summarized and then ranked. When the responses of male and female students in "drinker" and "non-drinker" categories are compared, there is significant agreement about the top ten ranked occasions.[6] Apparently drinking among the teen-agers studied is not closely associated by them with entertaining in the home, with school activities or with occasions on which adults or relatives are drinking. Rather the most likely drinking occasion is found at a party attended by teen-age peers.

When attention is shifted from the occasions for teen-age drinking in general to those occasions on which "drinkers" are most likely to drink, almost half of the males and four in ten of the females believed that drinking is most likely to occur when one is with a group of friends or other teen-agers (Table 7). However, the females in this category were significantly more likely than males to describe the presence of parents or relatives who were drinking as occasions for their own drinking. This reflects one aspect of distinctly different patterns of drinking reported by male and female teen-agers which will be considered in some detail subsequently.

Among "non-drinkers," both males (52%) and females (62%) were more likely to have "tasted" alcohol on occasions when adults or relatives were drinking than at any other time (Table 8). The next most frequent response

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[6]Beyond the first ten ranks the number of responses were likely to be small and to result in a large number of ties. Moreover, Hagood and Price Statistics for Sociologists, Revised Edition (New York: Holt, 1952), 470f write, "The sampling distribution of Kendall's tau converges to normal very rapidly and can be considered normal whenever N is equal to or greater than 10."

TABLE 6

MOST LIKELY OCCASIONS FOR DRINKING BY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, RANK ORDERED (RO)[a]

Occasions	"Non-drinker"				"Drinker"			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO
Dances	7	8	3	12	11	8	1	12
Parties	24	3	15	6	36	3	16	4
Wild parties	37	2	51	1	56	2	24	1
Beer parties	39	1	48	2	66	1	22	2
All night parties	10	7	20	4	22	5	8	7
Teen-age parties	12	6	19	5	16	6	12	5
Card parties	5	10	3	12	6	11	0	13
Unsupervised gatherings	19	4	44	3	32	4	17	3
Entertaining at home	2	13	0	14	0	16	2	11
Entertaining at a friend's home	7	8	6	9	7	10	3	10
Daily drinking at home, taverns	0	14	0	14	1	15	0	13
When with parents, other relatives	0	14	5	10	4	13	4	9
When relatives visit	0	14	0	14	1	15	1	12
Association with older people	7	8	7	8	6	11	4	9
Special events, occasions	3	12	4	11	3	14	2	11
New Year, Christmas, other holidays	12	5	11	7	22	5	10	6
Weddings	3	12	5	10	5	10	4	9
After school events	6	9	11	7	13	7	2	11
Games, sporting events	4	11	4	11	5	12	2	11
Hunting or fishing trips	2	13	2	13	10	9	3	10
Weekend recreation	2	13	4	11	11	8	7	8
No answer	33	--	41	--	54	--	0	--
Total number of responses	234[b]		303		387		144	

[a] When the ten top ranked "occasions" of the male "non-drinker" are compared with comparable items ranked by the male "drinker," Tau (Kendall's coefficient of rank correlation) $\sim P < .01$; the same procedure applied to the ranking of female responses in each category produces a Tau $\sim .05 > P > .01$.

[b] Totals include first, second and third responses to the question, "What are the three occasions on which high school students are most likely to drink?"

TABLE 7

DRINKING SITUATIONS FOR "DRINKERS" IN HIGH SCHOOL[a]

Situations	"Non-drinker"[b]		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)[c]			
When with a group of friends	15	2	23	21
At a party where others are drinking	12	8	23	17
When with parents	18	29	14	24
When with relatives	6	8	4	9
At some special event	9	10	7	5
Holidays, such as New Year, Christmas	31	35	14	15
Weekend recreation	0	2	7	6
Fishing/hunting trips or vacations	9	6	8	2
Anywhere, anytime	0	0	*	1
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	33	51	214	95
Number of cases responding	25	31	106	40

[a] When rows 1 and 2; rows 3 and 4; and rows 5-9 are collapsed in male and female "drinker" columns, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, $T = .313$.

[b] Inappropriate responses to the question, "If you drink, which of the following best describe the situation(s) in which you drink?"

[c] Percentages in this instance refer to responses rather than cases.

* Less than one percent.

TABLE 8

"TASTING" SITUATIONS FOR "NON-DRINKERS" IN HIGH SCHOOL[a]

Situations	"Non-drinker"	
	Male	Female
	(Percentage)[b]	
When with a group of friends	18	7
At a party where others were drinking	9	2
When with parents	42	57
When with other relatives	10	9
On some special occasion	12	16
On a holiday	5	6
On a hunting/fishing trip or vacation	4	3
Total	100	100
Number of responses	77	109
Number of cases responding	65	90

[a] When rows 1 and 2; rows 3 and 4; and rows 5-7 are collapsed in each column, $X^2 \sim P < .01$, $T = .195$.

[b] Percentages in this instance refer to responses rather than cases.

for males in this category was "when with a group of friends" (23%). For the females the second most commonly reported occasion for drinking was "on some special occasion" (16%). As in the case of differences observed in the reported occasions for drinking by male and female "drinkers," female "non-drinkers" were significantly more likely than males to report the drinking of parents and relatives as occasions for their own drinking and less likely to indicate peer group situations as occasions for drinking.

In sum, the teen-age "drinkers" were more likely than "non-drinkers" to indicate peer group situations as occasions for their drinking. Conversely, they were less likely to indicate situations in which parents or relatives are present as occasions for their own drinking. In each of these categories distinct male and female patterns of drinking are identifiable. In each case the female is more likely to report situations in which parents or adult relatives are present as the most likely drinking or "tasting" occasion for themselves. Males are more likely to report peer group situations.

Places for teen-age drinking.- There was essential agreement among both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" that teen-agers are most likely to drink at places removed from adult supervision and control. The "unsupervised party," "in secret where others will not know," "in automobiles" and "on back roads" were most frequently indicated as places for teen-age drinking (Table 9). Though students in the interviews also consistently mentioned having their first drinking or "tasting" experiences in the context of the home and in the presence of parents, they emphasized that the most likely places for teen-age drinking are those where adults are absent. The paradox is only apparent. Materials from the interviews suggest that it may be resolved, at least in part, by recognizing that 1) drinking--or as students typically

TABLE 9

PLACES FOR DRINKING BY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, RANK ORDERED (RO)[a]

Places	"Non-drinker"				"Drinker"			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO
At dances and parties	13	6	30	5	36	4	9	6
At bars, clubs, roadhouses, taverns	2	10	6	9	1	10	0	10
At parks, lakes, similar places	14	5	11	7	25	6	12	5
At private clubs	3	9	4	10	1	10	2	9
At home	3	9	6	9	13	8	6	7
At home when entertaining	2	10	0	11	1	10	3	8
At a friend's home	10	7	19	6	10	9	6	7
At unsupervised parties	37	1	57	1	62	1	28	2
In automobiles	34	2	43	3	58	2	29	1
In secret so others will not know	32	3	45	2	29	5	18	4
In the country, on back roads	29	4	33	4	53	3	20	3
At summer cottages	8	8	9	8	20	7	9	6
No answer	47	--	40	--	78	--	2	--
Total number of responses	234[b]		303		387		144	

[a] When the top ten ranked "places" of male "non-drinkers" are compared with the comparable items ranked by male "drinkers," Tau$\sim$ $P<.01$; the same procedure for females in each of these categories produces a Tau$\sim$ $.05>P>.01$; the same procedure applied to the rankings of male "non-drinkers" and female "drinkers" produces a Tau$\sim$ $P<.01$.

[b] Totals include first, second and third responses to the question, "What are the three places where high school students are most likely to drink?"

said "tasting"--alcohol at home with parents does not necessarily authorize drinking in peer group situations or indicate approval of teen-age drinking on the part of parents; 2) parents, if they allow their children to drink in their presence, typically allow them to drink only as "tasters" and not as their peers; and 3) drinking as well as purchase of alcoholic beverages is illegal for persons under 21 years of age in the State of Michigan and is culturally defined as inappropriate behavior for adolescents. Teen-agers themselves are not in doubt about general parental disapproval of teen-age drinking. Therefore, if the teen-ager drinks with peers, he typically must do so in situations not controlled by adults. He may "taste" alcohol in the presence of adults.

Summary.- The pattern of teen-age drinking emergent to this point in the analysis of the data may be summarized in the following way. Most teen-age drinkers do not use beverage alcohol either frequently or in quantity, although almost all of them have at one time or another had some experience with alcohol. About one out of four reported that they were not abstainers though only about one in ten was willing to self-designate himself as a "drinker." Beer is the beverage most frequently reported; yet only one bottle of beer during the average week. Slight but consistent differences were noted in male and female use of alcoholic beverages. Males were more likely than females to use beer and whiskey; females were likely to use wine and mixed drinks. For "drinkers" the most likely occasion for drinking is at a party which is attended by his peers but which is not supervised by adults. For "non-drinkers" generally, and for all females to a greater extent than for males, drinking occasions are most likely to be special events celebrated in the context of the home or with adults present. The presence of an adult on those occasions when teen-age drinking is permitted does not

appear to indicate to the teen-agers themselves that adults approve of their drinking; they do not interpret adult attitudes in this way. This is best indicated by the agreement of both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" that teen-age drinking is ordinarily surreptitious. It is important to recognize that drinking on the part of adolescents is illegal and that neither parents nor the formal institutions of social control in the adult society at large usually permit the teen-ager to assume adult roles in which drinking or abstinence are matters of personal discretion. Teen-agers gave no indication of making the mistake of assuming adult attitudes favorable to their drinking. The student's awareness of adult disapproval of his drinking and the consequent pressure to hide his drinking behavior do suggest the importance of peer groups in the adolescent age grade in freeing the teen-age drinker from the dictates of adult standards and in providing support for behavior which is important for the teen-ager even though disapproved by adults. The implications of this point will become clearer in the discussion of teen-agers and teen-age peer groups in the context of a concrete social system.

Community Social Structure And Teen-Age Drinking

The social interaction of one individual with others is not ordinarily a matter of chance. Individuals typically participate in and are members of concrete social systems whose standardized symbols allow them to position themselves in relation to others and to anticipate probable sequences of behavior in any given interaction situation. Social behavior within social systems is structured and organized to facilitate the accomplishment of those tasks and the achievement of those goals or values which members in the systems consider important. Shared rules of behavior or social norms which are associated with the common symbols used for positioning self and others

provide a basis for ordered expectations about appropriate behavior within a social system. Individuals may be positioned formally in a social system (e.g., doctor, father), in terms of an informally defined interpersonal relationship (e.g., friend, clique member) and/or in terms of some particular value or disvalue (e.g., patriot, "drinker"). Some of the factors involved in this positioning are ascribed at birth (e.g., race and sex) or closely related to the biological development of the individual (e.g., age) while others are primarily achieved (e.g., occupation, education). The joining of a position with a definition of appropriate and expected behavior in given situations is conveniently designated by the concept role or position-role.

How one comes to recognize and identify himself and others with various roles is fundamentally a matter of learning. One learns the traditional structure of the social systems which are relevant for him as this is interpreted by both the statements and the behavior of others. One learns that all individuals do not play identical roles. The playing of certain roles by various individuals is observed to be required, encouraged, discouraged or prohibited. But even persons who are presumably playing the same roles do not necessarily interpret the expectations identically and persons may sometimes presume to play certain roles in spite of discouragement or prohibition from other members of the system. The teen-age adolescent, for example, typically is not permitted to play roles reserved for adults but may only "play at" them. This obviously does not mean, however, that no teenagers claim the right to play and actually play some adult roles. Some teenagers do. Drinking is a case in point.

One cannot understand the drinking behavior--or abstinence for that matter--of the teen-age adolescent without recognition of the position which

he occupies in relevant social systems and how he conceives the roles associated with that position. The discussion which follows in the remainder of this chapter will consider specifically how three important aspects related to the positioning of an individual--sex, age and socio-economic status--are related to patterns of teen-age drinking.

The starting point for age-sex differentiations and the practical justifications for them lie in the differing social potentialities of males and females at every age level. These distinctions involve more than simple biology, however. There are minimum of sex-age categories recognized in all societies--infant, boy, girl, adult male, adult female, old male and old female. The definitions of appropriate behavior of the boy or girl anticipate cultural definitions of appropriate adult behavior for males and females. In addition to prescribing certain occupational and behavioral expectations, membership in a particular age-sex peer group immediately provides an individual with patterns for the behavior which are proper in his relationships with members of other age-sex groups.[7] The social systems in the United States in which most teen-age adolescents are likely to hold membership or identify themselves are no exceptions in this regard. Consequently, attention will be given successively to those aspects of sex and age in American social structure which have relevance for understanding the reported pattern of teen-age drinking within the framework of the particular social systems in which students are members. The relevance of the socio-economic status in the community of the teen-ager's family and the teen-ager's own status aspirations and expectations for the reported patterns of drinking

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[7]See Ralph Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), 589-603.

will also be explored as an intervening variable affecting the significance of sex and age roles.

Sex and drinking.- The importance of sex for the pattern of teen-age drinking is best understood by noting the emphasis which teen-agers themselves place on this factor. Male teen-agers were significantly more willing to self-designate themselves as "drinkers" than were females. Three out of four of the "drinkers" are male in contrast to only slightly more than four in ten males among the "non-drinkers." The distribution of males and females among "non-drinkers" reproduces almost exactly the sex distribution known to characterize the research universe. This distribution is in sharp

TABLE 10

DESIGNATION OF SELF AS "DRINKER" OR "NON-DRINKER" BY SEX[a]

Sex	"Non-drinker"	"Drinker"
	(Percentage)	
Male	44	73
Female	56	27
Total	100	100
Number of cases	179	177

[a] $\chi^2 \sim P < .001$; T = .184.

contrast to that observed among "drinkers" (Table 10).

The sex differentials in the pattern of teen-age drinking apparently reflects a basic distinction, of which drinking is only one aspect, between male and female roles at the adult level in American society. Surveys of adult drinking behavior in the United States consistently report that the female is more likely than the male to be an abstainer and, if a drinker,

to drink less.[8] But equally important as the observation that male and female drinking behavior in the United States may be differentiated is the fact that their behavior is expected to be different. With regard to drinking, as in other areas of behavior, the American female is subjected to a "double standard": It is less appropriate for the female to drink than for the male.[9] The differential cultural definitions of appropriate male and female behavior with regard to the use of alcohol observed in the larger society are reflected in what the teen-agers themselves had to say.

Though some teen-agers specifically rejected the "rightness" of a double standard for the drinking behavior of males and females, all of them recognized it as operative for teen-agers as well as adults. One adolescent

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[8] J. W. Riley and C. F. Marden ["The Social Pattern of Alcohol Drinking," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 8 (1947), 265-73] using data based on a representative sample of the adult population in the United States developed by the National Opinion Research Center, found that one in two females in contrast to one in four males were abstainers. These data have been corroborated by a study in a single state. See M. A. Maxwell, "Drinking Behavior in the State of Washington," ibid., 13 (1952), 219-39. Robert Straus and S. D. Bacon [Drinking in College (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 47] found twice as many female as male abstainers in a comprehensive study of drinking behavior in American colleges.

[9] The notion of "double standard," especially when applied in discussions of morality, frequently implies an unequal treatment of presumed equals. The presumption that males and females are "equal" is consistent with a strong equalitarian bias often encountered in the writing of Americans. It is not the point here to argue whether or not males and females are actually "equal" in some absolute sense. The important point is that the cultural definitions of appropriate male and female roles in our society are defined as different. From this point of view a "double standard" is more adequately described as a differential cultural definition of male and female roles. See, for example, Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), 604-616; and Margaret Mead, Male and Female (New York: New American Library, 1955), 184-285.

"drinker" said, for example,

> I think I would be embarrassed if my girl drank even if I were drinking. And the same way when they smoke. I don't think it looks right. But I think some girls expect their boy friends to smoke. I don't know why but I think that's right because boys--they expect it--oh, I don't know whether you would say rugged, go out and do things just for fun where girls--well, it just doesn't look right for her to do it. (Interview 48)

In spite of the difficulty in articulating his feelings, this male student was able to put across his point: Some behavior just "doesn't look right" for the female and drinking is such behavior. Even a female "drinker" with an egalitarian orientation who thought, "if (drinking) is good enough for a boy it is good enough for a girl," nevertheless observed,

> I think a lot of people, even the police, don't think it's as bad for a boy as a girl to drink, but I don't know why that is. Maybe they feel that a girl can get carried away too far... (Interview 33)

The two points illustrated in these abstracts from the interviews were made frequently by other students. There was a generally shared feeling that it is more appropriate for males to drink than for females even though the students often added "but I don't know why." Second, there was a tendency on the part of students to circumscribe rather narrowly the situations in which female drinking is appropriate, if at all. As the previous discussion of the places where teen-agers drink has indicated, the female is more likely than the male to associate drinking by females with the home or with situations in which parents or relatives are present. Though the male teen-ager was likely to say that female drinking "just doesn't look right," no comparable statement was applied by female teen-agers to males in general. Moreover, in many of the students' assessments of the differential appropriateness of male and female drinking behavior there were overtones associating the willingness of the female teen-ager outside the home with moral laxity.

"It's okay," said one teen-ager,

> if you are going to pick up girls someplace if they drink; but for the one that you really decide to marry--well, they wouldn't go. (Interview 42)

A female "non-drinker" also observed,

> Parents are more concerned about girls than boys because they know they expect a certain amount of devil from boys but not from girls...Parents don't even like to see their girls smoke. (Interview 40)

In brief, there are definitions of appropriate male and appropriate female behavior with regard to the use of beverage alcohol within the social system in which these high school students participate. The difference in expectations are reflected both in what the students do with alcohol and in what they say about the appropriateness of that behavior. The students' definitions as well as their behavior appear to be similar to and to reflect adult role definitions and role behavior involving the use of alcohol.

Age grading and drinking behavior.- The functions of age grading for social systems have now been explored to the extent that some generalizations are possible which go beyond the rather obvious assertions about relationship between biological maturation and related social expectations of behavior. S. N. Eisenstadt, for example, in an analysis of certain African societies characterized by age grading concludes that distinct age grades arise and have particular functional significance in situations in which rules of social interaction are not overwhelmingly determined by membership in kinship groups.[10] In such situations important integrative functions may be

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[10] "African Age Groups, A Comparative Study," Africa, 24:2 (1954), 100-113, summarized in Raymond Firth, "Function," in Yearbook of Anthropology - 1955 (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1955), ed. W. L. Thomas, Jr. See also Eisenstadt's more comprehensive documented statement in his From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), esp. Chapters I and VI.

performed by groups composed of age peers in addition to those performed by family groups. These integrative tasks include the provision of continuity and stability in the socialization process in the absence of stringent kinship controls and restrictions. In groups composed of age peers, important aspects of socialization may also be carried on outside kinship groups and important reference groups may be established which provide a bridge between family groups and the larger society.[11]

In our own society age grading does not involve formal age categorization to any great extent except in the educational system. Nevertheless, age grading is closely related to social structure and constitutes an important point of reference for understanding kinship structure, organization of formal education, occupational preparation and community participation. Although in most cases the line separating age grades is not rigidly specific, this does not lessen the importance of age distinctions.[12] In fact, it is this combination of the functional significance of age grading and lack of specificity in delimiting the age grades that is of special interest in American society. Many societies provide rites of passage which clearly demarcate the passage from one age grade to another. In our society, on the other hand, there are only a few rudimentary equivalents of rites of passage which, for example, provide an individually and socially identifiable transition between adolescence and adulthood. Such rites of passage as there are

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[11] The functions of age peer groups in facilitating the acculturation of the children of foreign born parents in the United States has often been noted. This situation illustrates in extreme form the importance of peer groups in bridging the gap between family training and acquiring the social skills required for adequate participation in the host society. In courtship and marriage, social and political beliefs and behavior and in occupational selection the peer group has frequently had a marked influence on the behavior of its members. See, for example, M. B. Seidler and M. J. Ravitz, "A Jewish Peer Group," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (1955), 11-15.

[12] Talcott Parsons, op. cit.

seen in the coming out party of the upper class female and in such disparate events as high school graduation, being drafted in the Armed Forces, the legal age for voting, taking a full-time job and marriage.[13]

In the absence of more specific criteria for delimiting age grades, the formal organization of our public school system provides progmatic guidelines. Robert J. Havighurst,[14] for example, categorizes four stages of growing up in American society of about equal lengths of six years each. The first period, covering ages one to six, is pre-school; and ages six to 12 correspond to the first six grades in our school system. Havighurst does not label these two periods specifically. The period between ages 12 and 18, however, which correspond to junior high school and high school grades in the school system, he labels as adolescence. Finally, the period including years 18 through 21--the period after graduation from high school--he labels as young adult. Each of these periods, he maintains, has associated with it certain culturally defined developmental tasks or achievement goals. Though the developmental tasks for each age period which Havighurst postulates are set down in detail, for our purposes here it is sufficient to concentrate on the developmental tasks of the adolescent, the age period which includes the high school students used in our study of teen-age drinking behavior. These tasks are 1) accepting one's physique and the appropriate masculine or feminine role; 2) achieving new relations with age-mates of both sexes; 3) achieving emotional independence of parents and other adults; 4) achieving assurance of economic independence; 5) selecting and preparing for an

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[13] Robin M. Williams, American Society (New York: Knopf, 1952), 71.

[14] "Developmental Tasks and General Education," Mimeographed syllabus, University of Chicago, November, 1943; see also his monograph, Developmental Tasks and Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

occupation; 6) developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence; 7) desiring and achieving socially responsible behavior; 8) preparing for marriage and family life; and 9) building conscious values (esthetic, religious, ethical) in harmony with an adequate scientific world-picutre. There will be occasion to return to some of these points in subsequent discussion.

In anticipation of a later discussion, it should be mentioned here that socio-economic status factors are included in the notion of cultural definitions of appropriate age grade behavior. At this point and for present purposes it is sufficient to note Havighurst's emphasis on both the essentially pragmatic age grading implicit in the formal organization of the public school system and the cultural definitions of developmental tasks associated with these pragmatically determined age grades.

The coincidence of functionally significant age grades and of non-specificity in delimiting the age grades has provoked a great deal of discussion about the ambiguities which result from such a coincidence. This has been particularly the case with regard to adolescence in American society. One example of this emphasis is Talcott Parsons' well known characterization of a "youth culture" as a set of patterns and behavior phenomena which involve highly complex combinations of age grading and sex role elements illustrates the conclusions of a large number of analysts who view this period of development as one of storm and stress and as one dominated by a distinctive peer group culture. Three major assumptions appear to be implicit in this characterization of adolescence.[15] 1) Adolescence is

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[15] For a summary of this characterization and a critique of it, see Frederick Elkin and W. A. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," American Sociological Review, 20 (1955), 680-84.

assumed to be a unique period to which the phrase "storm and stress" is distinctively appropriate, and which results from the adolescents' peculiar age grade position in American social structure. The discontinuity in socialization, the conflict between generations in a changing society and the problems of occupational and marital choice are all said to contribute to the tensions of the adolescent. 2) A second assumption is that a youth culture exists in fact and is a widespread and dominant pattern among adolescents in American life, particularly in urban areas. Those who participate in this culture are said to experience its demands, accept its dominant elements and not to judge their own behavior by "adult" points of view. 3) Finally, the implicit assumption is that the youth culture of the adolescent is etiologically and functionally linked to the "storm and stress" of the individual. The adolescent in becoming emancipated from his family participates in a peer group which makes demands to which he conforms and that this participation serves to meet his needs for independence and security.

Our research data provide a basis for discussing the existence and functional significance of age grading in American society. It should be emphasized immediately, however, that these data are not adequate for reaching definitive conclusions to the problem which has been posed in the previous paragraphs of this discussion. With this limitation in mind it is appropriate, then, to inquire both about the significance of age grading for the drinking behavior of teen-age adolescents and, in turn, about the understanding of age grading in American society contributed by a study of this particular behavior.

Age grades and perceptions of drinking behavior.- Teen-age adolescents clearly associate drinking with adult role playing. Their perception of the adolescent role, on the other hand, tends to emphasize abstinence. Regardless of the self-designation of the respondent, the majority of teen-age adolescents studied indicated a belief that at least half or more adults drink "sometimes" (Table 11). Three out of four of the students in the random sample of two hundred estimated that half or more of the adults drink sometimes. When estimates are considered in terms of self-designation as "drinker" and "non-drinker" and in terms of sex, the proportion of students in each category making this estimate rnaged from a low of 69% of the female "drinkers" to a high of 75% of the female "non-drinkers." Fifty percent of the students in the random sample of two hundred also estimated that half or more of the adults drink "regularly" (Table 12). The proportion of students in each category making this estimate ranged from a low of 48% of the male "non-drinkers" to a high of 61% of the male "drinkers." The teen-age adolescents in the study, therefore, tended to perceive the adult as a person who drinks at least sometimes.

Perceptions of the occasions and places for adult drinking are significantly similar among the various categories of students. Composite responses to the question, "What are the three occasions on which adults are most likely to drink?" indicate that social situations are consistently ranked high (Table 13). All categories of students ranked "party" high. There was also agreement that adult drinking is most likely to occur 1) on special occasions such as New Year, Christmas and other holidays; 2) in daily drinking at home, tavern or bar; and 3) when adults are entertaining at home.

TABLE 11

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF ADULTS WHO DRINK "SOMETIMES"[a]

Proportion	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
None	0	0	0	0
One-fourth	24	24	27	29
One-half	37	42	20	34
Three-fourths	29	27	37	29
All/nearly all	6	5	14	6
No answer	4	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 3-5 are collapsed in each column, separate comparisons of males in both categories and females in both categories produces a $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

TABLE 12

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF ADULTS WHO DRINK "REGULARLY"[a]

Proportion	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
None	6	2	1	2
One-fourth	44	43	36	46
One-half	38	33	41	32
Three-fourths	9	18	17	16
All/nearly all	0	2	3	2
No answer	3	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 3-5 are collapsed in each column, separate comparisons of males in both categories and females in both categories produces a $X^2 \sim .10 > P > .05$ for males and $X^2 \sim P > .20$ for females.

TABLE 13

MOST LIKELY OCCASIONS FOR DRINKING BY ADULTS, RANK ORDERED (RO)[a]

Occasions	"Non-drinker"				"Drinker"			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO
Dances	4	11	13	8	15	8	5	7
Parties	41	1	49	1	67	1	23	1
Wild parties	3	12	3	14	6	10	1	11
Beer parties	7	9	4	13	9	9	2	10
All night parties	1	14	2	15	3	11	0	12
Teen-age parties	0	15	0	17	0	14	0	12
Card parties	8	8	13	8	6	10	2	10
Unsupervised gatherings	2	13	0	17	0	14	0	12
Entertaining at home	19	3	26	3	34	4	16	3
Entertaining at a friend's home	13	6	17	6	21	5	10	6
Daily drinking at home, taverns	19	3	24	5	17	6	17	2
When with parents, other relatives	0	15	1	16	2	12	2	10
When relatives visit	9	7	14	7	17	6	13	5
Association with older people	1	14	3	14	1	13	0	12
Special events, occasions	7	9	11	9	16	7	4	8
New Year, Christmas, other holidays	34	2	44	2	53	2	23	1
Weddings	16	5	25	4	41	3	13	4
After school events	1	14	0	17	3	11	0	12
Games, sporting events	1	14	3	14	1	13	0	12
Hunting or fishing trips	17	4	14	7	21	5	5	7
Weekend recreation	6	10	8	12	6	10	3	9
No answer	25	--	29	--	48	--	4	--
Total number of responses	234[b]		303		387		144	

[a] When the top ten ranked "occasions" of the male "non-drinker" are compared with the comparable items ranked by the male "drinker," Tau ~ $P<.01$; the same procedure applied to the ranking of female responses in each category produces a Tau ~ $P<.01$; the same procedure applied to the rankings of male "non-drinkers" and female "drinkers" produces a Tau ~ $P<.01$.

[b] Totals include first, second and third responses to the question, "What are the three occasions on which adults are most likely to drink?"

When the occasions for adult drinking imputed by teen-agers are compared with those occasions most likely to elicit student drinking (see Table 6, above), it is noted that "party" is ranked first in each instance. However, there is a difference. In the case of the teen-ager, the prefix "wild," "unsupervised," or "beer" is added. The relatively low rank ordering of "entertaining at home" and "daily drinking at home, taverns and bars" for students in contrast to adults is evident.

Students in all categories are also significantly in agreement that adult drinking is most likely to occur in such public places as bars, clubs or roadhouses or in social activities centering in the home (Table 14). Non-public places which imply secretive behavior are not associated with adult drinking. This is in contrast to the teen-ager's designation of secret or unsupervised places as the most likely for drinking by students (see Table 9, above). Places for teen-age drinking are most likely to be "at unsupervised parties," "in secret," "in automobiles" or "on back roads."

These teen-agers perceived students pimarily as abstainers or at least "non-drinkers." Most of the teen-agers believed that the majority of high school students do not drink even "sometimes" (Table 15). They were even more in agreement that most high school students do not drink "regularly" (Table 16). Six in ten of the sample of two hundred estimated that one-fourth or less of the high school students drink "sometimes." The proportion of students in each category who made this estimate ranged from a low of 43% of the male "drinkers" to a high of 67% of the male "non-drinkers." Moreover, three in four of the random sample of two hundred estimated that only one-fourth or less of the high school students drink "regularly." The proportion of students in each category ranged from a low of 56% of the female "drinkers" to a high of 87% of the male "non-drinkers." In brief,

TABLE 14

PLACES FOR DRINKING BY ADULTS, RANK ORDERED (RO)[a]

Places	"Non-drinker"				"Drinker"			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO
At dances and parties	21	5	40	4	36	4	21	3
At bars, clubs, roadhouses, taverns	44	1	64	1	77	1	40	1
At parks, lakes, similar places	10	6	8	8	13	6	7	6
At private clubs	10	6	13	6	19	5	7	6
At home	35	2	41	3	55	2	20	4
At home when entertaining	32	3	43	2	54	3	25	2
At a friend's house	26	4	39	5	36	4	18	5
At unsupervised parties	0	9	1	11	1	8	0	9
In automobiles	2	8	3	9	3	7	0	9
In secret so others will not know	0	9	1	11	0	9	1	8
In the country, on back roads	0	9	2	10	0	9	0	9
At summer cottages	9	7	11	7	19	5	5	7
No answer	45	--	37	--	74	--	0	--
Total number of responses	234[b]		303		387		144	

[a] When the top ten ranked "places" of the male "non-drinker" are compared with the comparable items ranked by the male "drinker," Tau $\sim P < .01$; the same procedure applied to the rankings of the females in both categories produces a Tau $\sim P < .01$; the same procedure applied to the rankings of the male "non-drinker" and the female "drinker" produces a Tau $\sim P < .01$.

[b] Totals include first, second and third responses to the question, "What are the three places where adults are most likely to drink?"

TABLE 15

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO DRINK "SOMETIMES"[a]

Proportion	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
None	3	1	2	0
One-fourth	64	62	41	44
One-half	23	27	33	37
Three-fourths	5	8	18	15
All/nearly all	1	1	4	2
No answer	4	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 3-5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, $T = .237$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P < .01$, $T = .183$.

TABLE 16

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO DRINK "REGULARLY"[a]

Proportion	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
None	19	17	12	4
One-fourth	68	52	51	52
One-half	3	19	23	21
Three-fourths	4	7	6	13
All/nearly all	1	3	6	8
No answer	5	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 3-5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, $T = .298$; for females only, $X^2 \sim .10 > P > .05$; when male and female "drinkers" are compared, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

those high school teen-agers who tended to perceive most adults as at least "sometimes" drinkers also perceived most high school students as abstinent or at least "non-drinkers."

Differences in the proportion of drinkers among adults and high school students perceived by the various categories of teen-agers warrant brief additional comment. It has been noted that the male "drinker" made higher estimates of the proportion of regular drinkers among both adults and high school students than did the male "non-drinkers." On the other hand, while the female "drinker" made higher estimates of the proportion of regular drinkers among high school students than did the "non-drinker," she made lower estimates of the proportion of regular drinkers among adults. In anticipation of the subsequent discussion of the relationship of reference group behavior to drinking, two points can be made. First, these differences in estimates give some indication of the reference groups of the male and female "drinkers" who generally tended to estimate the proportion of persons like themselves to be larger than "non-drinkers" estimated it to be. Second, among females, while "drinkers" estimated a proportion of regular drinkers among adults which was slightly lower than that of the "non-drinkers," this relationship is reversed when the high school student is considered. The female "drinker" emphasizes in her relatively larger estimates of the proportion of high school students who, like herself, are "drinkers" the importance of this group of her age peers as a point of reference. Female "drinkers" made the next to the lowest estimate of the proportion of regular drinkers among adults yet the highest estimate of the proportion of regular drinkers among high school students.

Age grading and reference groups.- On the basis of this differential age graded perception of drinking behavior one would expect that the

self-identification of the teen-ager as an adolescent or adult would also be related to his own self conception as a "drinker" or a "non-drinker." While the students' self-identification with the adult or adolescent age grade was not directly determined, this can be approached indirectly. This may be done with data both on the age of individuals in the "drinker" and "non-drinker" categories and on the extent to which they were currently playing adult-like roles.

TABLE 17

AGE OF MALE AND FEMALE "NON-DRINKERS" AND "DRINKERS"[a]

Age in years	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
15	3	5	0	0
16	23	36	1	6
17	50	43	23	38
18 or over	23	14	71	54
No answer	1	2	5	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a]When rows 1-3 in each column are collapsed, for males only, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, T = .499; for females only, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, T=.431.

Self-designated "drinkers" were found to be older than "non-drinkers." "Drinkers" had a median age of 17.4 years as compared to 16.4 years for the "non-drinkers." The former also included a significantly larger number of students 18 years of age and older when compared with the latter category (Table 17). This proved to be the case for both males and females. Thus the older teen-age adolescents who were approaching an age when claims to adult status are feasible were more likely than the younger ones to self-designate themselves as "drinkers."

Havighurst has listed among the important developmental tasks of adolescence the achievement of emotional independence of parents and other adults; the achievement of assurance of economic independence; selection and preparation for an occupation; and the achievement of new relationships with age-mates.[16] If his analysis is adequate, it should follow that those teen-agers who are most advanced in the achievement of these tasks would also be most likely to use adult roles as points of reference. And, insofar as the adult is perceived as likely to be a drinker, these students should also be more likely than others to be "drinkers." The data appear to indicate that this analysis is correct.

Most students, regardless of their self-designation as "drinker" or "non-drinker," reported that they live with both biological parents. For our purposes the importance of the biological relationship lies in its possible social implications; that is, the presence of the biological parent suggests the presence of an adult within a culturally defined parent-child relationship with which the child can identify. One might expect that, in the absence of a biological parent of the same sex, a child would have the occasion if not the necessity to play adult-like roles sooner than he might ordinarily. One frequently encounters, for example, stories of adolescent boys and girls in our society who become "little fathers" and "little mothers" in the absence of the appropriate parent. When male "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" are compared in terms of the relationship to persons with whom they live, the expected differences are observed even though the differences are not statistically significant (Table 18). A male teen-ager living in a home in which the biological father is absent is more than twice

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[16] Op. cit.

TABLE 18

STUDENTS' KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS TO PERSONS WITH WHOM THEY LIVE[a]

Persons lived with	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Both biological parents	78	69	70	67
Mother or mother/stepfather	8	21	19	15
Father or father/stepmother	8	4	6	6
Other	6	6	5	12
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] For both males and females compared separately, $X^2 \sim P > .20$; when only rows 2 and 3 are used for comparison, for males only, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$.

TABLE 19

STUDENT EXPERIENCE IN EARNING MONEY BY WORKING AT HOME AND AWAY FROM HOME[a]

Experience in earning	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Never or hardly ever	9	25	5	8
Yes, work at home	14	10	8	13
Yes, work away from home	77	64	86	77
No answer	0	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] For males only, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$; for females only, $X^2 \sim .10 > P > .05$.

as likely as others to designate himself as a "drinker." In the case of females, the difference is not so pronounced as for the males; nevertheless, the female "drinkers" are slightly overrepresented in situations in which the biological mother is absent. In each case the absence of the appropriate adult sex model is more common for "drinkers" than for "non-drinkers." Whether this relationship is to be explained in terms of accelleration of attempts to achieve emotional and economic independence, of pressure to assume adult-like responsibility for self or others or a combination of these cannot be answered from the data. These are only plausible explanations for the observed relationship.

Money is purchasing power and purchasing power is to some extent discretionary power. This suggests that one facet of the individual's achievement of assurance about his increasing economic independence lies in having access to money not directly subject to parental control. One such source of money for the teen-ager is likely to be provided by earnings from work away from home. The data lend support to this interpretation (Table 19). Male "drinkers" (86%) are more likely than "non-drinkers" (77%) to earn money away from home. Similarly, female "drinkers" (77%) are more likely than "non-drinkers" (64%) to have access to money not directly subject to parental control. Since the right to make one's own decisions and the availability of the economic resources to implement these decisions is associated with adulthood, the achievement of some measure of financial independence does make independent decisions, including decisions about drinking, increasingly a live option for the working teen-ager. It is important to note also that working outside the home, in addition to providing an independent source of income, provides the teen-ager with experience of

adult-like occupational roles.[17]

"Drinkers," and particularly male "drinkers," have more immediate and clear-cut occupational expectations than others (Table 20). Among males, six in ten of the "non-drinkers" as compared to four in ten of the "drinkers" expected to attend college or were uncertain about their immediate vocational futures. Of those remaining, "drinkers" were more likely than others to plan for a full time job or to enter the armed services, both of which are associated with adult-like role playing. The same analysis applies in the case of the females though the differences are not so pronounced as in the case of the males.

The data also suggest differences in the importance which "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" attach to adolescent peer groups. "Drinkers" are primarily adult-oriented. For example, slightly more than half of the male "drinkers" as compared to slightly less than four in ten of the "non-drinkers" designate adults as models for behavior--well-known adults, teachers, television or movie personalities--or to be uncertain about their preference. The male "non-drinkers" (61%) were likely to prefer individuals their own age or some type of athlete as models to a greater extent than "drinkers" (Table 21). For the females this pattern is generally reversed. Female "non-drinkers" (33%) show a slightly greater preference for adult models for behavior than do "drinkers" (29%). The female "non-drinker," like the male of the same category, is more likely than the female "drinker" to prefer as a model "some type of athlete"--a type traditionally associated with abstinence. This reversal is consistent with and is at least partially explained by the different interpretations of the appropriateness of drinking

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[17]The extent to which difference in work experience may be related to socio-economic position will be considered subsequently.

TABLE 20

VOCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS NOT PLANNING TO ATTEND COLLEGE[a]

Post-high school plans	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Take full time job	10	33	17	46
Full time job and night school	5	3	2	6
Business or secretarial school	1	13	2	13
Barber or beauty school	0	2	1	0
Technical/vocational school	3	1	2	0
Enlistment in Armed Forces	23	7	35	8
Don't know	15	9	9	8
No answer or inapplicable	43	32	32	19
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] With "no answer or inapplicable" excluded, when rows 1, 6 and 7 are kept intact and rows 2-5 collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim .10 > P > .05$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

TABLE 21

STUDENT CHOICES OF MODELS FOR BEHAVIOR[a]

Types of models	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)[b]			
Some types of high school students	18	19	17	26
Some specific individuals own age	10	22	8	15
Teachers in school	4	6	4	4
Well known adults in the community	9	16	10	13
Well known public officials	3	3	4	4
Personalities on TV or in movies	7	8	8	9
Some type of athlete	33	10	24	4
"Myself"	1	2	0	2
No answer	15	14	25	23
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	105	125	144	53
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2; rows 3 and 4; rows 5 and 6 and rows 8 and 9 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

[b] Percentages in this instance refer to the number of responses.

for males and females in our society. Drinking is consistent with the image of the adult male. It is less so in the case of the adult female. One may speculate, therefore, that the peer membership group is more important in providing models for appropriate behavior involving the use of alcohol for the adolescent female than in the case of the adolescent male. The male may "drink like a man." There is no exact counterpart for the female. What it means to "drink like a woman (lady)" is less clear. The peer groups in which the female "drinker" participates may function as a locus for defining appropriate drinking behavior.

A consideration of the relevance of peer group identification by adolescents is important for several reasons. First, social analysts who emphasize the anomalous aspects of the social position of the American adolescent tend to emphasize the importance of the peer group as the locus of behavior antagonistic to adult definitions of appropriate behavior for adolescents. This point has been discussed in some detail previously.[18] Second, insofar as adolescence is clearly a transitional period between childhood and adulthood in our society, a study of this period offers an opportunity to study reference group behavior of persons in a structurally marginal position. This interest may be pursued independently of resolving the question about the existence and functional significance of a distinctive "youth culture." It is to these two interests that the next few paragraphs are directed.

"Drinkers" and "non-drinkers" participate differentially in organized peer group activity both inside and outside the school. They also state different degrees of preference for participation in such activity. Though

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[18]See above, pages 85f.

the differences in most instances are not statistically significant, the direction is consistent. When males are compared, 44% of the "drinkers" as compared to 37% of the "non-drinkers" participate in no high school organizations. The same pattern is observed in the case of the females. Twenty-one percent of the "drinkers" as compared to 16% of "non-drinkers" reported that they were not participants in high school organizations (Table 22).

When organized non-school activities are considered, "non-drinkers" are again overrepresented among participants in these activities except in the particular categories of community activities and Boy or Girl Scouts (Table 23). Among males, almost half of the "drinkers" as compared to slightly more than three in ten of the "non-drinkers" were not participants in any organized non-school activities. For females, four in ten of the "drinkers" in contrast to only slightly less than three in ten of the "non-drinkers" reported that they were not participants. Moreover, 62% of the male "drinkers" as compared to 48% of the male "non-drinkers" indicated no desire to expand their present degree of participation in organized peer group activities (Table 24).

It should be noted that, while the female "drinker" expressed a preference for teen-age models of behavior, she also reported less participation than the female "non-drinker" in organized peer group activity. This suggests again the possibility that a basic distinction may be necessary among various teen-age peer groups with regard to drinking. Since self-designated "drinkers" constitute clearly a minority of students in the research population and report participating least in organized peer group activity both inside and outside the school, it would be unwarranted to conclude from the data presented here that adolescent peer groups in general are the locus of

TABLE 22

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS[a]

Number of organizations	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
None	37	16	44	21
One	24	20	22	23
Two	18	17	12	21
Three	6	22	10	21
Four	12	15	8	6
Five	0	7	2	4
Six	0	3	1	2
Seven	0	0	0	2
Eight or more	3	0	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 2-4 and rows 5-9 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \nsim P > .20$.

TABLE 23

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN NON-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES[a]

Activity	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)[b]			
Group sports	30	21	24	13
Young peoples' religious group	22	27	10	21
Musical or artistic group	7	8	3	13
Community activities	6	14	9	10
Boy or girl scouts	2	2	7	3
Nor answer or none	33	28	47	40
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	91	136	148	60
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \nsim P < .05$, $T = .161$; for females only, $X^2 \nsim P > .20$.

[b] Percentages in this instance refer to responses.

re-definitions of appropriate behavior with regard to drinking for teen-agers. On the contrary, the predominant perception of the abstinent or at least "non-drinking" adolescent shared by self-designated "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" alike suggests just the opposite. What the analysis of the data does suggest is that in a minority of cases peer group participation may be important in the development and support of the self and social conception of the individual as a "drinker." But more important, it appears that the more

TABLE 24

TOTAL NUMBER OF TEAM MEMBERSHIPS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND ACTIVITIES DESIRED BY STUDENTS[a]

Total number desired	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
None	48	60	62	67
One	17	17	8	15
Two	13	12	13	10
Three	18	6	11	2
Four	3	2	3	2
Five or more	1	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a]When rows 2 and 3 and rows 4-6 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

fundamental point is that those peer groups in which the "drinker" participates are composed of those teen-agers who are older, have achieved some financial independence, have immediate plans for establishing themselves occupationally, prefer adult models of behavior and are least involved in the organized teen-age activities either inside or outside the school. In brief, the "drinker" appears most likely to be the teen-ager who is playing essentially adult-like roles and whose reference groups are composed either of adults or of other teen-agers whose behavior suggests adult orientations.

There was no indication that most teen-ager peer groups were basically antagonistic to perceived adult definitions of the inappropriateness of drinking by adolescents. Nor was there any indication in the interviews that "storm and stress" surrounded the issue of drinking for these older adolescents. It is those students who appear to be most advanced in the assumption of adult-like roles that are most likely to self-designate themselves as "drinkers."

Relevance Of Social Stratification For Drinking Behavior[19]

Socio-economic stratification may be observed as a part of the organized social life in any American community. Though the details vary, power, prestige and life chances are unequally distributed among individuals in any social system. These differences may be reflected in the distribution of such social rewards as income, occupational prestige, social honor, educational opportunity or some combination of these or other factors which reflect shared values. Differences in socio-economic position may also be reflected in the selective participation or preference for participation of some individuals with others who have the same or a similar status position in a social system. When categories of individuals have or are thought to have the same or similar socio-economic positions within a social system,

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[19] The discussion of social stratification in the following paragraphs draws especially on the work of Max Weber [e.g., his "class, Status and Party," in Class, Status and Power (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953), eds. R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset] and of Lloyd Warner [e.g., Warner, et al, Social Class in America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949)]. See also the critical discussion of issues and bibliography in this field in H. W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification, Critique and Bibliography," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (1953), 391-418 and J. F. Cuber and W. F. Kenkel, Social Stratification in America (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954), Part I.

these categories are commonly referred to as classes designated as "upper," "middle" or "lower" depending on the relative position of each in relation to the other. Though sociological analysis has demonstrated that this common-sense hierarchial categorization greatly oversimplifies a very complex multi-dimensional social process,[20] for our purposes here, with awareness of limitations, this summary type of judgment about the differential position of individuals in a stratification system has some utility. This is especially the case insofar as socio-economic factors are only an ancillary part of exploratory research on teen-age drinking.[21]

The data on stratification of the social system in which the students to be considered are members are limited primarily to four types. First, ranking of the father's occupation is used on the assumption that it is among the best single criteria for determination of status positions in American communities and that a child's status in the community largely reflects the status of the father.[22] Two techniques are used to rank occupations--

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[20]For example, see Pfautz, op. cit.; also G. P. Stone and W. H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problems of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review 18 (1953), 149-162.

[21]Therefore, it should be emphasized that this research does not assume that socio-economic factors are significantly related to reported differences in teen-age drinking behavior or that the measures used to differentiate among persons in a stratification system are the best or the only ones which might have been used. Rather the research poses the question of possible relationship and attempts to answer the question through the use of measures of status which could be adapted economically to questionnaire presentation.

[22]See, for example, J. A. Kahl and J. A. Davis, "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-economic Status," American Sociological Review, 20 (1955), 317-325; and Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, XLV (1940), 841-62.

the United States Census classification of occupations and the Warner index of occupations. Both techniques are used since they provide a basis for internal comparison and for comparison with other studies which have used one or the other of them. Second, a Warner Index of Status Characteristics (ISC) is used to provide a summary estimate of social class position. The process by which this summary index of status is determined involves the conversion of weighted scales of occupation, source of income and education into a single index. This summary index for any given individual is then placed within a social class scheme developed by Warner and his associates from cumulative research on stratification in American communities.[23] Third, the socio-economic aspirations and expectations of the students are explored by techniques discussed in the two previous points. Fourth, the interview data provide insight into the perceptions which students themselves have of social class in the community in which they live and the way in which the "style of life" in the various classes is related to drinking behavior.

Student images of social class.- When teen-agers themselves talked informally of socio-economic distinctions in the focussed interviews, they most frequently referred to the stereotypes of "upper class," "middle class," "lower class" or some variant of these. "Upper class" most frequently meant to them money, prestige, power and opportunity as illustrated by the student who said,

> Class means whether you're the person who has the most money and has more opportunity--usually opportunity goes with money. Or, if you're the lower class you don't have opportunity or money. The middle class may have to pinch pennies but still they get along. (Interview 15)

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[23] For a detailed description of the Warner procedure see Warner, et al, op. cit., Part III.

How is class position related to drinking behavior? The response of one teenager summarized with insight the less explicit comments made often by other students in the interviews:

> I think all groups drink but the older group and the older society groups and the high ups in society drink as much as the lower group but drink a better quality of stuff and know when to stop and can consume it better. The lower class group of people drink a lot and don't know when to stop and are boisterous about it... In between I think they drink just mildly and they drink when they want to and where they want to and know how much to drink and when to stop and when not to and things like that. High society people, they feel, they--oh, I don't know, I'm not high society--but they are drinking and I think they can drink a lot. They're used to the different parties and can drink any place they want. I don't think they get out of hand because they are afraid they'll lose their society...The people at the bottom, they don't care, because they don't have any place else to fall; they can just fall where they are. The middle class are in between. They know whether to drink and when to drink and how to drink. (Interview 33)

The students frequently pointed out that drinking is likely to be part of a way of life, particularly among "upper class" individuals. "Social drinking" was commonly used to describe the behavior of this category of persons. On the other hand, drinking by "lower class" persons was likely to be thought of as one mechanism for escape from personal problems or worry. Some students were also inclined to moralize that "if a fellow is in a lower class and is spending all his money for liquor, that's probably why he is in the lower class."[24] In brief, the students interviewed shared an identifiable image of the relationship between socio-economic position in the community and drinking behavior. Analysis of the questionnaire data lends support to these impressions.

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[24] The notion that "upper class" individuals drink like "ladies and gentlemen" in contrast to the more rowdy and less glamorous drinking among the "lower class" is reported in John Dollard, "Drinking Mores and Social Class," in Alcohol, Science and Society (New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945); for a characterization of drinking by "the country club crowd" in contrast to those who drink in roadhouses and bars see A. B. Hollingshead's Elmtown's Youth (New York: Wiley, 1949), 321ff.

Socio-economic status of the family.- As might be expected on the basis of the data previously presented, "drinkers" are not equally distributed throughout the range of socio-economic status defined by the occupations of fathers. Teen-agers classified in the lower socio-economic strata of a community might be expected to have neither the resources nor the status aspirations to make the postponement of a full-time job, marriage or entrance into the armed services a feasible or desirable option.[25] This would be less likely to be the case for teen-agers from families with higher socio-economic status. The postponement of full adult status by continuing professional or technical preparation is more likely to appear both possible and desirable in this case. As expected, when census classifications of the father's occupation are used, the male "non-drinker" is significantly overrepresented in professional-managerial occupations in contrast to the male "drinker" who is overrepresented in clerical, operative and laborer classifications. Almost four in ten of the male "non-drinkers" reported their fathers as having professional-managerial occupational classifications as compared with only about one in seven of the "drinkers" (Table 25). Similarly, female "non-drinkers" are also overrepresented in middle range classifications and above in contrast to "drinkers," though the difference is less pronounced than in the case of the male. Sixty-six percent of the "non-drinkers" reported craftsmen-foremen classifications or above for the father as compared to 58% of the "drinkers."

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[25]Havighurst, op. cit., develops this point of view in detail; see also Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Class, Status and Power, op. cit.

TABLE 25

FATHER'S OCCUPATION, CENSUS CLASSIFICATION[a]

Occupational classification	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Professional, technical and kindred	18	8	6	10
Managers, officials, proprietors	21	15	9	13
Clerical and kindred workers	6	6	16	8
Sales workers	5	5	2	2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	17	32	25	25
Operatives and kindred workers	14	23	26	23
Private household workers	4	5	1	0
Service workers, except household	1	2	6	15
Farm laborers and foremen	12	3	0	0
Laborers, except farm and mine	1	0	8	4
No answer or unclassified	1	1	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2, rows 3 and 4 and rows 5-11 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P < .01$, $T = .200$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

TABLE 26

FATHER'S OCCUPATION, WARNER OCCUPATIONAL INDEX[a]

Index rank	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
1	8	4	5	6
2	1	7	5	2
3	23	9	8	8
4	23	31	25	27
5	22	34	33	32
6	15	10	7	15
7	4	2	5	2
Unclassified	4	3	12	8
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2, rows 3 and 4, and rows 5-7 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

These data suggest that teen-age self-identificatin as a "drinker" is associated with the lower socio-economic strata, as measured by the census classification of occupations. However, this inference must be carefully drawn. Census classifications of occupation are gross categories which include occupations covering a wide range of income and prestige. "Professional, technical and kindred workers," for example, equates physicians and "healers," college professors and grade school teachers. "Proprietors, managers and officials" includes hotel managers and manufacturers, forest rangers and motion picture executives. While the particular community under study did not include such extremes necessarily, inferences based on census classifications of occupations must be considered as tentative.

Some modifications of inferences drawn from the use of census classifications alone are suggested when the classificatory procedure of Warner is used. When the reported occupations of the fathers are distributed on a seven point Warner scale, among males, "non-drinkers" tend to be slightly overrepresented at the middle range of the scale with "drinkers" as slightly overrepresented at the upper and lower extremes. Use of the Warner occupational scale does not require, therefore, modification of the inference drawn from the census classification that "drinkers" are overrepresented at the lower range of the occupational prestige hierarchy (Table 26) but suggests that "drinkers" are also at the opposite pole of status structure. Though these observed differences in distribution are not statistically significant, the pattern of distribution is consistent with the observations of other analysts that drinking behavior is more evident in the "upper" and "lower" classes than in the "middle class."[26] When the Warner Index of Status

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[26]For example, Dollard, op. cit.; M. N. Chappell, et al, [Use of Alcoholic Beverages Among High School Students (New York: The Mrs. John S. Sheppard Foundation, 1953), 18] found that the number of parents keeping beer, wine

Characteristics, which includes a summary index of education, source of income and occupation scales, is employed, essentially the same modifications of the inference drawn from census classifications of occupations are suggested (Table 27). Among males "non-drinkers" are found to be slightly overrepresented in the middle range of the index with "drinkers" overrepresented at the extremes. Contrary to both the census classification and the Warner occupational scale when each is used alone, however, among females, the "drinkers" are found to be slightly overrepresented at the extremes of the index scale rather than only at the lower end. The differences are not statistically significant.

Status aspirations and expectations.- While an adolescent receives his socio-economic position in the community largely from the status of the father, the adolescent may aspire to and identify himself with a socio-economic position he prefers as well as the one he himself expects to achieve as an adult. His reference groups, considered in terms of his preferred socio-economic position, may not coincide either with his membership or expected membership groups. For example, the son of a factory operative may aspire to a professional occupation or to be in a social class higher than the one his family currently occupies. He may have as the model of his behavior in such a case the image of the adult who occupies the status positions

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or hard liquor in the home increased directly with the number of rooms in the home. However, this suggests the source of alcohol available to teenagers rather than their uses of alcohol at the various socio-economic levels. Robert Straus and S. D. Bacon (Drinking in College (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 46ff) report the percentage of drinkers in American colleges to be positively correlated with family income. But again this reflects a selective socio-economic bias; lower socio-economic strata drinking behavior is not adequately reflected in this conclusion. These data do support, however, the conclusion that drinking is an "upper" as well as a "lower class" phenomena among students.

TABLE 27

FATHER'S SOCIAL CLASS, WARNER INDEX OF STATUS CHARACTERISTICS (ISC)[a]

ISC social class	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Upper class	3	0	5	6
Upper middle class	15	11	15	8
Lower middle class	27	35	23	21
Upper lower class	42	46	37	47
Lower lower class	1	2	7	10
Unclassified	12	6	13	8
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \wedge P > .20$.

TABLE 28

STUDENT ESTIMATES OF ACCEPTABILITY OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION FOR SELF OR SPOUSE[a]

Estimate	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
No good at all	6	11	12	13
Not very good	23	11	22	17
Fair	26	24	27	29
Good	23	28	22	25
Very good	19	25	14	10
No answer	3	1	3	6
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \wedge P > .20$.

to which he aspires rather than the father. A similar observation might be made of the female whose status aspirations which are expected to be realized in a career or in marriage do not coincide with her present status position. The following paragraphs will explore the relevance of status aspirations vis a vis status expectations for understanding the drinking behavior of teen-agers in high school.

When the father's occupation is projected as a possible occupation for self or for husband, "drinkers" were more likely than "non-drinkers" to evaluate this possibility as "not very good" or "no good at all" (Table 28). This is consistent with the observation that "drinkers" are more likely than others to come from families in which the occupational status of the father is predominantly low. Among males, 42% of the "non-drinkers" considered the father's occupation as "good" or "very good" as a possibility for themselves in contrast to only 36% of the "drinkers." Slightly more than half of the female "non-drinkers" considered the father's occupation as "good" or "very good" for themselves or their spouses in contrast to one of three of the "drinkers."

As might be expected on the basis of assessments of the acceptability of the father's occupation for self or husband, differential preference for occupations were expressed by "drinkers" and "non-drinkers." Among males 57% of the "non-drinkers" and 50% of the "drinkers" indicated a preference for professional managerial occupations for themselves (Table 29). When this preference is compared with the reported occupational status of the father (see Table 25, above), the number of "non-drinkers" preferring this classification increases only by about one-half over the number whose fathers have this classification. The number of "drinkers" preferring this classification is more than three times as large as the number whose fathers have

TABLE 29

STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES, CENSUS CLASSIFICATION, FOR SELF OR SPOUSE[a]

Occupational classification	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Professional, technical and kindred	44	38	42	31
Managers, officials, proprietors	13	2	8	2
Farmers and farm managers	3	0	0	0
Clerical and kindred workers	3	29	2	25
Sales workers	1	0	1	2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	11	1	7	2
Operatives and kindred workers	5	1	5	2
Private household workers	3	8	1	2
Service workers, except household	0	7	5	15
Farm laborers or foremen	1	0	*	0
No answer	16	14	29	19
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2; rows 3-5 and rows 7-10 are collapsed in each column; for males only, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

* Less than one percent.

TABLE 30

STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES, WARNER OCCUPATIONAL INDEX, FOR SELF OR SPOUSE[a]

Index rank	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
One	27	9	34	4
Two	8	13	3	13
Three	18	15	3	10
Four	17	29	7	40
Five	5	11	11	10
Six	0	1	2	2
Seven	1	0	1	0
Unclassified	24	22	39	21
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2, rows 3 and 4 and rows 5-7 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, $T = .241$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

a professional-managerial occupational classification. "Drinkers" are also overrepresented among those who did not state an occupational preference. A similar but less pronounced relationship is noted when "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" are compared in terms of preferences for jobs falling in the first three ranks of the Warner scale and the scale position of the reported occupation of the father (cf. Table 30 with Table 26, above). In this case the increase is 64% for "non-drinkers" and 117% for "drinkers."

The pronounced differences between preferences for professional-managerial occupations and the reported occupational classification of the father observed among males is not found among females. When the same procedure that was applied to the male is applied to females, comparison of the number of students who prefer occupations which fall in the first three scale ranks of Tables 30 and 26 (above) with the number whose fathers had such an occupational classification shows the same percentage of discrepancy (+ .85%) for both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers."

Analysis of occupational expectations in relation to the reported occupational status of the father indicates essentially the same pattern for males as observed in the analysis of the relationship between student preferences and the reported status of the father. The discrepancy between expectations of the student for a professional-managerial occupational classification and the status of the father's reported occupation is greater for "drinkers" than for "non-drinkers" (Table 31; cf. Table 25, above). A 150% increase is noted among "drinkers" whose fathers do not have this classification but who expect to have professional-managerial occupations themselves as compared with 17% of the "non-drinkers." Though the difference between the two categories of students is not so pronounced when the Warner Scale is used (Table 32; cf. Table 26), the larger discrepancy is noted

TABLE 31

STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, CENSUS CLASSIFICATION, FOR SELF OR SPOUSE[a]

Occupational classification	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Professional, technical and kindred	35	21	27	27
Managers, officials, proprietors	10	2	6	2
Farmers and farm managers	1	0	1	0
Clerical and kindred workers	1	36	1	21
Sales workers	3	4	2	2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	12	2	10	2
Operatives and kindred workers	5	0	12	4
Private household workers	0	2	1	2
Service workers, except household	0	6	4	6
Farm laborers or foremen	5	1	*	0
Laborers, except farm and mine	1	0	0	0
No answer	27	26	36	33
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2, rows 3-5 and rows 7-10 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$.

* Less than one percent.

TABLE 32

STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, WARNER OCCUPATIONAL INDEX, FOR SELF OR SPOUSE[a]

Index rank	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
One	19	2	20	2
Two	5	8	1	4
Three	11	8	3	2
Four	12	36	7	38
Five	13	12	23	12
Six	0	1	1	2
Seven	4	0	2	2
Unclassified	36	33	43	38
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2, rows 3 and 4 and rows 5-7 are collapsed in each column, for males only $X^2 \sim .05 > P > .02$, T=.152; for females only $X^2 \sim$ $P > .20$.

among "drinkers" as expected on the basis of data derived from comparison of census classifications.

The same analytical procedure applied to females again produced a somewhat ambiguous result. For both categories of females the expected occupational classification for self or spouse is below the professional-managerial level for more students than report their fathers have this classification. The discrepancy downward is 4% for the "non-drinkers" and 63% for the "drinker" (Table 31; cf. Table 25, above) when census classifications are used. Essentially the same discrepancy downward is observed also when a Warner scale is employed (Table 32; cf. Table 26, above). This observed pattern may be explained at least in part by the fact that the female could respond in terms of either her own occupational expectations or that of her future spouse. The occupational expectation of the spouse is for most teenage females a matter of conjecture. When given an opportunity to state preferences, the females did tend to indicate a desire for upward mobility (see the discussion above). But when asked to specify expectations it is probable that many of the females indicated their own occupational expectations. In this case the downward occupational mobility evidenced is consistent with the dominant pattern of occupational stratification in American society which penalizes the female.[27]

The relationships among occupational mobility, sex and drinking may also be illustrated by the use of a "goodness of fit" test which compares the known census occupational classifications of fathers (Table 25, above) with

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[27] "Western Societies have traditionally assigned women jobs in and about the home and have resisted their entrance into the monetary work market.... women are often hired at lower wages...(they)generally reduce the status of the jobs they enter. Women's work is regarded by men as 'inferior' work; it is often simpler, lighter, more monotonous, and lower paid." D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper, 1951), 361f.

student preferences (Table 29, above) and expectations (Table 31, above) for their own or their future spouses' occupations. When each category of students is considered separately, students in all categories prefer occupations ranked above that of the father. The differences are significant. When expectations are considered, both male "non-drinkers" and "drinkers" expect occupational classifications ranked above that of the father. Again the difference is significant in each case. While females also indicate a statistically significant preference for occupations above the father, they, unlike the males, indicate an expectation for downward occupational mobility which is also significant.

When the magnitude of the differences among the father's classification and student preferences and expectatins is converted into values of T (Table 33), still another facet of the problem becomes clear. For males, upward occupational preferences and expectations are greater for the "drinker" than for the "non-drinker." On the contrary, for the female upward occupational preferences are greater for the "non-drinker" than for the "drinker." Moreover, when occupational expectations are considered, the female "drinker" is more likely than others to expect downward mobility. Therefore, while drinking appears to be compatible with preferences and expectations of upward occupational mobility for the male, the reverse is true for the female.

Finally, the students' expected social class as measured by Warner's Index of Status Characteristics follows a pattern that analysis of the data to this point would lead one to expect. Among males, "drinkers" are most likely to be found at the upper and lower extremes of social class structure and "non-drinkers" in the middle range (Table 34). Among females, "drinkers" are overrepresented at the lower end of the class structure.

TABLE 33

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREFERRED AND EXPECTED OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF STUDENTS[a]

Father's occupation in relation to	Male		Female	
	"Non-drinker"	"Drinker"	"Non-drinker"	"Drinker"
	(Values of T)[b]			
Student preferences	.248	.563	.459	.387
Student expectations	.161	.370	.481	.587
Total number of cases	156	258	202	96

[a] Data from which the values of T in this table are computed are derived from a Chi Square "goodness of fit" test in which the distribution of the occupational classifications of the father is assumed to be the universe distribution (see Table 25). The distribution of occupations which students prefer (Table 29) and expect (Table 31) is then compared in turn separately for both males and females. The values of X^2 in each instance are significant at the five percentile level.

[b] M. Hagood and D. Price, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Holt, 1952), 370f.

TABLE 34

STUDENTS' EXPECTED SOCIAL CLASS, WARNER INDEX OF STATUS CHARACTERISTICS (ISC)[a]

ISC social class	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
Upper class	4	2	22	2
Upper middle class	26	13	8	8
Lower middle class	17	45	9	42
Upper lower class	15	6	19	4
Lower lower class	1	0	3	6
Unclassified	37	34	39	38
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, $T = .241$; when rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

The data on the relationship between the self-designation of the teen-ager as a "drinker" and his socio-economic positin may now be summarized. When either census occupational classifications and the Warner techniques for determining occupational and social class status is used, "drinkers" tend to be overrepresented at the lower limits of the status structure. Among males there is also evidence of overrepresentation at the upper as well as the lower extremes of the status structure, an observation consistent with findings in other research. When student occupational preferences and expectations are compared with the reported occupational status of the father, the discrepancy in each case is greater for the male "drinker" than for the "non-drinker" and in each case the discrepancy indicates upwardly oriented status aspirations. In the case of the females, on the other hand, a different pattern is observed. The female "non-drinkers" in contrast to the "drinkers" reveal the greater discrepancy upward between status preferences for themselves or their spouses and the reported status position of the father. Both categories of females indicate the expectation of downward occupational mobility for themselves or their spouses; a possible explanation for this anomalous finding has already been suggested in the somewhat ambiguous way in which the questionnaire requested this information. The female's occupational preferences are upward and moreso for the "non-drinker" than for the "drinker." The female's occupational expectations for self or spouse are downward but in this case moreso for the "drinker" than for the "non-drinker." It appears, then, that while for males the self-designation "drinker" is positively related to upward status aspirations, this is not so clearly the case for females. This finding, although tenuous and complicated by sex-related occupational biases in American society, is consistent with the observed depreciation of drinking of the female in contrast to the male in our society.

Summary

This chapter has concentrated on the pattern of teen-age drinking. The focus of attention has been on an act--the self-designation of the high school teen-ager of himself as a "drinker" or "non-drinker"--and a description of the behavior involving the use of alcohol related to this act. Analysis of the data has also been organized around a second facet of the pattern of teen-age drinking--the location of the self-designated "drinker" and "non-drinker" in a concrete social system particularly in terms of sex, age and socio-economic status. The data of this chapter are fundamentally related to the larger purpose of this study which is to consider some of the functional aspects of the symbolic act of drinking.

Most teen-age "drinkers" were not found to use alcohol either frequently or in quantity. They did report consistency in their drinking behavior; drinking for them was not experimental or occasional as appears to be the case for most drinking "non-drinkers." For the "drinker" the use of alcohol appeared to be a normal part of his behavior. He was most likely to drink with his peers in situations in which adults were absent and particularly at a party. The surreptitious aspects of his drinking behavior are in large part explained by the recognized disapproval of adolescent drinking by adults and society's definition of this behavior as illegal. He never reported drinking with his parents as though they were his peers.

The American adolescent lives in a society in which he occupies a somewhat anomalous structural position of being no longer a child but not quite an adult. He lives in a society which also defines appropriate behavior for male and female adults differently. Both the age grading and the sex have significance for understanding his use of or abstinence from the use of alcohol. Regardless of his self-designation as a "drinker" or a

"non-drinker" the teen-age adolescents studied perceived the adult as a person who drinks at least sometimes. But he also perceived the adolescent as a "non-drinker." This means that the teen-ager's conception of himself as an adolescent or an adult should be closely related to his self-designation as a "drinker" or "non-drinker." The data suggest that this is the case. Those teen-agers who are older, who for whatever reason are playing or expect to play soon adult-like roles, who prefer adult models of behavior and who are least active in organized teen-age activities--these are the teen-agers who are most likely to designate themselves as "drinkers." While some teen-age peer groups in some cases support the "drinker's" conception of himself, this is clearly not the case for most teen-age peer groups. There was no conclusive evidence that there are identifiable patterns of drinking in a distinctive "youth culture" peculiarly distinct from those observable in the adult community. The observed peculiarities in the use of alcohol by the "drinker" are more plausibly explained by the marginal position he has between adolescence and adulthood than by a "youth culture" per se. The "drinker" seems best described as a person whose reference groups are primarily adult but whose interaction groups are necessarily largely composed of adolescents. His claims to adult status, or at least to the adult right to discretion about one's drinking or abstinence, are acknowledged by neither adults nor other adolescents.

From the little evidence which is available on the drinking mores of the different classes in American society it appears that drinking is most common among "upper class" and "lower class" individuals. The data of this study give some support to this observation for males but indicate that the female "drinker" is overrepresented only in the "lower class." Males with aspirations for upward social mobility are also more likely than others to

self-designate themselves as "drinkers." Whether or not this relationship can be explained in terms of the ability of drinking to facilitate this mobility could not be ascertained from the data. The relationship observed between status aspirations and the self-designation of "drinker" among the males was not found among females.

The wider theoretical relevance of the data in this chapter for an understanding of age grading, reference group behavior and a sociological theory of symbolism will be considered in Chapter VI. The immediate task now is to consider both the formal and informal normative connotations of the act of drinking imputed by teen-agers and inferred from their reported behavior.

CHAPTER IV

DRINKING AS SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: NORMATIVE ASPECTS

A Theory of Social Norms

The category of social prescriptions encompassed by the term norm is broad and heterogeneous. The term includes observable regularities both in what the members of a social system do or expect to do and what they say they ought to do in a given situation. That individuals do not always do what they say they ought to do is a truism demonstrable in the day to day activities of any observant person.[1] But why this discrepancy between the actual and ideal prescriptions of behavior should exist or why ideal prescriptions should exist in the face of contradictory actual behavior are not quite so amenable to common-sense analysis. However one explains variations in norms within the context of a particular social system, it may be observed that 1) the norms prescribing appropriate behavior are not equally prevalent; 2) are not tied into a system of obligations and are not necessarily enforced in the same way; 3) are not specific and rigid in the same degree; and 4) are not always integrated with each other.[2] It is for these reasons that the recognition of the shared ideal norms of behavior articulated by the members of a social system is not in itself an adequate basis for predicting how

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[1] Ralph Linton [e.g., The Cultural Background of Personality (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1945), 43-54] has conceptualized this common sense observation as ideal and actual and has discussed at some length the implications of the distinction for the analysis of culture.

[2] For a more detailed discussion of these dimensions of analysis, see Robin Williams, American Society (New York: Knopf, 1952), 25ff; see also S. A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Norms," American Sociological Review 14 (1949), 707-18.

the members will actually behave in given situations. Social norms require organization for enforcement. This does not mean, however, that behavior which deviates from the articulated ideal norms of a group is random. Quite the contrary may be true.

Robin Williams has pointed out the existence in social systems of what he called "customary ways of not conforming" or institutionalized variations and evasions of normative patterns.[3] His analysis of institutionalized non-conformity with ideal norms in social systems emphasizes that an important basis of the discrepancy lies in the fact that norms transmitted as a part of the cultural heritage of a group tend to be general while social action is always situational and specific. Factors of time, place, values, interests, knowledge and power all complicate and make very difficult the simple conversion of generalized rules into specific behavior appropriate to a given concrete situation.[4] In the situational application of ideal norms to behavior where there are 1) the existence of alternative or conflicting values, 2) the absence of clearly articulated consensus, and 3) a disparity of self/other relationships in which this perceived consensus is mutually supported, differences in the perception and the interpretation of appropriate norms are both possible and probable. But, again, it is relevant to emphasize that these differences in perception and interpretation may

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[3] Op. cit., 347ff.

[4] A relatively recent study of the relationship between the moral beliefs of sixteen year old high school students and their application of these beliefs in specific situational contexts found the correlation low. "The reason (for this) lies in the fact that in the life problems several acceptable values were set into conflict with each other...." The conflict of values and the necessity of decision required compromise which was not so obvious when each value could be considered separately. See "Moral Beliefs and Their Application," in Adolescent Character and Personality (New York: Wiley, 1949), 89, eds. R. J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba. Additional related evidence is found in Muzafer Sherif, Psychology of Social Norms (New York: Harper 1936) esp. 90-98. Sherif found that, in an experimental situation,

sometimes take on the character of "customary ways of not conforming." Williams hypothesizes that such patterns of nonconformity are typically observed in situations in which the "deviant" behavior 1) is functional for the relevant social system or subparts of it, 2) is practiced by members of the society whose power position makes them immune to social sanctions, and 3) is punished only periodically or ritually insofar as there is insufficient consensus to permit effective prohibition of the behavior.

Drinking And Social Norms

A study of teen-age drinking offers an excellent opportunity for an empirical analysis of the relationship between ideas and actual norms and for testing Williams' hypothesis which emphasizes situational factors as intervening variables in the application of ideal norms. This is the case because in American society drinking behavior is as controversial as it is common and actualities frequently conflict with ideals. Our cultural heritage incorporates at least two diverse traditions about drinking. On the one hand, it is accurate to observe that

> Social tradition, economic competition and governmental practice provided the social sanctions for the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages in early America. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the new nation had established a reputation as a hard-drinking people.[5]

And both common sense observation and research indicate that in the twentieth century drinking is still widespread.[6]

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individuals faced with objectively unstable stimuli developed norms structuring perception. In group situations the norms developed by individuals separately tended to converge.

[5]R. G. McCarthy and E. M. Douglass, Alcohol and Social Responsibility (New York: Crowell, 1949), 12; for one of the few concise but comprehensive surveys of the history of drinking in the United States, see also Chapters 1-5.

[6]See the summaries of recent research studies on drinking in the United States reported in Chapter I.

On the other hand, the temperance movement in the United States has a history almost as old as the nation itself, the ideology of temperance becoming an organized force in this country in the early years of the nineteenth century. To early leaders of this movement temperance meant moderation rather than total abstinence and the proponents of temperance relied primarily on moral suasion rather than political action. In the latter half of the century, however, emphasis was increasingly placed on total abstinence and moral suasion rapidly gave way to programs of political action designed to achieve the goal of abstinence by means of state and national prohibition. This prohibitionist movement reached the high water mark in the passage of the Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment in 1919. In spite of the political defeat symbolized by the repeal of national prohibition in the Twenty-first Amendment (1933), the ideology of temperance (abstinence) remains strong.[7]

The persistent strength of the temperance movement in a society characterized by the institutionalized drinking in which a majority of the members participate is an interesting contradiction. One still hears occasionally humorous comments about citizens who "stagger to the polls to vote 'dry'" and at least one state still places a tax on the sale of alcohol in the state in spite of the fact that such sale is illegal.

Margaret Mead has suggested that persistent straining toward ideal norms which are contradicted by actuality reflects an orientation toward the future and what might be which is peculiarly a part of American personality structure.[8] While Mead has developed this theme with particular

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[7]For good historical surveys of the temperance movement in America see McCarthy and Douglass, especially Chapters 2 and 3; for an analysis of one segment of the temperance movement, see J. R. Gusfield, "Social Structure and Moral Reform: A Study of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (1955), 221-32.

[8]Male and Female (New York: The New American Library, 1955), Part IV,

emphasis on sex, others have also discussed the relevance of this discrepancy between ideal and actual norms with regard to the use of alcohol. A. B. Hollingshead, for example, in a discussion of "tabooed pleasures" in a Midwestern town writes:

> The clandestine pursuit of pleasure is fostered, in opposition to official protestations, by a set of conspiratorial rules which encourage the breaking of taboos by adolescents as well as adults. What we have called the conspiracy of silence...represents the central working principles which organizes behavior in this area of culture. It may be summarized in the following way: One must not publicly admit the existence of tabooed behavior traits except in condemnatory terms for to recognize their existence is bad, to condone is abhorrent to respectable people and to admit any knowledge of their violation is wicked. Finally, to have any interest in learning about the way the latent patterns work is the worst social error a person can commit. In other words, to violate a taboo is "bad;" but to talk about it is "vicious."[9]

The impression of still other analysts that drinking in the United States is frequently surrounded by normative ambiguities need not be illustrated further. The point is not that all drinking is surrounded by ambiguity and ambivalence. Rather, although drinking is quite common behavior in our society, it is nevertheless frequently said to be surrounded by a "conspiracy of silence." In this chapter the extent to which teen-age drinking in a specific concrete social system is characterized by normative ambiguity will be explored.

To this point in the discussion of a theory of norms, attention has been directed primarily to the social factors which foster and the consequences

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especially 191ff. This is a special case of William Graham Sumner's idea of "strain toward consistency." See his Folkways (Boston: Ginn, 1906), 5.

[9] Elmtown's Youth (New York: Wiley, 1949), 288f; see also A. Myerson, "Alcohol: A Study in Social Ambivalence," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1 (1940), 13-20. An elaboration of the theoretical significance of the "conspiracy of silence" is found in W. E. Moore and M. M. Tumin, "Social Functions of Ignorance," American Sociological Review, 14 (1949), 787-95.

which follow from disparities in ideal and actual norms. Implicit in what has been said is the assumption that in a given social system that there is consensus about what the ideal norm is and that disparities are sufficiently rationalized to evoke "strains toward consistency" and feelings of ambivalence.

There is some question about the adequacy of these assumptions, particularly in the analysis of drinking. For example, we have noted that there is a dual tradition in our cultural heritage about the use of alcohol. It becomes appropriate, therefore, to ask whether abstinence is in fact an ideal norm of American society or the ideal norm of a segment of undetermined size in the society. Williams and others have noted that institutinalized non-conformity to norms may be functional in complex societies but the implications of the ideal-actual disparity have been intellectually exploited rather than the implications of the institutionalization of non-conforming behavior. It is quite possible that the problem should be rephrased to include at least one alternative in this way: In a complex society characterized by multiple traditions, the social significance of the alternative ideals may resolve itself into a problem of acting on the implications of both one and then the other ideal in specific situational contexts.[10] If this is the case, the study of teen-age drinking provides a test of the adequacy of the formulation of the theory of norms in complex societies primarily in terms of unresolved disparities in the ideal and actual which are often assumed to be a source of ambivalence and strain.

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[10]Sherif (op. cit.), for example, refers to certain unstructured situations in which, within certain limits, there is no "right" and "wrong" judgment. Similarly, Stouffer (op. cit.) reports a type of student who has resolved differences in the norms of authority figures and student groups on cheating without apparent difficulty by making situational distinctions and finding common ground between the disparate norms.

The manifest and latent normative connotations imputed by teen-agers themselves to the use of beverage alcohol will be the center of interest. Attention is directed to both their explicit and implicit evaluations of the symbolic act of drinking. Their normative judgments about drinking are discussed both in terms of the imputation of "rightness" or "wrongness" to this act and also in terms of the situational factors which qualify these judgments. The analysis will concentrate successively on student perceptions of norms in the community governing drinking and on how factors of sex, age, socio-economic status and participation in organized religions are related to the normative aspects of drinking behavior.

The Norms Of Drinking: A Student View

The norms which teen-agers perceived as relevant to drinking are very complex. This complex relationship was evident very quickly in the interviews in which students talked informally, and usually quite frankly, about their experiences with the use of alcohol and their evaluations of those experiences. The following excerpts are illustrative of a commonly encountered point of view:

> I first put down (on the questionnaire) 'drinking is never right,' but I have changed that because I didn't think about it too much at the time. I would say that it's an individual's own business. Well, my girl, for instance, she considers drinking quite bad...she won't associate with any people who drink. She considers it bad morals; she thinks everybody gets drunk every time they drink. But I found that not to be--that isn't true. I don't agree with her at all. It's your own business whether you drink or not. (Interview 35)

> Well, really, I don't think drinking is right, but I don't know why they do it or why I do it either. But it's just for fun I guess, goes along with the party, just to be one of the guys I guess. (Interview 48)

> I circled 'drinking is never right no matter what the circumstances.'...(Have you ever tasked alcohol?) Yes, at a Christmas party this year with my relatives. I would rather do it with them. I don't really know why I did it because it didn't enter my mind. I was thirsty and it was cold and I was supposed to be taking a drink to my dad. It was half gone before I got there (laughs). (Interview 17)

> Well, I am very much against drinking. It's alright, I mean, I don't care anything about it. Like people I know, when they have a party, they drink then. I know most of the fathers are this way. They have a beer when the ball game is on or something. I'm not against that at all, but I don't think it is good for their health. I won't mind if my husband drinks but I don't think I will. (Interview 25)

> Seeing that I drink myself, I think differently, even though I do drink. I took the last answer, 'drinking is never right no matter what the circumstances'--for teen-agers that is. (Interview 24)

With one exception the students who are quoted here indicated on their questionnaires that they believe drinking to be "wrong." At the same time, both the substance of what they said and the casual way in which they talked about the use of alcohol make it evident that this "wrong" behavior is hedged with a number of conditions. The variety of conditions under which this "wrong" behavior was acceptable to many teen-agers suggests that, for many of them, drinking is better described in terms of situational appropriateness or inappropriateness rather than in terms of rightness or wrongness in an absolute moral sense.

Some teen-agers also explicitly distinguished between moral and pragmatic rationales for abstinence, as the "drinker" who said,

> My mother says that I absolutely shouldn't drink, its immoral. I don't get the deal. She says it's harmful. I believe that and that's it. (Interview 49)

Moreover, pragmatic rationales for abstinence were given by students who variously thought of drinking as "breaking training," too expensive or as reserved for adults only. For others, drinking was behavior which they could take or leave.

> Well, I don't see that it's a problem in my life. But, I mean, occasionally taking a drink isn't bad as long as you don't go out and get dead drunk and make a fool of yourself. (Interview 13)

> I think in general that for kids it doesn't matter so much about drinking. I mean they like to drink but I don't think they do it just to be smart. A lot of them do, but I don't in general think they drink just to be smart. They drink because they like it. They aren't heavy drinkers. They will drink. They aren't set against it but they aren't all for it. (Interview 58)

> Oh, myself, I don't go for drinking at all, but I don't hold it against anybody if they do it properly. You know, social but not make a fool of themselves. There's a few that—they indulge quite a bit, yet they're doing it just for now. I don't think they will turn out to be drunkards. (Interview 46)

Some students gave "religious reasons" as a basis for abstinence but there was little indication that the teen-agers generally perceived a close association between organized religion and abstinence. As one said,

> I think drinking is wrong. Quite a few of my friends have religious reasons. Believing that it is wrong--I mean, their religion teaches it. And then some of them think it's wrong because they do things that you wouldn't ordinarily do and so that makes it wrong...I know quite a few people their religion is against it and they drink anyway but I think that most people, if their religion is against it, I don't think they do. (Interview 36)

An "approving drinker" reported, on the other hand,

> Our (drinking) group consists of Christian Scientists, a few Catholics, a few Methodists and Jews but it doesn't make any difference...None of the ministers know us. Only a few of us go to the same church. (Interview 49)

Although the relationship between participation in organized religious groups and teen-age drinking will be considered in some detail later in this chapter, it should be emphasized at this point that the perceived relationship is of primary interest. Whether there is a relationship between "religiousness" and abstinence is a question which cannot be resolved on the basis of data analyzed here. In the face of the sacramental use of alcohol in some churches, the toleration of "moderate drinking" by some religious groups

and student perceptions that drinking is behavior which is common to a majority of adults at least some of whom are members of religious organizations, it is understandable why it is extremely difficult to stigmatize all drinking as morally wrong or illegitimate behavior.

In fact, some teen-agers were explicit in rejecting the notion that all drinking is illegitimate behavior in American society. Said one,

> In the army they'll give anybody an alcoholic beverage as long as he is on the post and you can't get drunk. So right there, if alcohol has got anything to hurt you physically they wouldn't give it to the soldiers. (Interview 50)

And another,

> They don't advertise marijuana so I think that's why most kids are scared to death of it...Alcohol, that's different because they advertise it and everything. Everytime you see it, it looks good and you'll want it. (Interview 14)

It is irrelevant to point out the questionable logic implicit in these quotations. However, some students do perceive that alcohol is available to a segment of the population--the army--which presumably must be physically fit. Moreover, alcohol is advertised through mass media of communication, although interestingly, radio and television networks prohibit through their own ethical codes acceptance of advertisements of beverages with high alcoholic content and some newspapers refuse to accept such advertisements. The inference drawn by some students is that these situations would not exist or would not be condoned if drinking were not ligitimate behavior. These student observations suggest the impact both of publicity given during the Second World War to the importance of providing beer to men in the armed forces[11] and of the continual publicity in the massmedia in an attempt to

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[11] Every overseas veteran is aware of the high priority given to mail, cigarettes and beer and every veteran is aware of the status distinctions implicit in making only beer available to enlisted men while distilled beverages were made available to officers in their clubs.

create or sustain a desire for alcohol. A more important observation may be that the acceptance of drinking behavior by society implicit in this publicity functions to legitimize the desire to drink as well as to create it.

The total impression left by the interview data is that drinking, even by teen-agers, is sometimes "right" and sometimes "wrong." A recurrent emphasis of the students was on situational factors related to the appropriateness or inappropriateness of this behavior. Whether one is a male or female, an adult or an adolescent, a person who does or does not observe the rules of "moderation" and propriety in where and how much he drinks appear as important in understanding the normative judgments which teen-agers make about drinking as abstract notions of the "rightness" or "wrongness" of the behavior which they verbalize. This conclusion is also supported by data from the questionnaire.

When students were asked to indicate their personal opinion about drinking by people their own age in terms of "right," "wrong" or some qualification of these polar positions, only a minority chose either of the polar responses and the great majority preferred to qualify whatever judgment they made (Table 35). In the sample of two hundred previously described as representative of the total research population, 48% of the students thought drinking by teen-agers to be "wrong," although only 18% of them thought this behavior to be unconditionally wrong "no matter what the circumstances." In the subsequent analysis, students who thought drinking "wrong" will be referred to as "disapprovers." Those remaining will be referred to as "approvers" with the understanding that in both cases approval and disapproval were more likely to be conditional rather than absolute.

Among "drinkers," both males (81%) and females (92%) approved of drinking among persons their own age. While this was less true for the

TABLE 35

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS BY STUDENTS OF DRINKING BY AGE PEERS[a]

Normative judgment	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
All right	0	0	8	2
All right if it does not become a habit	12	10	17	30
All right if self control is not lost	9	10	25	28
All right if one is not driving	1	0	5	6
All right if confined to weekends	0	0	2	0
All right if only on special occasions	6	9	2	6
All right if one drinks only with group	0	0	0	0
All right if with parental approval	0	3	2	2
All right if properly supervised	3	1	2	2
All right if at home with parents	3	4	3	6
Right or wrong, depends on circumstances	13	9	15	10
Wrong, except once to try it	6	2	2	2
Wrong, but it's one's own business	25	29	9	6
Wrong under any circumstances	18	20	5	0
No answer	4	3	3	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1-11 and rows 12-14 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \sim P < .001$; for males only, $T = .371$, and for females only, $T = .505$. When males and females with the same self-designation are compared, in each case $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

"non-drinkers," only slightly less than half of both the males and females in this category also indicated approval. Moreover, among the 49% of the male "non-drinkers" and 52% of the females in this category who disapproved of drinking, one in four of all the males and almost three in ten of the females in the category qualified their judgments by adding "but drinking is one's own business." This means that in spite of the fact that a majority of students do not drink and only a small minotiry designate themselves as "drinkers," about half of all the students "approve" of drinking among teen-agers under some circumstances. Less than one in five disapproved of drinking by teen-agers unconditionally.

The possible relevance of age grading for understanding the implications of these data is apparent. Most teen-agers perceived half or more of the adults as persons who drink. While students were not asked directly whether drinking is "right" or "wrong" for adults, other data allow one to infer student responses. For example, it has been noted previously that students both perceived differences in adult and teen-age drinking behavior and, in the interviews, frequently commented on the inappropriateness of drinking until one "comes of age." Teen-agers were aware that adults do not necessarily approve of drinking by minors even when the adults themselves are drinkers. In brief, in assessing the norms relevant for drinking by their peers, teen-agers were reluctant to stigmatize drinking behavior as "wrong" even when they themselves were not "drinkers." The implications of this will be developed in the following paragraphs.

Normative Judgments And Perceptions Of Drinking In The Community[12]

The dimension of approval/disapproval was not found to be significantly related to student perceptions of the proportion of adults who drink regularly. With the single exception of the female "approving non-drinker," the majority of teen-agers in all categories who made an estimate at all believed that at least half of all adults drink regularly. The estimate of students in the exceptional category was only slightly less than one-half (Table 36). Among males, "approving drinkers" are overrepresented among those estimating that three-fourths or more of all adults drink regularly but so are the "disapproving non-drinkers" among females.

When estimates of high school students who are said to drink "sometimes" are considered, as might be expected both male (55%) and female (54%) "approving drinkers" believed that at least half or more students drink. Estimates of all other categories are lower (Table 37). Moreover, for males, the "approvers" among both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" are overrepresented among those who estimate the largest proportion of high school drinkers.

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[12]For further analysis of the relationship between normative evaluations of drinking and the use of alcohol or the self-designation of the student as a "drinker," the dimensions of "approval" and "disapproval" of drinking by teen-agers are employed to establish four basic categories. These are 1) "approving drinkers;" 2) "approving non-drinkers;" 3) "disapproving drinkers;" and 4) "disapproving non-drinkers." The categories, which are further subdivided on the basis of sex, provide the format for most of the tables appearing subsequently in this chapter. It will be noted that the total number of "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" in some instances are not identical with those in previous tables. This discrepancy resulted from the failure of a few students to answer questions crucial to their identification in one of the categories. It should be noted also that the number of female "disapproving drinkers" is too small for meaningful statistical analysis. The limitations which this distribution place on certain conclusions is taken into consideration in the appropriate context.

TABLE 36

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING IN RELATION TO ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF ADULTS WHO DRINK "REGULARLY"[a]

	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Proportion estimated By males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove
		(Percentage)		
None	0	2	1	5
One-fourth	41	44	34	38
One-half	41	39	40	48
Three-fourths	9	10	19	9
All, nearly all	0	0	4	0
No answer	9	5	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
By females				
None	2	2	2	0
One-fourth	48	41	48	25
One-half	29	37	30	50
Three-fourths	17	16	16	25
All, nearly all	2	2	2	0
No answer	2	2	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows r and 5 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

TABLE 37

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING IN RELATION TO ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO DRINK "SOMETIMES"[a]

	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Proportion estimated By males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
		(Percentage)		
None	0	5	2	5
One-fourth	53	71	41	47
One-half	38	12	33	24
Three-fourths	6	7	18	19
All, nearly all	3	0	4	5
No answer	0	5	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
By females				
None	2	0	0	0
One-fourth	64	61	44	50
One-half	21	30	36	50
Three-fourths	10	9	16	0
All, nearly all	3	0	2	0
No answer	0	0	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim .05 > P > .02$, $T = .179$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

Among females, however, the pattern of estimates is less consistent although the differences are not significant. While the estimates made by the "approving drinker" of the proportion of high school students who drink "sometimes" are higher than those of the "disapproving drinker," the relationship is reversed among the "non-drinkers."

In contrast to their perceptions of regular drinking among adults, a majority of students, regardless of their own "approval" or "disapproval" of teen-age drinking, believed that less than half the persons of their own age in school were regular drinkers (Table 38). Yet the pattern of estimates found among "approvers" and "disapprovers" is not consistent with the hypothesis advanced earlier that students would maximize in their estimates the proportion of students with an identification like their own. This hypothesis was found to be supported previously when both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" tended to maximize the proportion of students who drink or abstain respectively.

When male "drinkers" are considered, the hypothesis is only partly supported. Thirty-nine percent of the "disapprovers" in contrast to 34% of the "approvers" estimated that half or more of students drink regularly. Among male "non-drinkers," however, the perceptions are reversed: Ten percent of the "disapprovers" as against 6% of the "approvers" made this estimate. The significant difference in estimates among males appears to be attributable to disparity in the perceptions of "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" rather than between "approvers" and "disapprovers."

The female pattern of estimates, on the other hand, is consistent with the hypothesis. "Approvers" are more likely than others to estimate half or more of the students drink regularly. Among "non-drinkers," almost four in ten of the "approvers" in contrast to slightly more than two in ten of the

TABLE 38

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING IN RELATION TO ESTIMATES OF THE PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO DRINK "REGULARLY"[a]

	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Proportion estimated By males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
None	20	15	12	10
One-fourth	74	68	51	51
One-half	0	5	23	24
Three-fourths	3	5	6	5
All, nearly all	3	0	5	10
No answer	0	7	3	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
By females				
None	19	14	5	0
One-fourth	41	64	50	75
One-half	19	18	23	0
Three-fourths	12	2	11	25
All, nearly all	7	2	9	0
No answer	2	0	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim .02 > P > .01$, $T = .180$; for females only, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$.

"Disapprovers" made this estimate. Among "drinkers," 43% of the "approvers" as compared with 25% of the "disapprovers" did also.

In sum, when all students are considered, no clear patterns of estimates of the proportion of drinkers among adults and teen-agers was found to be related to the dimension of approval or disapproval of drinking by students. This is in contrast to the pattern observed previously in which "drinkers" proved more likely than others to perceive large proportions of both adults and teen-agers as drinkers. No simple explanation of the observed inconsistency is immediately apparent in the analysis of the data. The explanation advanced earlier that the "drinker" and the "non-drinker" both tend to maximize the size of their reference groups does not hold consistently in the case of the normative dimension of approval/disapproval.

Normative Judgments And Placement In A Social System

In Chapter Three, factors of sex, age grading and socio-economic status were found to be related both to the student's self-designation as a "drinker" and to his drinking. These factors will now be considered again, but this time in relation to normative judgments about drinking. In addition, special attention will be given to the relationship of normative judgments about drinking and student participation in organized religious groups whose theological and ethical teachings might be expected to affect these judgments.

Sex.- Sex has already been shown to be significantly related to drinking behavior. Males are more likely than females 1) to self-designate themselves as "drinkers;" 2) to report more frequent and more intence drinking and 3) to apply a "double standard" for males and females. However, analysis of Table 35 (above) in terms of the sex distribution of "approvers" and "disapprovers" breaks this consistent pattern. Though the differences are not significant, female "non-drinkers" are more likely than the males in the

same category to be "disapprovers." This is as would be expected. But the relationship is reversed among "drinkers." The female is more likely than the male to be an "approver." The explanation of this reversal is not immediately apparent. It is plausible to speculate, nevertheless, that the female "drinker" experiences a special pressure to legitimize her self-identification with a form of behavior which is less permissible for her than for males. Ninety-two percent of the female "drinkers" in contrast to 81% of the males in the same category approved drinking by persons their own age.

Age grading and reference group behavior.- The relationship between age and normative judgments about the use of alcohol are less clear than the previously observed relationship between age and the student's self-designation as a "drinker" or "non-drinker." Nevertheless, there is a slight but non-significant tendency for "approvers" in every category to be somewhat older than "disapprovers," if the four female "disapproving drinkers" are excluded (Table 39).

The importance of biological age alone should not be overemphasized. Slight differences in biological age are probably less significant in our society for understanding teen-age drinking than is the related phenomenon of a teen-ager's identification with adult or adolescent reference groups. This identification is not accounted for by increasing age alone, however. Graduation from high school, for example, is a major break point in the social development of the individual; it marks the beginning of the time for most students when they must assume adult-like roles even though they remain minors under law. On the basis of the hypothesis that some student drinking is the equivalent of an improvised rite of passage between adolescence and adulthood, a point to which we will return in the next chapter, students in

TABLE 39

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND AGE[a]

Years of age	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
15	0	5	0	5
16	24	24	24	24
17	50	47	43	38
18	24	15	21	19
19 or over	0	7	9	9
No answer	2	2	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
Females				
15	2	7	7	0
16	29	41	39	25
17	38	48	34	50
18	24	2	16	25
19 or over	5	0	2	0
No answer	2	2	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$; for females only, $X^2 \sim .10 > P > .05$.

the twelfth grade should be more likely than others to designate themselves both as "drinkers" and as "approvers."

Analysis of the data in Table 40 reveals distributions in the direction which this hypothesis predicts although the differences are not significant and several minor qualifications are required. While among "non-drinkers" the proportion of students who "disapprove" decreases and the number who "approve" increases from one grade to the next, among "drinkers" the "approvers" are clearly in the majority at both grade levels. Moreover, the proportion of "disapprovers" among the "drinkers" appears to rise slightly from the lower to the higher grade for both males and females. Nevertheless, a positive relationship is found between "approval" of teen-age drinking and both biological age and school grade. The older the student and the nearer he is to graduation from high school, the more likely he is to be an "approver."

Differences in the amount of spending money available to students possibly suggest both the work experience of the student and the socio-economic position of his family. But, whether he receives money from employment or from his parents as an allowance, the money is purchasing power and, to some extent, discretionary power. Both of these powers are especially, though not exclusively, associated with adult role playing. When the median amount of spending money available in a given week for individuals in the various categories are compared, differences are especially obvious among the males (Table 41). In each category male "approvers" reported a larger amount of spending money available. It is also apparent that the median amount of money available to the "drinker" is generally higher than for others.

TABLE 40

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND GRADE IN SCHOOL[a]

School grade	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
11th	41	54	46	38
12th	47	39	52	48
No answer	12	7	2	14
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
Females				
11th	48	60	48	25
12th	48	38	52	50
No answer	4	2	0	25
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] For both males and females considered separately, X^2 ~ $P > .20$.

TABLE 41

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND THE MEDIAN AMOUNT OF SPENDING MONEY REPORTED AVAILABLE DURING AN AVERAGE WEEK

Sex	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Dollars)			
Male	5.50	4.90	7.90	5.00
Female	4.20	4.60	6.00	1.00

When females are considered, an inconsistent pattern is found. The "disapproving non-drinker," who is likely to have slightly more money to spend than "approving non-drinker," contradicts expectations. But among female "drinkers" the difference is strikingly in conformity with the hypothesis. The "approvers" reported six times more money available during the average week than the "disapprovers," though it should be recalled that this latter category of students is very small.

Several additional comments may be made about these differences in access to money. Both male and female "drinkers" are known to be more likely than others to work outside the context of the home. It is inferred from the data that male "approving drinkers" are also more likely than others to be employed. The same reasoning may also be employed in explaining the variation among female "drinkers." Furthermore, some part of the variation among all female categories may be explained by the norm in our culture that the male pays for entertainment when accompanied by a female. This norm may be reflected, for example, in the disparity between the spending money available to the female "disapproving drinker" and all other categories of students. It is possible that these females are dependent on males with money who provide recreational opportunities and that they must drink as one condition of "paying their way" with these males. Since it has been noted that there is general disapproval among teen-agers of drinking in mixed groups, the pressure on such females to disapprove their own conduct would be strong.

The differential importance of reference groups in adult and adolescent age grades for "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" and for males and females is also found to be related to evaluative judgments about the use of alcohol. This relationship is observable in the analysis of differential participation by students in the various categories in organized teen-age activity, in their preferences for different models of behavior and in their reasons for preferring these models.

Social participation.- When participation in high school organizations is considered, the male "approving drinker" (45%) is more likely than other male "drinkers" (42%) to indicate that he does not participate in such groups. The same pattern is revealed among male "non-drinkers:" Forty percent of the "approvers" as compared with 31% of other "non-drinkers" are not participants (Table 42).

Among females, the pattern is not consistent. While "approving drinkers" (24%) were more likely than other "drinkers" (none) to be non-participants, among "non-drinkers," the "disapprover" (20%) was more likely than others in this category (12%) to be non-participants.

Differences are also observed in the participation of students in the various categories in organized activities outside the school (Table 43). Among male "non-drinkers," for example, "approvers" (50%) are more likely to be non-participants in such activity than are "disapprovers" (19%). About half of both categories of male "drinkers" were non-participants.

In addition to variations in the proportion of participants in different categories, differences are found in the types of non-school activity in which "approvers" and "disapprovers" engage. Among both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers," students who "approve" of teen-age drinking were more likely than others to list participation in sports while the "disapprovers" were more likely to list participation in religious activities and community service. Both religious activities and community service might be expected to be organized by adults or to be organized around adult conceptions of appropriate adolescent behavior.

Differences in the participatin in non-school activities by "approvers" and "disapprovers" among female "non-drinkers" reflect the same pattern noted among all categories of males. "Approvers" (35%) were more likely than other

TABLE 42

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND PARTICIPATION IN HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS[a]

Organizations	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
None	40	31	45	42
One	24	27	17	38
Two	12	22	15	0
Three	9	5	10	10
Four	9	15	9	5
Five or more	6	0	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
Females				
None	12	20	24	0
One	26	16	20	50
Two	22	12	20	25
Three	24	19	23	0
Four	12	18	7	0
Five or more	4	15	6	25
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 2-4 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$; for females only, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$.

TABLE 43

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND PARTICIPATION IN NON-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES[a]

Activity	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)[b]			
None	50	19	47	49
Sports	30	30	27	10
Religious groups	14	28	9	14
Music-art groups	0	11	4	0
Community service	3	8	7	17
Scouts	3	2	6	10
Other	0	2	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	36[c]	53	116	29
Females				
None	35	22	39	50
Sports	24	20	12	25
Religious groups	22	29	21	25
Music-art groups	4	11	14	0
Community service	11	16	11	0
Scouts	4	1	3	0
Other	0	1	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	55[c]	76	57	4

[a] When rows 4-7 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, $T = .192$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

[b] Percentages in this instance refer to number of responses.

[c] Multiple responses included in all totals.

"non-drinkers" (22%) to report no participation in organized teen-age activities outside the school. Those "approvers" who were participants were, like males, also more likely than others to participate in sports rather than in religious, music-art and community service groups.

Models for behavior.- The general orientation of "drinkers" and "approvers" away from organized teen-age activities is seen, furthermore, in their differential preference for adult models for behavior (Table 44). Among males, there was a slightly greater preference for other teen-agers as models for behavior among "disapprovers" than among "approvers," who preferred adult models. Interestingly, and in opposition to the stereotype of the abstinent athlete, "approvers" were more likely than others to choose an athlete as a model. It should be noted also that an unusually large number of "disapproving drinkers" failed to specify a model, indicating possible confusion among these students in the selection of reference groups.

Female "approving non-drinkers," like the males in the same category, were less likely than other female "non-drinkers" to prefer teen-age models of behavior. This is in contrast to the preference of female "approving drinkers" for teen-age models, a preference which has been noted earlier for female "drinkers" in general. What this difference may suggest is the utility of distinguishing between reference and interaction groups.[13]

Interaction group in this context refers to persons whose presence constitute conditions of action for an individual. Reference groups and interactin groups may coincide, but this is not inevitably the case.[14] In the

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[13] Ralph Turner, "Role-taking, Role Standpoint, and Reference Groups Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (1956), 316-328.

[14] A distinction is frequently made between membership and non-membership reference groups. Insofar as this distinction implies that a membership group may not be a reference group, it includes what is called here interaction groups as distinct from reference groups.

TABLE 44

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND CHOICES OF MODELS FOR BEHAVIOR[a]

Preferred models	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)[b]			
High school student	20	17	16	22
Individual own age	7	12	7	5
Teacher	4	2	4	5
Local adult	7	11	12	0
Public official	0	5	3	14
Persons in TV, movies	7	7	9	0
Athlete	37	33	25	14
Self	0	2	3	0
No answer	18	11	21	40
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	45[c]	57	122	22
Females				
High school student	18	21	29	0
Individual own age	17	25	16	0
Teacher	6	6	2	25
Local adult	18	15	10	50
Public official	6	1	2	25
Persons in TV, movies	7	9	10	0
Athlete	11	9	4	0
Self	2	1	2	0
No answer	15	13	25	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	54[c]	68	49	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2, rows 3 and 4 and rows 5-9 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \sim$ $P > .20$.

[b] Percentages in this instance refer to the number of responses.

[c] Multiple responses included in all totals.

case of the female "approving non-drinker," for example, the preferred reference groups may be composed of adults. Yet she is aware that other teen-agers who are conforming to adult demands for abstinence are necessary to her interaction in the context of everyday activities. Consequently, she is instrumentally abstinent in spite of the fact that she registers approval of the avoided behavior.

Still a different explanation may be advanced for the female "approving drinker." Her approval of teen-age drinking apparently is not dependent on the use of the adult female as a point of reference. It has been hypothesized, on the contrary, that the interaction and reference groups of the "approving drinker" coincide: She associates and prefers to associate with teen-age peers who by their self-designation as "drinker" and their use of alcohol are re-defining the appropriate drinking behavior of the female.

A similar but modified analysis may be applied in the case of the male "approving drinker." The male adult, in contrast to the female adult, is an appropriate model for the teen-age male "drinker." Therefore, the preference of the male "approving drinker" for adult models of behavior is not inconsistent with the preference of the female "approving drinker" for teen-age models. The female teen-ager finds her drinking peers as more appropriate reference groups than adults with regard to drinking.

The reasons which students gave for their preferences for models of behavior are also relevant in understanding the evaluative aspects of the symbolic act of drinking (Table 45). When students were asked to indicate whether their preferences for particular models involved 1) the model's convictions or beliefs, 2) his success or goal achievement, 3) his effectiveness in interpersonal relationships or 4) some combination of these, a definite, though statistically non-significant, pattern of differences is evident.

TABLE 45

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND REASONS FOR CHOICE OF BEHAVIOR MODELS[a]

Reasons for choice	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)[b]			
Stands up for his beliefs	18	16	16	14
Convinces others of his beliefs	5	5	4	8
His life expresses his beliefs	5	12	5	9
Successful in vocation	14	10	12	6
Achieved material success	4	3	4	1
Contributed to community	6	8	7	11
Admired and liked by others	13	10	11	9
Can get along with others	17	18	21	18
Is considerate of others	17	17	19	24
No answer	1	1	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	100[c]	154	329	66
Females				
Stands up for his beliefs	14	14	14	12
Convinces others of his beliefs	3	6	2	0
His life expresses his beliefs	10	10	8	13
Successful in vocation	12	9	11	19
Achieved material success	3	4	9	6
Contributed to community	9	9	6	12
Admired and liked by others	12	12	12	13
Can get along with others	18	18	18	12
Is considerate of others	19	18	20	13
No answer	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	173[c]	266	181	16

[a] When rows 1-3, rows 4-6 and rows 7-9 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

[b] Percentages in this instance refer to the number of responses.

[c] Multiple responses included in all totals.

"Approvers," whether "drinkers" or "non-drinkers" and whether male or female, are consistently overrepresented in their specification of "success anf goal achievement" as one important factor in the choice of models. The male and female "approving drinkers" are also overrepresented in specifying "effectiveness in interpersonal relationships" in addition to emphasis on goal achievement as a factor in selection. Both male and female "disapproving non-drinkers" indicate "convictions or beliefs" as important in their choices more frequently than would be expected on the basis of chance alone. Among "drinkers," however, the male "disapprovers" are overrepresented in their emphasis on the importance of relationships with others as well as the importance of beliefs, suggesting at least a partial explanation of their contradictory self-designations. A similar explanation may be advanced in the case of the female "disapproving drinker" who emphasizes the importance of goal achievement in her choice of models.[15]

The essential other-directedness and achievement-directedness of the "approvers" among males is consistent with the relationship between the male's self-designation as a "drinker" and aspirations for upward occupational and social mobility. This relationship between drinking and upward occupational aspirations and expectations was not observed among females although the female "approvers" too, in listing reasons for their choices of models, reflect the other-directedness and achievement-directedness noted among male "approvers." What this may mean is that a distinction should be made between the perception that drinking may be positively related to upward occupational

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[15] Riesman's typology of inner-directed, other directed and autonomous individuals is relevant here. See David Riesman, et al, The Lonely Crowd (New York: Doubleday, 1955), Part I.

mobility and that drinking may in some circumstances be instrumentally related to the facilitation of social interaction and the achievement of social goals other than those related to occupation. Such an interpretation is consistent with the earlier impression that the relationship between the female's self-designation as a "drinker" and her expectation for downward social mobility reflected the peculiarities of the woman's place in the world of work in the United States rather than the fact that she does or does not drink.

Socio-economic position.- A positive correlation was reported in the previous chapter between the student's socio-economic position in the community and his self-designation as a "drinker" or "non-drinker." The inference was drawn that male "drinkers" were likely to be found in the upper and lower ranges of socio-economic positions in contrast to "non-drinkers," who were concentrated in the middle range. Female "drinkers," on the other hand, were found more likely to fall at the lower range of status. Moreover, male "drinkers" were more likely than others to prefer and expect upward status mobility, although this was less clearly the case for females. The question is now posed, Is approval or disapproval of teen-age drinking related to socio-economic position in the community? The following paragraphs explore this question.

When a census classification of the father's occupation is used as a single indicator of the teen-ager's social status, an inconsistent pattern is noted. Though the distribution among various categories of males is statistically significant, this significance appears to be derived primarily from the distribution of "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" in the various occupational categories rather than from differences in evaluative judgments about the use of alcohol (Table 46). For example, "approvers" and "disapprovers" among the male "non-drinkers" are overrepresented among those males whose fathers

TABLE 46

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION, CENSUS CLASSIFICATION[a]

Occupational classification	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Male	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
Professional, technical, kindred	12	25	6	10
Mgrs., officials, proprietors	26	17	10	10
Clerical and kindred workers	12	2	18	5
Sales workers	9	0	3	0
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	9	25	23	28
Operatives and kindred workers	17	12	25	28
Other	12	17	7	14
No answer	3	2	8	5
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
Females				
Professional, technical, kindred	7	9	11	0
Mgrs., officials, proprietors	14	18	14	0
Clerical and kindred workers	2	7	7	25
Sales workers	10	2	2	0
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	29	34	23	50
Operatives and kindred workers	24	21	23	25
Other	12	9	16	0
No answer	2	0	4	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2, rows 3 and 4 and rows 6 and 7 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim P < .01$, $T = .209$; when rows 1 and 2, rows 3-5 and rows 6 and 7 are collapsed in each column, for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

had a professional-managerial occupational classification while both categories of male "drinkers" were overrepresented below this level.

This inconsistency is also observed among females, though with some modifications. Both the "approving drinker" and the "disapproving non-drinker" are overrepresented among females whose fathers have a professional-managerial classification.

Use of the Warner index of social class also reveals the absence of clearcut differences in "approval" or "disapproval" which are correlated with class position (Table 47). It is noted, however, that both male and female "approving drinkers" are slightly overrepresented at the upper and lower extremes of class position. The differences are not significant.

When the occupational expectations of students are taken into consideration, a consistent but statistically non-significant pattern of overrepresentation is observed (Table 48). For both males and females, those students with contradictory classifications--"approving non-drinker" and "disapproving drinker"--expected a professional-managerial classification for themselves or their future spouses more frequently than would be expected on the basis of chance alone.

Moreover, if a "goodness of fit" test is used with the distribution of fathers' occupations (Table 46, above) considered to be the theoretical frequencies and the distribution of occupations expected by the students considered to be the observed frequencies (Table 48), this same pattern of overrepresentation is observed for both males and females.[16] The "approving non-drinkers" and "disapproving drinkers" are overrepresented among those who expect a professional-managerial classification for themselves or their

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[16]For males only, $X^2 \sim P < .001$, $T = .251$; for females $X^2 \sim P > .20$

TABLE 47

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND FATHER'S SOCIAL CLASS, WARNER INDEX OF STATUS CHARACTERISTICS (ISC)[a]

Social class	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
Upper class	3	2	6	5
Upper middle class	12	17	17	5
Lower middle class	38	20	20	33
Upper lower class	35	51	38	33
Lower lower class	0	2	7	10
Unclassified	12	8	12	14
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
Females				
Upper class	0	0	7	0
Upper middle class	12	11	9	0
Lower middle class	33	34	21	25
Upper lower class	46	48	43	75
Lower lower class	2	2	11	0
Unclassified	7	5	9	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

TABLE 48

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND STUDENT OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, CENSUS CLASSIFICATION, FOR SELF OR SPOUSE

Occupational expectations	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
Professional, tech., kindred	38	30	26	33
Mgrs., officials, proprietors	12	10	7	5
Farmers and farm managers	3	0	1	0
Clerical and kindred workers	3	0	1	0
Sales workers	0	5	2	0
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	6	17	9	19
Operatives and kindred workers	3	7	11	14
Other	6	7	6	6
No answer	29	24	37	24
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
Females				
Professional, tech., kindred	21	20	5	25
Mgrs., officials, proprietors	2	2	2	0
Farmers and farm managers	0	0	0	0
Clerical and kindred workers	29	41	36	50
Sales workers	0	7	2	0
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	5	0	2	0
Operatives and kindred workers	0	0	5	0
Other	14	5	9	0
No answer	29	25	39	25
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 3-8 are collapsed in each column, for both males and females considered separately, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

spouses as compared to the occupatinal classification of the father. The single exception to this generalization is provided by the male "approving drinker" who is also overrepresented among those who expect a higher classification than that of the father.

In sum, while the relationship between evaluative judgments about the use of alcohol by teen-agers and socio-economic position in the community is not clearly established by the data, there is some support for observations previously made that "drinkers" are more likely to be found at the upper and lower extremes of socio-economic status than in the middle range. This inference appeared to be more applicable to males than to females. The data on evaluative judgments presented here indicates that "approval" has a low but positive correlation with the upper and lower extremes of status in the community or with student expectations that they or their future spouses will attain professional-managerial occupational classifications.

Normative Judgments And Organized Religion

One of the important functions of organized religion in America is to define the content of a supernaturally sanctioned ethic and to inculcate among its members both an awareness of this ethic and a commitment to it. With regard to the ethical implications of the use of alcohol the principal religious faiths and the major Protestant denominations are esentially agreed in official pronouncements that drunkenness is incompatible with a religious ethic. They have failed to agree, however, on the compatibility with a religious ethic of drinking which does not result in inebriety.[17] Judaism,

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[17]For a summary of official pronouncements of various religious organizations, see Rev. Roland H. Bainton, "The Churches and Alcohol," Alcohol, Science and Society (New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945).

Catholicism and some Protestant denominations use beverage alcohol sacramentally and do not officially condemn all social uses of alcohol. Other Protestant denominations and sects do officially condemn all uses of alcohol as morally "wrong." In such a situation student perceptions of the implications of religion for drinking and abstinence might be expected to receive varying interpretations. This was found to be the case in this study.

In the public school context in which this research was carried out, identification of students by religious preference was not permitted by school officials. However, it was possible to assess both the teen-ager's reported attendance at religious services and his estimate of his family's interest in religious activities. In turn, it was possible to relate these to factors of his self-designation as "drinker" or "non-drinker" and his normative evaluations of drinking behavior. It should be emphasized that only gross measures of relationship were used and it is not assumed that the "quality" of religious participation or interest can be accurately inferred from the data of the study alone. No attempt is made to do so.

When "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" are compared in terms of average monthly church attendance, it is found that a majority of all students report some attendance during an average month. However, among males, "drinkers" are significantly overrepresented among students who report no attendance (Table 49). Three in ten of the male "drinkers" in contrast to two in ten of other males gave this response. Two in ten of the female "drinkers" in contrast to one in ten of other females were also in the "no attendance" category. Yet, 47% of the male "drinkers" as compared with 45% of the "non-drinkers" attended church between two and four times during an average month. Moreover, the same percentage (46%) of both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" among females attended with this frequency. The difference

TABLE 49

AVERAGE MONTHLY CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS BY SEX AND SELF-DESIGNATION AS "NON-DRINKER" OR "DRINKER"[a]

Average times attending	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
None	13	8	22	15
One	9	7	10	11
Two	9	12	12	2
Three	18	11	12	17
Four	18	23	23	27
Five or more	22	32	9	22
Other	2	4	3	0
No answer	9	3	9	6
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 2-4, rows 5-8 and rows 10 and 11 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim .05 > P > .02$, $T = .154$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

TABLE 50

STUDENT ASSESSMENT OF PARENTAL FAMILY'S INTEREST IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES BY SEX AND SELF-DESIGNATION AS "NON-DRINKER" OR "DRINKER"

Family interest	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)			
None	4	2	3	8
Very little	9	12	11	21
Some	38	40	49	32
High	40	31	26	29
Very high	5	15	8	10
No answer	4	0	3	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	78	101	129	48

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim .20 > P > .10$; for females only, $X^2 \sim .10 > P > .05$.

in attendance between "drinkers" and "non-drinkers," then, lies primarily at the extremes. The "drinkers" were likely to attend least, the "non-drinkers" most. In between, reported attendance by students in each category was quite similar.

Similarly, in the assessment of parents' interest in religious activities, a majority of both categories for males and females estimated that their parents had at least "some" interest (Table 50). "Drinkers" estimated that parents were least interested, although the differences are significant for males only.

When the relationship between church attendance and normative judgments is considered, differences among the various categories are not significant and the pattern is not consistent (Table 51). For example, among male and female "non-drinkers" the "disapprovers" are overrepresented in categories indicating the highest average church attendance per month. But among "drinkers," the pattern is less clear. While among both male and female "drinkers" are overrepresented in the "no attendance" category in contrast to the "disapprovers," both male and female "disapprovers" are also overrepresented among those who participate most.

A similar relationship is revealed between normative judgments and the assessment of the family's interest in religious activities (Table 52). Although a majority of students in all categories estimated that their parents had at least some interest in religion, "approvers" were more likely than others to believe that their parents were interested least. Among male "non-drinkers," one in five of the "approvers" in contrast to one in fourteen of others in this category believed that the family had no or very little interest. One in seven of the male "approving drinkers" in contrast to one in ten of the "disapprovers" in this category also made this estimate. The differences are significant.

TABLE 51

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND AVERAGE MONTHLY CHURCH ATTENDANCE[a]

Average times attending	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
None	18	7	20	29
One-three	35	37	35	29
Four or more	29	51	36	29
No answer	18	5	9	13
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
Females				
None	14	4	14	25
One-three	29	30	32	0
Four or more	52	57	48	75
No answer	5	9	6	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] For both males and females compared separately, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

TABLE 52

NORMATIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT DRINKING AND STUDENT ASSESSMENT OF PARENTAL FAMILY'S INTEREST IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES[a]

Family interest	"Non-drinker"		"Drinker"	
Males	"Approve"	"Disapprove"	"Approve"	"Disapprove"
	(Percentage)			
None	3	5	4	0
Very little	18	2	10	10
Some	50	27	49	52
High	20	56	27	19
Very high	3	8	7	19
No answer	6	2	3	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	34	41	105	21
Females				
None	0	4	9	0
Very little	10	14	20	25
Some	42	39	30	50
High	31	30	32	0
Very high	17	13	9	25
No answer	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	42	56	44	4

[a] When rows 1 and 2 and rows 4 and 5 are collapsed in each column, for males only, $X^2 \sim .02 > P > .01$, $T = .182$; for females only, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

The differences among females are not consistent and are not significant. While, among "drinkers," the "approvers" were slightly more likely than others to report least family interest in religion (29% as compared to 25%), the relationship is reversed among female "non-drinkers." In this category 18% of the "disappovers" in contrast to 10% of the "approvers" made this estimate.

In sum, while there is a tendency for "disapproving non-drinkers" to be those teen-agers who are most active in church attendance and who report parental interest in religion to be high, the relationship is not invariably consistent or significant. A majority of students in all categories report some church attendance during an average month and believe that parents have at least some interest in church activities.

Moreover, the interview data indicate that the teen-agers did not typically view organized religion as antagonistic to all forms of drinking. Insofar as modern religious organizations are integrated into a community in which most adults apparently drink and insofar as these organizations do not make total abstinence a criterion for membership, one would not expect, and in fact does not find, that religious participation and interest invariably has a high positive correlation with abstinence. This does not mean that there is no relationship between religious beliefs and abstinence. The inference is drawn, nevertheless, that religious participation alone is not a sufficient basis for predicting that a teen-ager will be a "disapproving non-drinker" as an adolescent.

Teen-age Drinking And Law

In the State in which the study was made, the sale of alcoholic beverages to and the consumption of these beverages by persons under twenty-one years of age are prohibited by law. Though the question of the legality of

drinking was not covered in the questionnaire, the interview data left no doubt that the students were aware of the illegality of teen-age drinking. They were aware, for example, that one must have an identification card in order to purchase alcohol legally and were equally aware that being caught drinking or in the possession of alcohol by the police meant trouble for themselves and their parents.

Yet there was no indication in the interviews that the awareness of the illegality of their use of alcohol was a major deterrant to drinking, although it apparently emphasized to them the need for caution. The availavility of alcohol in the home, at the corner grocery or through the services of a friend of legal age to make a purchase made it possible "for anyone who want it to get it." Furthermore, descriptions of teen-age drinking parties did not typically emphasize the imminent threat of detection by police insofar as due precautions were taken. And even when detection was considered as a possibility, there was little indication that dire consequences would follow.

There was also a striking absence of expressions indicating that the teen-ager who drank considered himself as a "law-breaker" and certainly not as a "criminal." This finding is congruent with the observation that the students emphasized the situational appropriateness or inappropriateness rather than the morality or immorality of drinking.

Summary

Students were found to be about evenly divided between those who perceived drinking to be "right" and "wrong" for teen-agers. Only one in five considered this behavior to be absolutely wrong. A majority, regardless of self-designation, preferred to qualify their approval and disapproval and to

specify the situational factors which made drinking appropriate or inappropriate.

The relationship between "approval" or "disapproval" and perception of the proportion of drinkers among adults and students was not consistent. However, there was limited support for the hypothesis that students tend to maximize the proportion of persons with self-designation like their own.

Relationships between normative judgments about the use of alcohol and the positions of persons in the social system were also found. Among "non-drinkers," males were more likely to be "approvers" than females. This relationship is reversed among "drinkers."

Age grading again proved to be important in understanding the implications of reference group behavior and in understanding the normative dimentions of the symbolic act of drinking. As expected, among males, those students who were 1) older; 2) nearer graduation; 3) playing adult-like roles; 4) predisposed to prefer adult models for behavior and 5) participating in organized teen-age activities least were most likely to be "approvers." This was the case for both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers." This same pattern of characteristics described the female "approver" except that, unlike the male, she was more likely than others to prefer age peers as models for behavior and to participate in organized teen-age activities. For both male and female "approvers" the data suggest that their reference groups differ from those of most other teen-agers. This was also found to be the case in distinguishing "drinkers" and "non-drinkers."

Normative judgments were not found to be related to socio-economic position in a clearcut fashion. The data do give some support to the hypothesis that "approvers" like "drinkers" are more likely than others to be found at the upper and lower range of status. The relationship between

"approval" of teen-age drinking and aspirations for upward social mobility is clearer. More "approvers" among both males and females expected upward mobility than would be expected on the basis of chance alone. The "approvers" in giving reasons for their choices of models for behavior were also more likely than "disapprovers" to emphasize the importance of other-directedness and goal achievement.

Church participation and assessment of high family interest in religious activities are positively related to "disapproval" of drinking by teen-agers. However, a majority of students in every category reported some church attendance during an average month and that parents had at least some interest in religion.

While teen-age drinking was recognized as illegal, this recognition did not appear to be an effective deterrant to or determinative of drinking or abstinence. Even when drinking was reported, the "drinker" gave no indication that this illegal act was injurious to his standing with his peers.

The data lend some support to Williams" hypothesis that in situations in which 1) there are alternative or conflicting values; 2) there is an absence of clearly articulated consensus and a deficiency of self/other relationships in which the perceived consensus is mutually supported; 3) the proscribed practice is found among members of the society whose position makes them immune to social sanctions; 4) the punishment of the proscribed behavior is only periodic and primarily ritualistic, and 5) the "deviant" behavior is functional for the relevant social system or subparts that "customary way of not conforming" are likely to be found. But something more than this is implied.

In spite of the fact that only one in ten of the students designated himself as a "drinker," almost half of them believed that drinking is "all right" for teen-agers. A majority of students, whether "approvers" or "non-approvers," preferred to qualify their evaluations situationally. There was some indication of feelings of ambivalence about drinking and of "striving toward consistency." A few interviewees reported that on the questionnaire their initial response was to designate themselves as "disapproving non-drinkers" but that, on reflection, they were aware of the inconsistency of this with behavior. Moreover, a small minority of the students--the "disapproving drinkers"--illustrate a case in which drinking appears to be "wrong" but socially necessary or expedient.

For the majority, however, ambivalence and "strain toward consistency" was not apparent. Most students were "approving drinkers" or "disapproving non-drinkers." Each of these types of student could find mutual support from peers with similar orientations to drinking or abstinence. Furthermore, students in each of these categories described situations in which drinking was either appropriate or inappropriate. "Drinkers" described some types of drinking as "inappropriate." "Non-drinkers" described some types of drinking as "appropriate." The "approving non-drinkers" suggest a type of student who for instrumental reasons finds drinking as generally inexpedient but who at the same time emphasizes the essential appropriateness of drinking by teen-agers in some situations. The predominant impression from the data is that an approach to a theory of norms which emphasizes the importance of strain resulting from a disparity between the ideal and actual overestimates the rationalization of behavior and under-estimates the extent to which persons in a complex society are capable of adjusting normative evaluations in terms of situations rather than moral absolutes.

So far, drinking among high school teen-agers, the placement of "drinkers" within the context of a concrete social system and the assessment of the normative judgments about the symbolic act of drinking as perceived by the students themselves have been described. One further aspect of drinking now remains to be considered before summary conclusions about the functions of this symbolic act can be drawn. This final aspect involves the manifest and latent motivations of teen-age drinking. The motives for teen-age drinking--the affective significance of this act and its functional implications for the social system in which these teen-agers participate--is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

DRINKING AS SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: MOTIVATIONAL ASPECTS

A Sociological Theory Of Motivation

A situational approach to the problem.- Although as late as 1950 at least one social psychologist characterized the development of a theory of motivation as a "neglected area," there appears to be increasing consensus about a theoretical orientation to the problem area which is best defined as "situational."[1] Simply stated, the assumptions of a situational approach which emphasizes the analysis of motivated behavior in dynamic interactional terms are these: 1) Any item in social behavior is understood only as it is seen as a functional part of a situation; 2) in interacting, human organisms not only develop responses representing their part in the situation but also incorporate the response patterns of others into their predispositions to react; 3) therefore, attention must be paid to the interaction context as well as the individuals acting in it.[2]

The development of more or less stabilized stimulus-response patterns of both self and others occurs in an interaction context and both the process of identification and predispositions to act in a predictable fashion cannot be studied apart from an actor's definition of the situation in which he

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[1]L. S. Cottrell, "Some Neglected Problems in Social Psychology," American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), 705-12.

[2]L. S. Cottrell, "The Analysis of Situational Fields in Social Psychology," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), 370-82.

is acting. Fundamental aspects of this situational definition, therefore, include the actor's conception of himself and the symbols by which he is recognized and with which he is identified.[3]

A shared system of symbols is the keystone of the interaction process. In symbols, Ernst Cassirer has written,

> Man has, as it were, discovered a new method of adapting himself to his environment. Between the receptor system and the effector system, which are found in all animal species, we find in man a third link which we may describe as the symbolic system. This new acquisition transforms the whole of human life. As compared with other animals, man lives not merely in a broader reality, he lives, so to speak, in a new dimension of reality.[4]

The implications of this symbolic transformation of stimuli for the analysis and understanding of human behavior have been increasingly recognized as of fundamental importance. While it is impractical for our purposes to document in detail the intellectual history of this idea and to assess its impact on theories of human behavior, it is relevant to indicate briefly some selected contributions to a sociological theory of symbolism made by anthropologists, social psychologists and sociologists. In turn, a sociological theory of symbolism may be shown to be directly related to a sociological theory of motivation.

Symbolism and motivation.- The fact that language is a principal mechanism for the transmission of culture has tended to attract attention to this class of symbols as an area of anthropological interest. But language has also been recognized as involving much more than a vehicle for

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[3]For a critical survey of literature on the interrelatedness of self and other in symbolic interaction, see T. R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), ed. Gardner Lindzey.

[4]Essay On Man (New York: Doubleday, 1953), 42f.

culture transmission. A. I. Hallowell has made the point succinctly:

> Man's psychological responses to physical objects of his external environment can only be understood in terms of the traditional meanings which these latter have for him. He never views the outer world freshly or responds to his fellows entirely free from the influence which these meanings exert on his thought and conduct...Man's attitude toward them is a function of reality culturally defined, not in terms of their mere physical existence...Consequently, the objects of the external world, as meaningfully defined in a traditional ideology, constitute the reality to which individuals habituated to a particular system of beliefs actually respond.[5]

What this means is that the sign-function of natural objects or persons is influenced by what these objects do to and for man. It means also that sign-functions depend on what other persons say and do in the presence of these objects or their symbolic equivalents. Man's symbolic transformation of the world of his experience, then, is not random but is integrally related to a system of traditional meanings which structure and limit, if not determine, his perception of the world about him.[6]

The implications of man's symbolic transformation of his world have also been explored in the field of psychology, particularly by perception theorists. Among these theorists there appears to be essential agreement

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[5]A. I. Hallowell, Handbook of Psychological Leads for Ethnological Field Workers (mimeographed), 1935, quoted in Kluckhohn and Mowrer, "Culture and Personality," American Anthropologist, 46 (1944), 12; for a development of this idea in an available source, see Hallowell, "The Self and Its Behavioral Environment," in Culture and Experience (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955).

[6]Hallowell's statement summarizes in essence one of the important implications of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis relating language to behavior. For example, see Edward Sapir, "The Status of Linguistics as a Science," in Selected Writings of Edward Sapir (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), ed. David Mandelbaum; also B. L. Whorf, "The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language," in Language, Culture and Personality (Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941), ed. L. Spier. For a brief summary and critical review of the Sapir-Whorf hypotheses, see Harry Hoijer, "The Relation of Language to Culture," in Anthropology Today (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), ed. A. L. Kroeber.

that the most important adjustments of the individual are not a consequence of the direct effect of stimuli on the human organism. Rather behavior is governed by learned interpretations or implications assigned on the basis of experience to these stimuli.[7] The traditional meanings implicit in language and other classes of symbols are learned in social interaction. In acts of symbolic reference, to use Ogden and Richards' concept, the traditional meaning imputed to signs-in-situation[8] facilitates their cognitive placement and at the same time suggests a legitimate behavioral response.

But more important from the standpoint of the particular interest in motivation, one also learns in the interaction context the affective significance which certain signs-in-situation should have for the validation of the self-image. A striking illustration of the motivatinal dimension of symbols is found in Alfred Lindesmith's analysis of opiate addiction.[9] The user of opiates, says Lindesmith,

> acquires the customs and attitudes which other users impart to him...He applies to his own conduct the generalized symbols which the group applies to it; this means that the drug user assimilates the attitudes and sentiments which are current in his social milieu....Thus (addiction) presupposes the individual's membership in social groups, and his ability to communicate with his fellows in terms of language symbols....It depends on those complex functions which are made possible only by the symbolic structure of language....[10]

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[7]For example, Perception: An Approach to Personality (New York: Ronald, 1951), 8, ed. R. R. Blake and G. V. Ramsey. For a summary of a wide range of relevant literature see Martin Sheerer, "Cognitive Theory," in Handbook of Social Psychology, op. cit.

[8]"Signs-in-situatin" is used here to cover all events in experience; this includes the activity of persons as well as stimuli from non-human sources. As Talcott Parsons suggests, "Concrete acts are not (to be) treated as intrinsically significant in a means-end context but as symbolic of a system of meanings." See his Structure of Social Action (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), 637.

[9]Opiate Addiction (Bloomington: Principia Press, 1947).

[10]Ibid., 89.

> It is through the use of the social symbols of language in conversation with himself and with others that the personality changes involved in becoming an addict are initiated and carried out. The individual, when he uses the symbols which society provides him also assumes the attitudes appropriate to those symbols when he applies them to himself.[11]

This is an extreme example but it makes the point which is important here. Symbols whose traditional meanings are learned in social interaction have motivational as well as cognitive and normative connotations.[12]

C. Wright Mills has also emphasized a facet of the motivational connotations built into symbols in asserting that "motives are words" not denoting anything in individuals but rather denoting anticipated responses to the question "Why did you do that?" Out of social interaction arise "vocabularies of motives" which provide socially acceptable answers to the question; they become traditional. It is for this reason that motives may be imputed by others even before they are admitted by the self.[13] In Lindesmith's phrasing, one "applies to his own conduct the generalized symbols which the group applies to it."

A similar approach to the problem of motivation, but one which goes a step further, has been suggested by Nelson Foote.[14] Motivated behavior is characterized by its prospective reference to ends-in-view and by the selection and control of alternative means to these ends. When an actor in a social interaction situation defines that situation as calling for a

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[11] Ibid., 166.

[12] For an extended discussion of this point, see Talcott Parsons, "The Theory of Symbolism in Relation to Action," in Working Papers in the Theory of Action (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953), eds. T. Parsons, R. F. Bales and E. Shils.

[13] "Situated Action and Vocabularies of Motives," American Sociological Review, 5 (1940), 904-13.

[14] "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," American Sociological Review, 16 (1951), 14-22.

particular act with more or less anticipated consequences, he then releases energy appropriate for performing the act. Mobilizations of energy, Foote asserts, are always posterior to definitions of situations as calling for particular acts.

Foote probably overstates his case and, implicitly, over-rationalizes human behavior. However, his basic point is well taken. The key to the understanding of anticipated mobilizations and expenditures of energy is found in the mechanism of identification, the investment of symbolic objects in interaction situations with motivational significance for the self. Identification involves the commitment to a particular identity or series of identities appropriately named. The process of naming which is integral to language and the process of identification which invests events with affective significance for the self make possible a sociological theory of motivation subject to empirical testing.[15]

The process of identification and the social system.- Granting that sociological theories of symbolism and of identificatin are the keystones to an empirically testable theory of motivation, one is still confronted with the practical research problem of understanding why an individual chooses particular identities rather than others for investment with affective significance. This is essentially the same problem that has persistently presented itself to reference group theorists attempting to understand why,

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[15] A similar theoretical analysis of motivation is found in Howard S. Becker and James Carper, "The Elements of Identification with an Occupation," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), 341-48: "...individuals identify themselves--answer the question "Who am I?"--in terms of the names and categories current in the groups in which they participate. By applying these labels to themselves, they learn who they are and how they ought to behave, acquire a self and a set of perspectives in terms of which their conduct is shaped."

in multiple group situations, particular references are made.

A proposed answer to the problem which appears to offer the most promise for the study of teen-age drinking is that of S. N. Eisenstadt.[16] Eisenstadt, following the lead of Merton, suggests that reference group identification is related both to the status and status aspirations of the individual and to the structure of the institutionalized behavior of a society. That is, choices are related to culturally defined values or premises in terms of the status-conferral possibilities of certain identifications vis a vis status aspirations.

The analysis presented in the previous two chapters should be called to mind at this point. It has been noted that teen-agers perceive most adults as drinkers. Moreover, particularly in the case of the male, the teen-ager who plays or prefers to play adult-like roles is most likely both to identify himself as a "drinker" and/or as an "approver." This suggests that an important aspect of the drinking behavior of the high school student is the status-conferral possibilities of the symbolic act of drinking in a society which makes adulthood a valued status and which has institutinalized drinking for the adult. There will be occasion to return to this point later.

Additional insight into the affective implications of drinking for the teen-ager and the status-conferral possibilities of this act is evident in the shared "vocabulary of motives" verbalized by students. There is a conventionalized set of responses in anticipation of the question "Why do adults and high school students drink?" about which teen-agers are in essential agreement. In articulating this "vocabulary" students delineate the manifest functions of this behavior both for the self or others and for the

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[16]"Reference Group Behavior and Social Integration: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 19 (1954), 175-85.

social systems in which they are members.[17] It is necessary to mention only in passing that latent functions which are only implicit in "vocabularies of motives" must also be explored.

One final point remains to be considered before we turn to the analysis of the data on motivation for teen-age drinking. Most of the literature on the use of alcohol in American society has tended to concentrate on the disfunctional aspects of this behavior for both the individual and for society. This point was documented in some detail in Chapter One. The upshot of this emphasis on disfunction has been that drinking has frequently been approached as though it could only be disfunctional or that, if functional, would have to be considered a "spurious" rather than "genuine" integrative factor for self and society. E. M. Lemert comments, and rightly, that this tendency to view integration based on intoxicants as spurious reflects in large part a value bias. He also appears correct in concluding that cumulative evidence clearly indicates that liquor is obviously considered as something to be enjoyed by many peoples and that its pleasures or recognized importance are conceived to more than counterbalance its unpleasant features in some instances.[18] There is little argument that there are disfunctional consequences of some uses of alcohol. But there is also little room for argument in the face of the literature which has been reviewed previously that some uses of alcohol may do something <u>for</u> as well as <u>to</u> the individual

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[17] Insofar as one accepts the proposition that the concept of <u>self</u> is only analytically abstractable from the individual's involvement in actual or potential social interaction, it is possible to refer at various times to function of drinking in maintaining self <u>and</u> social identities and, therefore, in achieving and maintaining certain types of group interaction.

[18] <u>Alcohol and the Northwest Coast Indians</u> (Berkeley: University of California Publications in Culture and Society, Volume 2, No. 6, 303-406, 1954), 377f.

and the group. One is faced with the fact of the persistence of this behavior. Consequently, admitting the possibility of disfunctional aspects of drinking behavior, the concerned here is to explore some neglected functional aspects of this behavior among high school students.

Some Manifest And Latent Functions Of Teen-age Drinking

A "vocabulary of motives" for adult drinking.- The teen-agers were significantly in agreement about the "reasons" for adult drinking. Rank ordering of their responses to the question, "What are the most important reasons for adult drinking?" reveals that the labels social, pleasurable, worry-reducing consistently head the list of imputed "reasons" (Table 53). This particular "vocabulary" suggests that students believed adults experience feelings of increased sociability, pleasurableness or reductin of anxiety when drinking and that, therefore, adults drink in order to have these experiences. It is noted here, as in the previous descriptions of student perceptions of where and when adults are most likely to drink, that drinking has a positive association with important social values in our society.

When adults are "partying" or being convivial the situation is defined as likely to involve drinking. As one teen-age girl phrased it,

> Maybe people like drinking. I mean, lots of people do. And if you go to a party and everybody else is drinking and you sit in the corner—I mean, naturally if you (the interviewer) went with a bunch of men, you'd know yourself that if you didn't drink you would feel out of place. I think this is primarily the reason. (Interview 33)

The implication is that, if one is not drinking, one is not "partying," is not being a full-fledged member of the group. Similar comments were frequently made in the interviews. This does not mean that teen-agers believe that every social gathering requires the use of alcohol. Such is clearly not the

TABLE 53

STUDENT CONCEPTIONS OF ADULT MOTIVATION FOR DRINKING, RANK ORDERED (RO)[a]

Motives for drinking	"Non-drinker"				"Drinker"			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO
To be sociable	48	1	52	1	65	2	28	1
To be one of the crowd	7	9	5	11	5	8	1	11
To prove they can hold it	5	11	4	12	2	9	0	12
They think they are smart	4	12	2	13	1	10	0	12
To get attention from others	1	14	1	14	1	10	1	11
They want to feel important	0	15	6	10	2	9	0	12
They want to act "grown up"	0	15	0	15	0	11	0	12
To celebrate some occasion	20	5	26	4	44	3	13	5
Afraid to be left out of the group	8	8	6	10	5	8	0	12
Afraid to be called "squares"	1	14	0	15	0	11	0	12
They are rejected by others	0	15	6	10	1	10	1	11
Afraid to be called "sissies	0	15	0	15	0	11	1	11
For pleasure or recreation	31	2	31	3	73	1	21	3
To see if they like it	0	15	2	13	1	10	0	12
It is a habit with them	22	4	11	7	20	5	10	7
To get rid of worries	24	3	51	2	44	3	26	2
Have domestic or family trouble	15	6	26	4	29	4	18	4
Have financial troubles	6	10	23	5	13	6	12	6
They are bored	4	12	7	9	8	7	2	10
They are unhappy or sick	5	11	13	6	8	7	3	9
They do not know any better	4	12	1	14	2	9	0	12
Not enough supervision, discipline	3	13	2	13	0	11	0	12
Their parents did not care	0	15	0	15	2	9	0	12
Members of their families drink	0	15	1	14	1	10	0	12
They think it is all right	12	7	7	8	13	6	5	8
No answer	14	--	20	--	47	--	2	--
Total	234[b]		303		387		144	

[a] When the top ten ranked "motives" indicated by the male "non-drinker" are compared with the comparable items ranked by the male "drinker" X^2 ~ $P < .01$; the same same procedure applied to the rankings of females in each category produces a Tau ~ $P < .001$; the same procedure applied to the rankings of the male "non-drinker" and the female "drinker" produces a Tau ~ $P < .05$.

[b] Totals include the first, second and third responses to the question, "What are the three most important reasons adults drink?"

case. However, a positive relationship is perceived by students between a situation defined as a "party" and the use of alcohol as a social beverage.

Drinking is also imputed to be a pleasurable activity among adults. Students repeatedly referred to the pleasurable effects associated with the use of alcohol. One "floats on air," is "high," gets "in a real happy mood," gets "thrills" and "oomph." Or, drinking is said to be "refreshing."

> Well, I don't like drinking myself very well, but some people consider it refreshing and they take it just--they don't drink heavily but they just take it for refreshment. I don't think that is bad, but if they go too far with it, well, I don't like that at all. (Interview 35)

To a lesser extent, adult drinking is associated with a "getting rid of worries," as indicated by the teen-ager who in a few sentences was able to outline an entire catalog of motives for drinking:

> There's the first kind of person who drinks to be sociable. And there's another that drinks--well, because his friends drink. Some people drink because they don't have no friends or nothing and they are really what you call an outsider. So they drink and become an alcoholic. Then some people drink on occasions like to celebrate and some drink to be sociable. (Interview 14)

The reference here to alcoholism as a response to social isolation is revealing not so much because of the insight it implies but because this relationship was rarely stated explicitly by the students. This does not mean that there was no awareness among students that some drinkers can and do become problem drinkers or alcoholics. They were aware of this possibility. The point is, and this will become increasingly evident, that they chose to associate positive rather than negative social values with the use of alcohol. Drinking was perceived primarily as involving the use of a social beverage, not an anti-social drug.

A "vocabulary of motives" for teen-age drinking.- When teen-agers compared the motives for teen-age drinking with those they imputed to adults,

distinctions were typically made.

> I don't think teen-agers drink because they are blue or anything like maybe some grownups do, feeling sorry for themselves. I don't think teen-agers drink for that reason. But I have been around quite a few people that have drunk and I know that they either drink to be sociable or either they drink because they want to show off and be smart and show others how much they can drink. And these are the only reasons I can think of why people drink except maybe that they like it. (Interview 33)

This statement is a fair summary of the motives for drinking which teen-agers imputed to their peers in high school. While the students were not so much in agreement in imputing motives to drinkers in high school as they were in the case of the adult, they were nevertheless essentially agreed that the important motives for teen-age drinking are 1) "to be smart," 2) "to be one of the crowd," and 3) " to avoid being left out of the crowd" (Table 54).

Status-conferral function.- "Being smart" apparently implied the premature playing of adult roles. Teen-age drinking calls attention to itself in large part because it is unusual behavior, behavior ordinarily appropriate for adults.

> I've talked quite a bit about "drinking" in the last couple of weeks because of all the senior parties. You can notice it more that way. A teen-ager goes out and it doesn't matter how much he drinks. If they drink a lot, that's different because they will get in trouble. But even if they drink just one bottle or one drink, most of them just start acting smart and ...just to show off. That's the way I see it; they put it on just to show-off. (Interview 24)

Among the ten top ranked motives for teen-age drinking, "being smart" is also associated with "proving (one) can hold it." Female "non-drinkers" even rank this motive as the most important. Presumably what one proves, however, is more than the fact that "one can hold it." What one is attempting to convey to his peers by means of drinking is "Look, I am drinking like an adult (or man)." That is, in attempting to "act grown-up," teen-agers frequently

TABLE 54

STUDENT CONCEPTIONS OF STUDENT MOTIVATION FOR DRINKING, RANK ORDERED (RO)[a]

Motives for drinking	"Non-drinker"				"Drinker"			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO	No.	RO
To be sociable	4	12	7	12	17	5	5	12
To be one of the crowd	25	2	41	2	41	2	21	1
To prove they can hold it	11	8	45	1	17	5	12	3
They think they are smart	39	1	34	3	46	1	15	2
To get attention from others	16	5	11	9	12	9	5	10
They want to feel important	12	7	11	9	15	6	3	12
They want to act "grown up"	15	6	13	7	12	9	11	5
To celebrate some occasion	4	12	0	17	15	6	2	13
Afraid to be left out of group	17	4	24	4	29	3	6	9
Afraid to be called "squares"	7	10	8	11	13	8	11	4
They are rejected by others	2	14	2	15	0	16	1	14
Afraid to be called "sissies"	22	3	14	6	17	5	10	6
For pleasure or recreation	5	11	3	14	29	3	4	11
To see if they like it	7	10	12	8	18	4	7	8
It is a habit with them	3	13	0	17	4	13	2	13
To get rid of worries	0	15	2	15	5	12	0	15
Have domestic or family trouble	0	15	1	16	2	14	2	13
Have financial troubles	0	15	1	16	2	14	0	15
They are bored	2	14	2	15	14	7	2	13
They are unhappy or sick	0	15	0	17	1	15	0	15
They do not know any better	4	12	19	5	5	12	1	14
Not enough supervision, discipline	3	13	9	10	8	10	2	13
Their parents do not care	8	9	9	10	6	11	8	7
Members of their families drink	4	12	13	7	6	11	1	14
They think it is all right	2	14	2	15	8	10	6	9
No answer	22	--	20	--	45	--	7	--
Total number of responses	234[b]		303		387		144	

[a] When the top ten ranked "motives" of the male "non-drinker" are compared with the comparable items ranked by the male "drinker", Tau$\sim$ $P<.05$. The same procedure applied to the rankings of females in each category produces a $T\sim.20>P>.10$; the same procedure applied to the rankings of male and female "drinkers" produces a Tau $\sim.10>P>.05$.

[b] Totals include the first, second and third responses to the question, "What are the three most important reasons high school students drink?"

"act smart" and attempt to prove "they can hold it."[19] This interpretation is consistent with the teen-ager's perception of the adult predominantly as a drinker. It is also consistent with the fact that, particularly for the male student, the self-designated "drinker" is more likely than others to identify with adult reference groups or with groups of teen-agers who have in common a conception of themselves predominantly as adults rather than as adolescents. It is equally interesting that the students were aware that drinking may be histrionic, that the effects of drinking may be faked. The implications of this observation will be discussed subsequently.

Still another facet of the status-conferral function of some teen-age drinking is implicit in the repeated reference in the interviews to "coming of age." This phrase means in part that one has attained the legal age for drinking.

> Some people think you should drink on your twenty-first birthday. Why? Because they come of age....They want to take some right then because they know they have come of age and can get the stuff better than when they were under-age. (Interview 32)

But more than this, "coming of age" is implicitly equated with claims to the right to play or the playing of adult-like roles, such roles, for example, as a holder of a full-time job, the married person or a member of the armed services. All of these roles may be played prior to the attainment of the age of legal adulthood. Since the majority of students expect to assume one

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[19] E. M. Lemert, op. cit., refers to this particular status-conferral function of drinking among the Northwest Coast Indians. Antonio Arce, a graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, has described in personal conversations how drinkers in his native Costa Rica frequently refer to themselves as "muy hombre" (very much a man) when drinking.

or more of these essentially adult roles shortly after graduation from high school if not before, the implications of graduation from high school and of increased drinking during the senior year must be considered in terms of the status-conferral function of drinking.

> Well, I don't know how to explain it, but especially the fellows in the senior year and especially these last few months, practically all the fellows have been drinking. Not all to excess but all drinking quite a bit. After they get out of high school the fellows straighten up again and within a few months after graduation they are the same people you have always known. (Interview 42)

> Oh, we usually drink when my friends come along or something like that. Maybe on some special occasions; not every week-end but like during Senior Night, our senior activities. (Interview 14)

Drinking as it is described here appears to be an improvised rite of passage between adolescent and adult age grades.

A similar observation may be made about the status-conferral function of entrance into the armed forces, which more than one student also associated with drinking. Going into the armed services implies the achievement of adult status insofar as effective parental control is severed and some measure of financial and emotional independence is achieved.

> My friend wanted to have a party for the fellows in our class who are going into the army, see--the marines. So we have a party and, of course, alcohol--beer and stuff was brought. (Interview 62)

And, <u>of course</u> there was drinking.

Though all teen-age drinking cannot be explained altogether by its status-conferral function as there will be occasion to observe later, much of it can be explained in these terms. Alcohol serves as an institutionalized mechanism for symbolizing the dissolution of one age graded status and the transformation of the individual into a new position in the social system.

It is pertinent to digress briefly to consider a point that has sometimes been troublesome in functional analysis. This point has to do with the specification of the social system or sub-part of a social system for which a given act is imputed to be functional. The analysis to this point indicates that drinking is clearly functional for the sub-system composed of "drinkers" insofar as it is a presentational symbol important for validating their self-conceptions as adults, their claims to adult status or their membership in some peer grouping. It might be argued, on the other hand, that behavior which is functional for the "drinkers" is disfunctinal for the larger system in which they are members. There is no question that many adults as well as many teen-agers view the drinking of the high school student as disfunctional, at least to the extent that this behavior remains illegal and premature from the standpoint of adult members of the system. Teen-age drinking invades the prerogatives of the adult and may, in some circumstances, result in additional restraints being placed on the behavior of "non-drinkers." Nevertheless, it may be argued, on the other hand, that in a society which has only a minimum of institutionalized rites of passage between age grades some drinking by students may have a latent function for the larger system also. This does not mean that drinking has a necessary or a universal function in status-conferral. It does mean that, in a society in which there is institutionalized drinking for adults, drinking does function as an improvised rite of passage into the age grade. Drinking functions to validate the self-conception of some teen-agers who claim adult status and, to this extent, functions to integrate these teen-agers into the larger adult society. That some other mechanism of integration might be preferred is another question.

Still a third facet of the status-conferral function of drinking is suggested by the association between socio-economic status aspirations and both the designation of oneself as a "drinker" and "approval of teen-age drinking." The explanation of this relationship is similar to that advanced for the association between drinking and significance of claims to adult status. Insofar as persons of high socio-economic status as well as adults in general are perceived to be drinkers, drinking reflects anticipatory socialization into playing preferred adult roles. In drinking, the teen-ager is able to demonstrate his ability to drink "like a gentleman" as well as "like a man."

Group identificatio function.- While adults are said to be motivated to drink in order "to be sociable," teen-agers are more frequently said to be motivated to drink in order "to be one of the crowd" or to "avoid being left out of the crowd." This implies that, although drinking is assumed to be an institutionalized mechanism for the facilitation of sociability among adults, something more is involved for the teen-agers. The reasons for this distinction have been suggested previously and need only to be recapitulated briefly here. Teen-age drinking is illegal from the standpoint of the larger society and premature from the standpoint of most adults. Special precautions to avoid detection are required. Consequently, students themselves place less emphasis on the social facilitation accompanying the use of alcohol than on the group-identification function of its use, or, parenthetically, abstaining from its use. While the "wild party" is specified as a common occasion for drinking, the importance of this behavior appears to lie in its symbolizing membership in a group more than anything else. As some teen-agers said,

> Personally, I don't like the flavor of most drinks...and the majority of people are against (teen-age drinking). I just want to go with the crowd I guess.
>
> When the rest of them are drinking and you're the only one that's sitting there and not doing it, it kinda makes you thirsty after awhile. At this wedding, I don't know exactly what it was, though us kids had fun doing it and the other kids, I think they were bored stiff cause they weren't getting into the fun. Us kids were having lots of fun at this wedding and the other kids didn't; they were bored... Some of us kids had a headache when we woke up the next morning but otherwise the other kids didn't; but we had a lot of fun that night and those other kids didn't. Interview 32)

Wanting to go with the crowd has at least two facets, one positive and the other negative. Some students talked of choosing friends because one likes them, not because they drink or are abstinent; if one's friends drink, then drinking may symbolize a common bond of friendship. Other students emphasized a more negative, deterministic interpretation of drinking behavior as the student who said,

> I think if you get in certain company, then that will determine what you'll do or not....If you get in certain company that looks down on (drinking), then you won't drink. (Interview 21)

This oversimple explanation of group determination of behavior does suggest something important. Group identification is important to the teen-ager, and the use of or avoidance of alcohol appears to be one means for group identification.

There were occasional references in the interviews to group pressure, indicating that the group-identification function of drinking involves both the identification of an individual with a group and the identification of the individual as a member of the group by its other members.

> Pressure is common. There's quite a few that go to these parties and don't drink. They stick to pop. But there are some that do drink. If you don't drink they try to throw one on you or shove one on you. If you say no, right there you're considered chicken. They just forget about you. (Interview 37)

> Kids don't drink because they feel they're--oh, I don't know exactly how to say it. They feel that if they don't drink, they're out of the class of kids they are running around with, the popular gang here at school. (Interview 32)

> Would I like to drink? I don't drink and I don't think I would like to. I've heard from other people that when they go, they have to drink as everyone else is standing around with drinks in their hands. I don't want to go because you feel that you have to join in with them and if you don't you aren't exactly being sociable. (Interview 25)

These student comments are important in the face of evidence that only about 9% of the students in the population studied identified themselves as "drinkers" and only about 27% reported drinking with any degree of consistency. Why there should be sustained pressure from the members of the typical teenage peer group on others to drink is difficult to explain unless a basic distinction is made between 1) what we have called the typical adolescent peer group characterized by the acceptance of its members of an adult definition or appropriate behavior for the age grade and 2) the adult-oriented peer group of the "drinker." In the former case one would expect group sanctions against the "drinker." Abstinence is an important symbol of identifying the adolescent peer group. It is only in the latter case that the use of drinking behavior as a symbol of group identification becomes important. This does not rule out the possibility, however, that drinking may sometimes be used in groups of "non-drinkers" in isolated instances to test the willingness of an individual to conform to group demands.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to achieve closure on this point primarily because of restrictions placed on the research group as a condition of gaining access to the public school system. Participant observation was ruled out and students were not allowed to identify themselves by name in the interviews, although a number of them indicated a willingness to do so. Consequently, it was possible to confirm only indirectly and tenuously the impression that "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" tend to form separate peer groups.

The basic point to be made is this. Teen-age drinking behavior and the teen-ager's identification of himself as a "drinker" must be seen within the context of a social system which has institutionalized the use of alcohol for the adult. Because drinking is institutionalized behavior in the social system, this behavior is a symbol which may be presented in various situations as one means of establishing his self and social identity. For this reason, it is apparent that an important source of motivation to drinking of an individual lies in obligatory relationships to others and to his group.[20] And, so long as an individual remains a member of a group which has made institutionalized drinking behavior a mechanism of identification, an individual may be obligated to present this symbol at the appropriate time regardless of any peculiarly personal sources of motivation to the contrary. Once behavior is institutionalized, it is quite possible for the distinction between means and ends to become indistinct. The function of the behavior may no longer be manifest. Nevertheless, the group-identifying function appears to remain an important source of motivation for some teen-age drinking.

Self-assessments of personal motivation.- In addition to being asked about the motives for drinking of students in general, the teen-agers were asked to assess their personal "reasons" for this behavior. "If you drink," they were asked, "what best describes your own feelings about why you drink?"

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[20] E. M. Lemert (op. cit., 371) describes the following situations among Northwest Coast Indians: "When the member of a clan was challenged by a spokesman of another clan to drink down his portion of whiskey or rum, he did so because otherwise he and his clan stood to lose status. In other words, his personal needs had to be subordinated to the claims made upon him by the clan; non-anxious as well as anxious individual had to conform with the ritual requirements of the situation."

Table 55 reports student responses.[21]

When the responses of male and female "drinkers" are compared, differential preference for various "reasons" for their drinking are not significant. About one in two students in both categories drink because "I like it." This individualistic explanation of drinking behavior seems to contradict the previous emphasis on the social sources of this behavior. The contradiction is only apparent, however.

One characteristic of adult role playing in our society is that the individual must use personal discretion in behavior. He is held personally accountable for his acts by society. The opposite side of this coin is that the individual has a right to be personally accountable for the decision which he himself makes. Moreover, the "pursuit of pleasure" is a positively valued goal. This is reflected, incidentally, in the frequency with which individuals select from their "vocabularies of motives" the particular responses "I wanted to" or "I like to do this" in answer to the question "Why did you do that?" Therefore, for an individual to assert "I drink because I like it" reflects in large part an assertion of the right to personal decision about the means to achieve pleasure. This explanation is congruent with the previous observation that the "drinker" is predominantly oriented to an identification with adult-like roles.

The second and third most frequently mentioned motives for drinking by "drinkers" are "to celebrate some special occasion" and "to be with the crowd," in that order. Only eight percent of both males and females listed

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[21] The inappropriate answers of the "non-drinkers" are reported again here as further indication of a fact previously observed: A self-designation of "non-drinker" is not synonymous with abstinence.

TABLE 55

SELF-ASSESSMENTS BY "DRINKERS" OF MOTIVES FOR DRINKING[a]

Motives for drinking	"Non-drinker"[b]		"Drinker"	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(Percentage)[c]			
I like it	23	24	55	48
I drink to be with the crowd	23	4	14	15
I drink when I am unhappy	0	4	8	8
I drink to go along with older friends	0	8	4	7
I drink to celebrate special occasions	54	60	19	22
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of responses	22	25	144	60
Number of cases responding	12	21	121	48

[a] When male and female "drinkers" only are compared, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

[b] Includes inappropriate responses to the question, "If you drink, which of the following best describe your feelings about why you drink?"

[c] Percentages in this instance refer to number of responses.

TABLE 56

SELF-ASSESSMENTS BY "NON-DRINKERS" OF MOTIVES FOR "TASTING" ALCOHOL[a]

Motives for "tasting"	"Non-drinker"	
	Male	Female
	(Percentage)[b]	
To see what it was like	83	90
On a date	0	1
A friend urged me to taste	6	2
To see if I could	5	0
Because it was forbidden	2	1
I was tricked into it	2	5
I was angry at parents or friends	2	1
Total	100	100
Number of responses	64	88
Number of cases responding	62	85

[a] When rows 2-7 are collapsed in each column, $X^2 \sim P > .20$.

[b] Percentages in this instance refer to the number of responses to the question, "If you do not drink, which of the following best describe your reasons for tasting alcohol?"

"I drink when I am unhappy" as a motive. This means that less than 1% of all students and slightly less than 10% of the "drinkers" gave this response.

It should be noted that, among those "non-drinkers" who answered this question inappropriately (see Table 55), the most common verbalized motive for drinking is "to celebrate some special occasion." A majority of both males and females gave this reason. For both categories, "I like it" was the second most frequently mentioned reason.

Those who self-designated themselves as "non-drinkers" were asked to indicate their reasons for tasting alcohol, if they had ever done so. An overwhelming majority of both males (83%) and females (90%) responded "to see what it was like" (Table 56). For "non-drinkers" the use of alcohol was conceived to be exploratory. Stated differently, their behavior may be described as anticipatory socialization.[22] The behavior of the self-designated "drinker" who is considered to be an adolescent by adults and other adolescents might also be described in these terms. In the case of the "drinker," however, the process is simply farther advanced. The exploratory "tasting" of the "non-drinker" anticipates behavior which is perceived by the teen-ager to be common among persons playing adult roles in the larger social system in which he is a member. This does not mean that all "tasters" will become drinkers as adults. The "tasting" does suggest that most teen-agers entertain this as a possibility.

Up to this point several functions of teen-age drinking have been discussed. Attention has been directed to a consideration of the status-conferral

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[22] Anticipatory socialization is used by Merton and Kitt ["Some Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Continuities in Social Research (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), 84-95, eds. R. K. Merton and P. F. Lazarsfeld] to describe identification with values assumed to be held by members of a non-membership reference group in anticipation of becoming a member of that group.

function of alcohol and its use as a mechanism for self and social identification. Some teen-age drinking is related to a transformation of status from adolescence to adulthood. Second, drinking behavior is also related to peer group identification. Third, for "non-drinkers" as well as "drinkers" the use of alcohol anticipates a pattern of behavior associated with adult role playing. Before other functions of teen-age drinking behavior are considered, it is useful to comment on the effects imputed to the use of alcohol by the students.

The demonstrable and imputed effects of drinking on behavior.- The physiological effects of ingested alcohol on the human body are demonstrable. In specific quantities for any given individual, alcohol acts as a sedative, an analgesic and as a hypnotic drug. Pharmacologically, alcohol is an anesthetic whose depressant effect on the central nervous system tends to impair judgment, discrimination, inhibitions and muscular coordination.[23] Some if not most of the high school students interviewed were aware of these physiological effects. For example,

> I have read articles that proclaim that it dulls your senses, so that you're slower on your reactions and things like that; that doesn't make you quite as sharp and may make you irritable toward people, say things you don't mean. (Interview 53)

> Well, alcohol numbs your senses. They don't have the, I mean, they can't think quick enough to put their foot on the brake or they can't see. They can't see as far, their seeing is a lot less and it numbs their senses a lot...I think we studied alcohol in personal and social problems here at school. (Interview 68)

Yet, in the interviews both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" were more likely to emphasize personal or social effects of drinking rather than purely

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[23] For clear and concise summary of relevant research, see R. G. McCarthy and E. M. Douglass, Alcohol and Social Responsibility (New York: Crowell, 1949), Chapters 6 and 7.

physiological effects. A catalog of "effects" can be abstracted from the interviews which, if taken at face value, considerably broaden what alcohol is assumed to do to and for individuals. Such phrases as "feeling high," "floating on air," "freeness," "getting real happy," "getting oomph," and so on are clearly related to experiences with a physiological base. It is important to note, however, that the experiences are not ends in themselves but are related to the achievement of personally or socially valued goals.

> Yes, quite a number of times kids have been drinking at one of the dances...Well, a couple of guys came in one night and they were, you know, feeling real happy and there was a cop standing there. They sorta made fun of him, I mean they didn't really do anything and the cop didn't do anything. But they were making fun of him, pointing at him, doing silly things. I can't remember what they were doing but everybody got sorta a big charge out of it...(Interview 13)

> If you have one bottle of beer, sometimes you'll get awfully dizzy on it and two will make you flat drunk. Whereas, if you continue on that, it'll take five or six before you even get to feeling good...I've never gone overboard. I've never got to the stage where I can't walk--but I'm feeling good on Christmas Eve...(Interview 37)

By implication, the teen-agers also attributed to alcohol qualities which "cause" or at least are related to "pleasurableness," "sociability," "manliness," "conviviality," and so on. Alcohol is perceived to be a social beverage related to the achievement of socially approved goals.

The basic point is this. W. I. Thomas has generalized that "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequencies.[24] Merton uses this quotation as a springboard for a discussion of what he calls "self-fulfilling prophecy;" that is, some social consequences are explainable, at least in part, by the fact that the consequences are predicted.[25] Symbols

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[24]The Child in America (New York: Knopf, 1929), 572.

[25]Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), 179.

allow one some leeway in the perception of his environment. Therefore, in understanding the use of alcohol and the effects which it presumably has on the behavior of the drinker, it is important to make a distinction between the demonstrable physiological effects of alcohol and the imputed effects. Lindesmith has noted, for example, that in the treatment of the opiate addict

> the possibility of deception is considered an established fact. ...under certain conditions an addict may be deceived into believing that he is under the influence of the drug though he is actually not and vice versa.[26]

He adds

> In other words, nearly all the direct effects of the drug which last beyond a few minutes after the shot are such that they could easily be attributed to other causes if they appeared in isolation. Knowing that he is an addict, the addict ascribes his mental changes to the drug, not because they are recognizable as such but because they accompany the shot.[27]

Although it should be stated again that teen-age drinking is by no means equivalent to drug addiction, the symbolic transformation of stimuli in conformity with expectations is illustrated by the shared "prophecy" of most teen-agers that alcohol makes one "sociable," "gay," and so on and on through a whole catalog of imputed effects. As Lindesmith's data would lead one to suspect, some of the effect of alcohol may occasionally be "faked." A single illustration from the interviews will make the point sufficiently.

> Kids, especially high school kids, go beserk you might say. They get silly about it you know. And they'll drink it and--like some girls I've known to drink small amounts of it--they'll get real gigglish and silly. They say they're drunk but they're actually not; it's just that they say that they are so somebody'll think they're smart...It makes them put on false acts and they put on false acts that wouldn't ordinarily do...Kids act that way to get attention in most cases...I've seen a lot of that. (Interview 62)

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[26] Op. cit., 32.

[27] Op. cit., 35.

Logically, there is no stopping point in the effects which might be imputed to drinking once the process of symbolic transformation is taken into consideration.[28]

With the implications of symbolic transformation for understanding the effects of drinking on behavior in mind, it is now possible to consider another function of drinking in our society which is reflected in verbalized motives of teen-agers for drinking or abstention. The data on which these speculative observations are made are admittedly incomplete. No attempt will be made to achieve closure on this point.

Drinking and the legitimation of unconventional behavior.- In spite of the fact that alcohol is demonstrably a depressant, some students spoke of the beverage as though it were an aphrodisiac. This imputed quality of alcohol underlies the student male's preference for an all-male drinking group. It also underlies the preference of some of the females to drink only at home "where I know I am going to be safe" and the frequency expressed feeling that "it just doesn't look right for girls to drink," especially in mixed groups.

> Well, according to mother, drinking makes people forget their--lose their heads and so forth...We never invite a girl to a party anyway, that kind; and we never mention or do anything around girls...I never get myself in that situation. If a girl tried to drink with us we'd boot her out of the general area, give her the freezeout. (Interview 49)

> It doesn't seem right to be drinking in mixed company. Cause us guys never drank with a mixed group. I don't think none of the guys would like it either...It just seems not right for girls to drink around boys. They get too wild. (Interview 50)

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[28] That the possible "effects" of alcohol are much more diverse than suggested here is documented in the cross-cultural studies summarized in Chapter I. The "effects" of alcohol on human behavior are, at least to an important degree, culturally defined.

These and other similar comments appeared only incidentally in the interviews, since the research group agreed, at the request of the public school administration, not to probe the sex experience of the students. It is relevant to point out, nevertheless, that a similar association between alcohol and sex has been noted by other research.

S. D. Bacon and Robert Straus,[29] in a study of almost 17,000 college students, found that the students imputed a relationship between drinking and sexual behavior. A majority of both abstainers and drinkers associated drinking with at least one form of sexual behavior such as petting and necking, sexual excitement or sexual intercourse. Whether this belief reflected experience or moral indoctrination was not determined. However, it was found that, in general, married students were also more likely to associate alcohol and sexual behavior than were single persons. Moreover, males were more likely to make this association for females than for themselves although females associated alcohol and sex for both males and females.

Bacon and Straus refrain from speculation about the theoretical implications of their data. Yet at least passing reference to a comment by Margaret Mead on the possible relationship between sex and alcohol in our society seems relevant. Mead speculates that, in a society which strongly indoctrinates its members against the idea that sex is play and, as such, may be enjoyed, alcohol may be one mechanism facilitating sex play by means of lowering inhibitions.[30] Although she does not elaborate the point, several additional speculative comments may be made. Inebriety is demonstrably related to the reduction of inhibitions; in part this relationship is

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[29] Drinking in College (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 186-95.

[30] Male and Female (New York: New American Library, 1955), 217.

explained in terms of physiological effects (i.e., the depressant effect on the central nervous system) which have social consequences.[31] But it is equally appropriate to ask, To what extent does the association between sex and alcohol reflect the institutionalization of drinking as a mechanism for facilitating sexual behavior? This question substitutes a sociological question for a physiological one.

The data are too sketchy to provide an answer to the question. However, the possibility that drinking is an institutionalized mechanism for facilitating sexual behavior is certainly suggested in the light of the previous discussion of symbolic transformation and self-fulfilling prophecy. Our data and the Bacon and Straus data do indicate that belief in the relationship is widespread. It remains to be determined what functional significance this belief has, although we have the impression that Margaret Mead's speculation is a lead worth investigating, especially if attention is shifted from a physiological to a sociological orientation.

Drinking and aggression.- The questionnaire used in the study did not explore the extent to which the teen-agers believed drinking to be related to physical aggression against others or verbalized aggression against society. Comments relevant to this point were only rarely made in the interviews, although other research suggests that drinking and physical aggressions are believed by some individuals to be related[32] and are related in

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[31] For example, R. A. Clark ["The Projective Measurement of Experimentally Induced Levels of Sexual Motivation," Journal of Experimental Psychology, 44 (1952), 391-99] found through the use of Thematic Apperception Tests that sex symbolism increases when persons are under the influence of alcohol.

[32] Bacon and Straus, op. cit., 186-95, found that belief in this relationship was associated especially in the case of males; the theoretical implications of the absence of this association for the female are not explored. It is hardly satisfactory to explain this imputed difference in terms of the differences in physiological effects of drinking on males and females.

fact to some extent.[33] The most obvious explanation of the relationship is again in terms of the depressant effect of alcohol on the central nervous system and the consequent reduction of inhibitions, judgment and discretion. But, as in the case of the previous comments on alcohol and sexual behavior, an equally interesting question is "To what extent is alcohol an institutionalized mechanism for the expression of aggression in our society?"

The possibility that drinking is an institutionalized mechanism in American society and functions to legitimize certain types of unconventional behavior appears to warrant exploration in future research. The research group members noted during the interviews, for example, the frequency with which teen-agers followed descriptions of unconventional behavior resulting from the use of alcohol with humorous comments. It has been observed also by the author that the aggressive person who is assumed to be inebriated is often avoided rather than attacked and that his behavior is frequently explained away by saying "he doesn't know what he is doing." To the extent that members of a society treat behavior following drinking as an occasion for humor or avoidance rather than as an occasion for indignation and punishment, to that extent drinking functions as an institutionalized mechanism for breaking the conventions of the society. Drinking functions to legitimate

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[33]See, J. L. Miller and J. R. Wahl, Attitudes of High School Students Toward Alcoholic Beverages. A study made for the Mrs. John S. Sheppard Foundation by the University Extension Division, the University of Wisconsin, 1956, 49, for data on "unusual behavior" following drinking. See also W. W. Wattenberg and J. B. Moir, Teen-age Drinkers. A research project conducted under the auspices of the Social Science Research Center of Wayne University on a Grant from the State Board of Alcoholism, Lansing, Michigan, 1955. Wattenberg and Moir conclude that "on the basis of (our) findings, we may say that heavy drinking by juveniles is closely allied to delinquency in general. It is part of a revolt against grown-ups engaged in by boys who have weak relationships to people and impoverished inner resources.

devious behavior.[34]

Summary

In this chapter the outline of a sociological theory of motivation has been presented in outline. This theoretical orientation emphasizes the learning of the affective significance of a system of symbols with traditional meanings. In the social interaction context one learns to define situations and, having defined them, to mobilize his energy and direct it selectively toward his environment because he has learned what affective significance certain presented symbols should have for him. The process of identification--the investment of certain symbols with peculiar significance for the self--is explained at least in part by differential valuation of various statuses in the social system, an individual's self-image and his status aspirations within the system.

A "vocabulary of motives"--the process of labelling certain signs-in-situation and associating with the labels definitions of appropriate behavior and rationales for that behavior--provides a basis for insight into the traditional meaning of particular symbols. This imputed meaning is equivalent to the manifest function of the behavior. When the manifest functions of the behavior delineated by the appropriate "vocabulary" is placed within the

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[34]In an unpublished paper entitled "Charisma: The Reinterpretation and Extension of a Concept," the author has suggested the possible utility of Max Weber's concept of charisma in the analysis of drinking behavior. The rationale for this application is documented in the paper. However, it is pertinent to note here that some uses of alcohol do appear 1) to legitimate non-ordinary and "revolutionary" behavior vis a vis the established social order and 2) to be associated with the belief that alcohol has a power over the human being over which he has only limited control, i.e., alcohol is "superhuman." These are two key characteristics of Weber's concept applied in a new context. If the routinization of charisma is taken into account, then the "revolutionary" aspect of charisma claims may be viewed as a mechanism which is functional to some degree in maintaining an established social order.

context of a social system whose structure and organization is known, certain latent functions may also be suggested.

When teen-agers specified the "reasons" adults drink, they were in agreement that drinking behavior is explained by its relationship to sociability, pleasurableness and anxiety-reduction. Thus, the students related drinking to positive social values.

When teen-agers explained the drinking of their peers, they emphasized "acting smart," "being one of the crowd," and "avoiding being left out." The "drinker" added that he personally drank "because I like it," while the "non-drinker" added, "I wanted to see what it was like." It was noted in previous chapters that drinking for both adults and teen-agers has a positive association with "partying" and the celebration of special occasions and holidays.

When placed within the context of an age graded social system, these manifest functions of teen-age drinking suggested by the shared "vocabulary of motives" also suggests certain latent functions of this behavior. Four of these functions have been discussed: 1) The status-conferring function; 2) the group-identification function; 3) the anticipatory socialization function and 4) the function of legitimating unconventional behavior.

The data of the research did not allow the same degree of closure to be achieved in the discussion of each of these functions. The last function mentioned is admittedly speculative. In conclusion, it should be re-emphasized that the functions of teen-age drinking which have been considered are not exhaustive and are not <u>necessary</u> in the sense that no alternative mechanisms or functional equivalents are conceivable. Moreover, it is useful to distinguish at least analytically the social system or the sub-part of such a system for which the behavior is functional.

The presentation of the substantive data of the study has now been completed. It is now possible to summarize the findings, to evaluate the original hypotheses of the study, to discuss some of the theoretical implications of the findings and to assess critically the strengths and weaknesses of the research which was done. This will be done in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

The Hypotheses In Review

Brief summaries indicating the relevance of the substantive data for accepting, rejecting or modifying the hypotheses presented in Chapter II will be presented here.

> Hypothesis 1: The male teen-ager is more likely than the female teen-ager to report drinking and to designate, that is, to have an image of, himself as a "drinker."

The hypothesis is confirmed. The differences in drinking behavior found among male and female adults in American society are also evident among the high school students in the study. Females were found more likely than males to drink infrequently, only small amounts, and under stringently defined circumstances. A double standard of appropriateness was applied to male and female drinking by both sexes. These distinctions characterize sex differentials in the "tasting" of the "non-drinker" as well as the drinking of the "drinker."

> Hypothesis 2: Teen-agers, whether designating themselves as "drinkers" or "non-drinkers," share a similar image of the pattern and social context of drinking in the community.
>
> > Corollary 1: The "effects" imputed by teen-agers to drinking tend to emphasize social rather than physiological consequences and to emphasize socially "desirable" rather than socially "undesirable" consequences.
> >
> > Corollary 2: Teen-agers share a "vocabulary of motives" by which they explain the "why" of adult and adolescent drinking.

The hypothesis and its corollaries are confirmed. There is a shared image among students about drinking in the community in terms of 1) places,

2) occasions, 3) proportion of drinkers, 4) effects, and 5) motives. Although the perceived pattern of drinking for adults and adolescents must be distinguished, there is agreement among students about drinking behavior within each age grade considered separately.

When adult drinking behavior was considered by students, the occasions for drinking were perceived to be predominantly social--for example, the party, the celebration. The places for drinking mentioned also suggested social interaction; drinking was perceived to occur in the home when there is entertainment, in nightclubs and in other public places. Half or more of adults were believed to drink regularly. The effects of drinking were imputed to be sociability, pleasurableness and anxiety-reduction and the effects were perceived to be closely related to adult motives for drinking.

When the teen-ager drinking behavior was considered, there was essential agreement about the perceived pattern and social context of their drinking. In this case the extent of agreement was not persistently significant statistically. The places of drinking were typically locations separated from the supervision and control of adults. This reflects awareness of the illegality of teen-age drinking and the general disapproval of this behavior by adults. "Tasting" alcohol in the home and in the presence of parents, which was reported by many of the students, was not interpreted by them as an indication of adult approval of drinking by teen-agers. Congruent with established sex differentials, females were more likely than males to report drinking in the context of the home and with members of the kin group. Occasions for drinking by students were typically perceived to be the "wild" party, a special event or a holiday.

There was agreement that a small minority of students drink regularly, in contrast to estimates about the number of adult drinkers. While the

differences in estimates were not significant, both "drinkers" and "non-drinkers" were found to maximize their estimates of the number of adults and students whose use or avoidance of alcohol corresponded to their own. "Drinkers" made higher estimates than others of the number of both adult and student drinkers, while "non-drinkers" made higher estimates than others of the number of adult and student non-drinkers. The possible relevance of these observed differences for reference group theory will be discussed subsequently.

The motives for drinking and the consequences of drinking imputed by students to explain the drinking by their peers emphasized social factors in congruence with explanations of adult behavior. However, the imputations of teen-age motives were not identical for individuals in the two age grades. Students were said to drink in order to "be smart," "to be with the crowd," "to avoid being left out," "to prove they could hold it," "to act grown up," or "because (they) liked it."

The implied latent functions implicit in the above imputation of motives were explored at some length in Chapter V. These functions which have been discussed are 1) status-conferral, 2) group identification and 3) anticipatory socialization. It was also speculated on the basis of information about the relationship between drinking and sex or aggression that a fourth function may be implied--the legitimation of unconventional behavior. The possible utility of the concept of institutionalized or routinized charisma was suggested in regard to this last point, especially in the light of the discussion of the possibility of imputed effects becoming self-fulfilling prophecy. The fact that only a very few students had not had some experience with alcohol and the fact that this experience was likely to have been in the context of the home suggest that this behavior anticipates adult role playing for "non-drinkers" as well as "drinkers."

Hypothesis 3: Insofar as teen-agers share the image of the adult as a drinker and the adolescent as an abstainer, drinking functions to identify the position-role of the adult and abstinence the position-role of the adolescent.

Corollary 1: Drinking and self-identification as a "drinker" tend to increase with age and to appear at a maximum among teen-agers who are graduating from high school.

Corollary 2: Drinking functions as an improvised rite of passage between adolescence and adulthood.

Corollary 3: Teen-agers who are playing or who identify themselves with adult-like roles are more likely than others to report drinking and to identify themselves as "drinkers."

Corollary 4: "Drinkers" are more likely than "non-drinkers" to be found in the lower socio-economic strata of the community.

Although the hypothesis is generally supported by the data, some modifications of the corollaries were found to be necessary. As previously noted under the second hypothesis, the extent of drinking in the two age grades was perceived by students to be different. Half or more of adults were estimated to be drinkers while less than half of the students were believed to drink even "sometimes." This provides one basis for understanding what students meant when they explained their drinking or the drinking of their peers in terms of "acting smart," "acting grown up," "proving they could hold it." Drinking functions to symbolize "coming of age" even though this symbol may be incorporated into behavior and presented prematurely from the standpoint of both adults and some teen-agers themselves. This behavior has a status-conferral function based at least in part on the fact that drinking is perceived to be integral to adult role playing.

Support for this interpretation is also derived from data confirming the first corollary. The self-designation of "drinker" and, a fortiori, drinking, are positively associated with increasing age. But more important in a society which utilizes the formal divisions of the public school system

for a rule of thumb placement of the adolescent in the social system, drinking is also positively related to movement toward graduation from high school. For the majority of teen-agers who do not intend to continue their formal education after graduation, this event is a major break point in social development. At this time many of them enter the armed services, take full time jobs, marry and, in general, begin playing adult-like roles. These comments anticipate the discussion of the findings relevant to corollary three and provide a basis for understanding the use of alcohol as an improvised rite of passage between age grades (corollary two).

Our society has only a minimum of rites of passage between age grades and graduation from high school is one of these. Drinking appears to be integrally related to this passage. Unfortunately, the ritual details of this drinking could not be documented. Though the evidence is inconclusive, there was some indication that drinking diminishes temporarily after graduation.

The confirmation of corollary three has been anticipated in the paragraphs above. Those teen-agers who were 1) older, 2) working outside the context of the home, 3) possessors of the largest amounts of spending money, 4) terminating their formal schooling, 5) entering the armed forces, 6) least active in organized teen-age activities and 7) predisposed to prefer adult models of behavior were more likely than others to designate themselves as "drinkers." These characteristics are integrally related to adult role playing.

Corollary four requires revision. As predicted by the hypothesis, "drinkers" were found to be slightly overrepresented among students whose families are apparently at the lower extreme of socio-economic status in the community. However, male "drinkers" were also found to be overrepresented

at the upper extremes of socio-economic status.

There was some evidence in the relevant literature, largely impressionistic, which anticipates this finding. However, in the particular formulation of the corollary it was reasoned rather that, insofar as drinking functions as a mechanism of status-conferral for teen-agers identifying themselves with adult roles, students from the lower socio-economic strata would be more likely than others to have the occasion and/or the necessity of playing adult-like roles at a relatively early age. The data appear to confirm the essential correctness of this prediction.

But the interview material also suggests that drinking may be a status-conferral mechanism for upper socio-economic strata students. The status conferred, however, is different. Speculating on the basis of admittedly scanty evidence, one could hypothesize that drinking among these students is a mechanism for identification with a "style of life" characterizing the upper strata of society. Students, for example, occasionally referred to what might be called "country club" drinking as a distinctive type. The same status-conferral mechanism appears to have a differential function with regard to socio-economic position.

> Hypothesis 4: Insofar as teen-agers share the image of the adult as a drinker and the adolescent as an abstainer, drinking, on the one hand, functions as a symbol of peer group identification among the self-designated "drinkers" while abstinence, on the other hand, functions as a symbol of peer group identification among self-designated "non-drinkers."
>
> > Corollary: Teen-agers who are least active in organized adolescent activities in the community, and especially the school, are more likely than others to identify themselves as "drinkers."

The hypothesis and corollary are at least partially confirmed by the data, most of which have already been reviewed in discussions of the preceding hypotheses. Among the most important "reasons" for student drinking imputed

by the teen-agers themselves was "to be one of the crowd" or "to avoid being left out." Yet a majority of all students perceived their peers to be predominantly non-drinkers. Therefore, "being one of the crowd" appears to refer not to teen-age groups in general but to particular groups identified in part by the symbolic act of drinking. That "drinking" groups must be distinguished from "non-drinking" groups is suggested further by the finding that "drinkers" are less active than others in organized teen-age activities both inside and outside the school. This is consistent with other data indicating that "drinkers" are also more likely than others to work outside the home and that they prefer adult models for their own behavior.

The inability to use participant observation or to identify students by name so that sociometric techniques could be employed makes closure on this point impossible. The findings do suggest, however, that the teen-age "drinker" is an age grade marginal. His involvement in and/or identification with adult-like role playing is a point of distinction between him and other teen-agers. Drinking is employed as a mechanism to symbolize his identification with adult roles and this further separates him from his age peers who are predominantly "non-drinkers." At the same time his claims to adult status are typically not acknowledged by adults who consider his claims, and particularly his drinking, as premature. Consequently, the "drinker" must turn to his peers who are also "drinkers" for support of his self-image.

This speculative interpretation of the importance of drinking and abstinence in the identification of distinctly different peer groups does not preclude the possibility that some of the experimental drinking reported by "non-drinkers" functions as a mechanism of group identification. It is entirely possible that the willingness of a "non-drinker" to subordinate any peculiarly personal aversions to the use of alcohol to group demands that he

drink may be used to determine whether a boy or girl is "regular" or not "chicken." The findings neither confirm or deny this possibility decisively.

> Hypothesis 5: The social norms which teen-agers articulate or which are inferred from their reported behavior as governing their use or non-use of alcohol are situationally relative.
>
> > Corollary: Teen-agers, whether self-designated as "drinkers" or "non-drinkers," share a similar image of the differential appropriateness of drinking for males and females, for adults and adolescents and of drinking on various specific occasions and in specific places.

The hypothesis, which is something of a social scientific truism, and its corollary are confirmed. Although only one student in ten designated himself as a "drinker," one in two of them "approved" of drinking by teen-agers. Among the "disapprovers," over half qualified their disapproval by adding "but (drinking) is one's own business." Whether students designated themselves as "drinker" or "non-drinker," "approver" or "disapprover," a large majority qualified their evaluative judgments in some way. In the interviews some "non-drinkers" described in detail situations in which they had drunk. On the other hand, some "drinkers" described in detail situations in which they would not drink.

There was essential agreement that drinking is appropriate for males more than for females and appropriate for adults more than for adolescents. Moral absolutes which proscribed drinking without qualification were rarely encountered. Blanket justifications of drinking were equally absent. There was little indication that most students equated drinking with immorality. While they were aware of the illegality of their behavior, the implications of breaking the law were apparently not considered important enough to serve as deterrants of drinking or to occasion fear of severe punishment following apprehension.

Some Theoretical Implications

Symbols in relation to action.- A theory of symbolism was found to be useful in the analysis of the act of drinking. In the first place, this was true because of the integral relationship between a shared system of symbols and the cognitive placement of self and others in interaction situations. It has been noted that cognitive placement of events in experience is not a simple matter of responding to those events in terms of what they really are and really mean. Within a sociological frame of reference this epistemological problem may be effectively by-passed by concentrating on the shared imputations of the meanings of events in experience within concrete interaction situations. Through comparative analysis it is then possible to validate the process of symbolic transformation of experiences, the process by which events become socially significant. That the cause-effect relationship between events and action may involve an element of "self fulfilling prophecy" has also been noted. The data has given support to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis concerning the nexus between language symbolism and behavior: The imputed meaning of symbols is related to the anticipated response to those symbols.

The findings also indicate that, in addition to a cognitive aspect, symbols are also integrally related to action in a normative sense. Symbols have a traditional meaning in social systems which is related to a normative definition of expectations about the behavior of individuals when specific events occur in an interaction situation. Ogden and Richards' insightful phrase symbols-in-situation proved to be especially useful in understanding social norms in a complex society: The normative significance of an event in relation to behavior may vary situationally although from situation to situation the normative expectations for behavior are predictable. The implications of this observation for a theory of social norms will be discussed below.

The potentialities of relating a theory of symbols to a theory of motivation has been increasingly stressed in the social sciences. Nelson Foote and Talcott Parsons, among others in the field of sociology, have both presented in broad outline how the potentialities of the two theoretical areas might be exploited. Insofar as a system of symbols shared by the members of a social system provides a basis for cognitive and evaluative structuring of events in experience, it may also provide a basis for the affective structuring of those events. That is, traditional meanings may specify the affective significance which certain events should have for individuals variously placed in the social structure. It is for this reason that language symbolism, and particularly the shared "vocabulary of motives," observed within the context of a concrete social system becomes extremely useful in the analysis of motivatin and, a fortiori, the latent and manifest functions of behavior.

A sociological theory of symbolism in relation to action proved to be very useful in the analysis of teen-age drinking behavior.

Reference group theory.- It is a sociological commonplace that membership groups provide an important source of values, perspectives and identification for individuals. It is also becoming increasingly commonplace to observe that, in multiple group situations, non-membership groups may offer alternatives to individuals in social interaction. One's reference groups and interaction groups may not coincide. A persistent problem in reference group theory has been the specification of factors involved in the preference for and the selection of certain reference groups within given social systems.

Robert K. Merton and also S. N. Eisenstadt have hypothesized that institutional definitions of the structure of a social system focus the attention of members of the system on certain common reference groups. All

conceivable reference groups do not have the same potentiality for offering frames of reference for action in multiple group situations. Therefore, the probability that some reference groups will be chosen in preference to others is integrally bound up with statuses in the system which are defined as values, the status of the individual member in the system, and the status aspirations of that individual. The findings lend support to this hypothesis.

Adulthood is a valued status in our society. The socialization process is in large part oriented to preparing the individual for the eventual assumption of this status. An age graded social structure which institutionalizes a relatively long period of adolescence tends to enhance the rights and prerogatives associated with adulthood but denied to the adolescent.

It is correct to some extent, as Parsons and others have argued, that this relatively long period of adolescence may tend to develop relatively autonomous values peculiarly related to the adolescent age grade. Yet it remains to be demonstrated empirically that participation in a "youth culture" detracts significantly from the desirability of acquiring adult status. The findings indicate that as teen-agers become older, participate less in organized adolescent activities and assume adult-like roles increasingly they also tend to indicate a preference for adult models for behavior. It has also been shown how this fact is integrally related to an interpretation of some teen-age drinking in terms of the status-conferral function of this behavior.

In brief, the data suggest the importance of determining both the actual and perceived status of individuals in a social system vis a vis the valued statuses in that system for understanding the selection of reference groups. The findings also indicate that the selection of groups who have access to the valued symbols of status as references tends to increase

1) as knowledge of the roles related to these statuses increases through sustained interaction with peers who are playing the valued roles and 2) as the feasibility of finding mutual support for playing the valued roles increases.

A theory of social norms.- The necessity of distinguishing between the ideal and actual norms operative in a social system is a common assumption in sociological analysis. Institutionalized non-conformity and strain toward consistency are now standard intellectual tools in the field for the analysis of behavior in complex societies. The findings suggest that, while these concepts are useful, they have been used frequently in a way that implies 1) an over-rationalization of behavior and 2) an under-estimation of the importance of the fact that many individuals do operate continually and apparently with a minimum of strain in situations characterized by segmentalized normative expectations.

This conclusion is based on the analysis of the normative evaluation by teen-agers of a pattern of drinking behavior involving a complex interrelation of age, sex, socio-economic and situational factors. One in ten of the students designated himself as a "drinker." The fact that nine in ten preferred the designation "non-drinker" reflects in large part the perception of legal and parental disapproval of drinking (as distinct from "tasting"). Yet one in two of the teen-agers "approved" of drinking by his peers. But more important for a theory of norms is the fact that "non-drinkers" indicated situations in which they drank and also shared similar definitions about the situations in which this "deviancy" was most likely to occur. On the other hand, "drinkers" were equally aware of norms which defined certain situations as inappropriate for drinking. Thus basic norms about drinking were shared by both "approving drinkers" and "disapproving drinkers." Neither category

of students was visibly disturbed by or reluctant to discuss the situational adaptation of their norms for drinking.

The "approving non-drinker" represents an excellent illustration of the individual which, in Riesman's terms, is the autonomous individual, at least when teen-age drinking is under consideration. He is equipped to move easily in a wide range of situations in which decisions about the use of alcohol must be made. This type appears to be only a special case of situationally adaptive behavior noted also among the "approving drinkers" and "disapproving non-drinkers."

The "disapproving drinker" requires special consideration. Although it was not possible to achieve closure on this point, there was some indication in the interviews that this type of individuals did experience some difficulty in resolving the socially expedient use of alcohol with norms to which they were committed. Only a small minority of students were found in this category. Nevertheless, the future exploration of the implications of the contradictions experienced by the "disapproving drinker" may be important in understanding the genesis of the problem drinker. Additional comments will be addressed to this point in the subsequent section on Suggestion For Further Research.

Age and sex categories in the social structure.- Age and sex are important factors in analysis of teen-age drinking. Age and sex distinctions were perceived to be important by the students themselves. It is relevant, then, to explore the implications of the findings for the concept youth culture. Comments on this point will necessarily be truncated since the research concentrated primarily on drinking behavior and not teen-age behavior in general.

If a youth culture exists among the teen-agers in this particular study, drinking is apparently not an integral aspect of it. On the contrary, the findings suggest that it is precisely those persons who are marginal to organized teen-age activities who are most likely to be "drinkers." They are more likely than others to be older, to be playing adult-like roles and to prefer adult models of behavior. In brief, drinking appears to characterize the teen-ager oriented toward adult reference groups rather than those composed of his age peers, the adolescents.

The drinking behavior of the student drinker is different from that imputed to be characteristic of the adult. Aware of the illegality of drinking by minors and of general parental disapproval of teen-age drinking when that drinking is at the teen-ager's own discretion, the student is likely to drink surreptitiously. He is likely to <u>drink</u> at "wild" parties even though he may <u>taste</u> at home. All of this may reflect a parody of adult culture or rebellion against parental authority. But against this must be placed the evidence of the association between an adult orientation and of the student's designation of himself as a "drinker." The surreptitiousness of teen-age drinking probably reflects in large part a situational adaptation of behavior in response to perceived hostility to drinking by adolescents on the part of a large segment of the adult community.

The evidence of this study leaves unresolved the question of whether the notion of a youth culture exists or whether it is only an interesting myth. While the experimental drinking of "non-drinkers" may be an aspect of such a sub-culture, this is apparently not the case for the adult-oriented "drinker."

Some Limitations Of The Research

Apart from any deficiencies which may be found in the substantive analysis of the study, two limitations of some importance warrant consideration. First, the research interest was labelled as "controversial" by the public school officials whose cooperation was necessary to gain access to the students. Although their caution is understandable, it did result in making participant observation inadvisable. Moreover, it was not possible to identify students by name, race or religion.

While it is possible that these assurances of anonymity which were given to the students made them more willing to talk frankly with interviewers, this was not confirmed. Some of the students offered to give their names to interviews and had to be asked not to do so. There appeared to be little reluctance on the part of interviewees to name their friends and to describe their experiences with alcohol. Whatever the advantages that accrued from anonymity were certainly offset by the inability to utilize socio-metric techniques effectively for determining the group interaction of the students. This was unfortunate from a research standpoint. Equally unfortunate was the inability to determine the religious affiliations of the students since this data would have been useful in a more detailed analysis of the relationship between organized religion and drinking.

A second type of limitation of the research is the exclusive reliance on the analysis of selected characteristics of individuals rather than on individuals in interaction with others. In exploratory research the statistical analysis of characteristics is important since this procedure contributes to the identification of patterns of factors which appear to be most relevant to the problem at hand. Such analysis is important even when conclusions must be based on evidence which is not statistically significant as has been indicated in Chapters III, IV and V.

What remains to be done in subsequent research, however, is to distinguish the factors or patterns of factors which are sufficient for explaining teen-age drinking from those which provide an efficient explanation. There is a need for case studies, not of the teen-age problem drinkers, but of the adolescents drawn from the great majority of teen-agers who apparently experience no social complications from their drinking. Some scaling techniques might be useful for the type of analysis which is suggested here. So might analytic induction procedure.

The possible utility of focusing on cases rather than characteristics does not obviate the necessity for the type of analysis which this research has provided. The point is that the present analysis could be strengthened by additional insights drawn from the analysis of patterns of characteristics found to converge in particular persons operating within a given concrete social system.

Problems For Future Research

Some of the problems for future research growing out of this study have been suggested at various points in the previous chapters and need only to be brought into focus here. First, using the same data on which the present analysis has been based, one could investigate in more detail than has characterized this presentation the pattern of factors converging in individual "drinkers" and "non-drinkers." This has already been suggested in the paragraphs immediately preceding. Concentrating on the individual case could also be extended through time by a study designed to investigate the drinking behavior of the students after they have graduated from high school. By agreement with public school officials information identifying the students who participated in the study is on file and will be available in the future. Therefore, both questionnaires and interview data are available

for some students to provide a wealth of information with which to begin a long range study of drinking behavior.

Second, the "disapproving drinker" warrants further study. There was some evidence, drawn primarily from the interviews, that this type of student is distinguishable from other students in several important aspects. There was the impression, for example, that while most students talked of alcohol as a social beverage, the "disapproving drinker" was predisposed to talk of it as a drug. Moreover, there was the impression that this type of student, although finding drinking socially necessary, thought of his capitulation to expediency as morally wrong rather than merely inappropriate. It seems worthwhile to investigate on the basis of these impressions whether or not such teen-agers are social isolates who resort to the use of a morally disapproved drug as the price of admission to social interaction. Such an investigation appears all the more worthwhile when it is recognized that a pattern of 1) social and personal maladjustment 2) coupled with the use of a drug to ameliorate the maladjustment 3) even though this use is morally disapproved describes essentially what has been clinically defined as a pre-alcoholic syndrome among adults.

Third, what has been called the charismatic aspects of drinking need to be investigated to determine the extent to which and the conditions under which the use of alcohol does or does not legitimate unconventional behavior. Current attempts to define alcoholism as a sickness--sometimes for which the individual cannot be held strictly accountable and for which he should not be punished--warrant investigation. Lindesmith's analysis of opiate addiction suggests a theoretical framework for such a study. Definitions of what drinking does to the individual may in effect be self-fulfilling prophecy. If one aspect of this definition involves the imputation that the drinker "is

not responsible because he does not know what he is doing," a basis for legitimating unconventional behavior is provided.

Finally, further attention should be directed to the relationship between drinking and social class. To the present time only impressionistic evidence has been available to suggest class differentials in styles of drinking and attitudes toward drinking. The present data also suggest that such differences exist and that these differences are functionally significant.

This research has provided a foundation for the continuing study of these and perhaps other areas of sociological interest. Insofar as drinking is seen as culturally defined and socially structured behavior, the "problem" aspects of this behavior can be seen as only one facet of a very complex symbolic act.

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

1. Please write the name of your school here,_____.

2. Please write the number of your home room here _____.

3. Indicate your sex by drawing a circle around the appropriate number. Male....1 Female..2

4. Indicate your grade in school. 11th...1 12th...2

5. What was your age at last birthday? 14 and under.....1 15.....2 16.....3 17.....4 18.....5 19.....6 20,over..7

6. Write the correct number of older or younger brothers and sisters you have in the appropriate space. (Be sure to write the number on each line. If you have none, write "none.")
Younger brothers and sisters_____ Older brothers and sisters____

7. Are your parents living? Both__Father only__Mother only__Neither__

If both are living, are they: living together__Separated__Divorced__

8. With whom do you live most of the time?
Both parents.....1 Father only.....2 Mother only.....3 Father and stepmother.....4 Mother and stepfather.....5 Foster parents.....6 Other relatives.....7 Others, not relatives.....8

9. Who contributes most to the support of your family? (If you do not live with either or both your parents, answer for the family with which you are now living.)
Father.....1
Mother.....2
Father and mother equally....3
Some other person (who?)_____

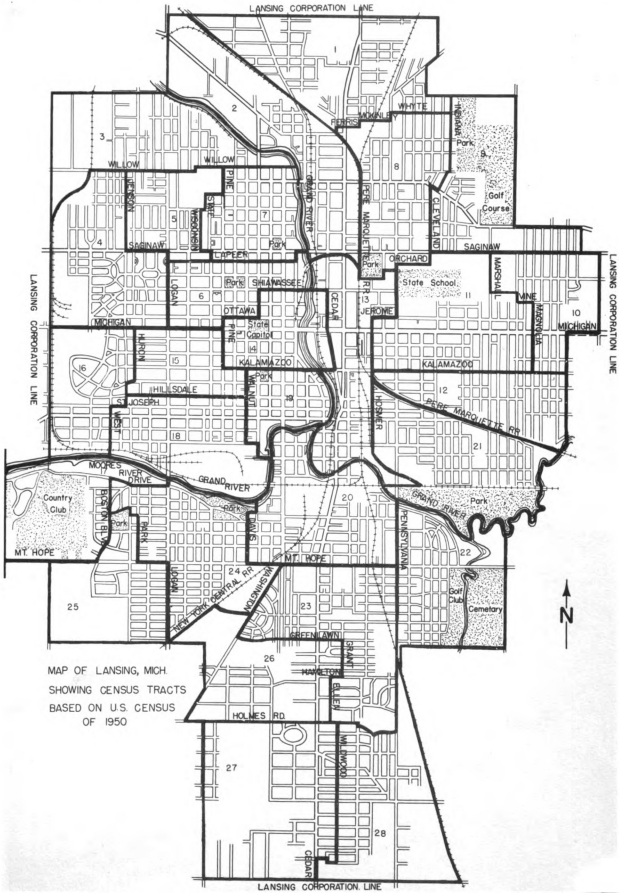
10. What does the person mentioned in question 9 above do for a living? (Write in the name of his or her occupation.) _____

_____

If he is employed, for whom does he work? _____

11. Describe as accurately as possible what this person makes or does on the job. (What does he do at work?) _____

12. Please look at the map of Lansing below, make a check mark in the Census Tract of the city in which you live. If you live outside of Lansing, please write in the name of the school district in which you live _____ .



Some people are paid for work in making things by the number of pieces they turn out. This is called "payment by piece rate." Others are paid according to the time they put in on the job, that is, so much per hour or per day. This is called "payment by wage rate." Others are paid a flat sum each week, every two weeks, or once a month and the hours they work are not checked. This is called "payment by salary rate." Others receive income from farming or business operations in the form of profits from things they own or sell. This is called "earning by profits." Others are paid for selling things that others own; this is called "earning by commission." Still others set a charge for the personal services they give. This is called "earning by fee." Finally, many people get returns from money that they put into shares or bonds of businesses other than their own. This is called "earning by dividends on investments." In answering the following question, circle the number of the answer below that best describes how the person mentioned in question 9 above receives most of his income.

13. In what way is the greater proportion of your father's income (or other person mentioned in question 9) reckoned? Circle the best answer.

(1) Earnings by dividend on investment (3) Payment by salary rate
(2) Earning by fee or commission (4) Payment by piece rate
(5) Other (Describe) _____

14. Does this person do any other kind of work (in addition to that described in question 10) to earn money? Circle correct answer. Yes...1 No...2

If YES, what other kind of work? _____

15. In addition to this person, does anyone else contribute to the support of your family? Yes...1 No...2

16. If YES, describe as accurately as possible what each does on the job.
(a) Mother_____
(b) Brothers_____
(c) Sisters_____
(d) Myself_____
(e) Other persons_____
(f) Unemployment compensation_____
(g) Welfare agencies_____

17. Do you get spending money or an allowance from your parents? Circle the correct answer. (0) No, hardly ever (1) Yes, regularly (2) Yes, when I ask for it

18. Do you earn any money working at home or away from home? (0) No, or hardly ever (1) Yes, working at home (2) Yes, working away from home

19. Would you please indicate the approximate amount of spending money you have during the week? (0) None (1) One dollar or less (2) Two dollars but less than five (3) Five dollars but less than ten (4) Ten dollars but less than fifteen (5) Fifteen dollars but less than twenty (6) Twenty dollars or more

20. Do you think your father's occupation would be a good life's work for you? (If you are a girl, do you think it would be a good life's work for your future husband?) (0) No good at all (1) Not very good (2) Fair (3) Good (4) Very good

21. If you had your choice, what kind of life work would you most like to do?
_____

22. What kind of life work do you actually expect, not hope, to do?

23. How far in school did you father go? (Answer for the head of the family with which you live.)

Went to college and graduate school..1	Did not go beyond seventh grade..6
Went to college.....2	Did not go beyond third grade....7
Graduated from high school.....3	Went to technical or business
Did not finish high school.....4	school.....8
Finished eighth grade.....5	Other.....9

If other, specify_____

24. How much education do you expect to get? Circle correct answer. (0) Will not finish high school (1) Will finish high school only (2) Will go to college (3) Will go to graduate school after college (4) Will go to business or technical school (5) Don't know

25. If you will not go to college when you finish high school, which of the following best describes your plans on leaving high school? (0) Get a full time job (1) Get a full time job and go to night school (2) Go to a business or secretarial school (3) Go to a barber or beauty school (4) To to a technical or vocational school (5) Join the army, navy or airforce or one of the women's branches of the armed services (6) Don't know

26. How many times do you attend regular religious services in an average month? _____

27. How would you place your family's interest in religious activities on the following scale? Please circle the best answer.

No interest.....0	High interest.....3
Very little interest.....1	Very high interest.....4
Some interest.....2	

28. If you attend church services, which of the following descriptive activities best describe the church which you usually attend?
    (a) PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:
        (1) Usually has over 400 in attendance at morning service
        (2) Usually has between 100-400 at morning service
        (3) Usually has less than 100 in attendance at morning service
    (b) PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:
        (1) Church provides regular worship services only
        (2) Church provides for youth activities
        (3) Church also provides organized educational and recreational facilities

(c) PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:
(1) Minister frequently asks a single member of the congregation to say a prayer during regular worship services.
(2) Minister rarely, if ever, asks a single member of the congregation to say a prayer during regular worship services.

(d) PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:
(1) Minister was trained in theological school.
(2) Minister is high school graduate only.
(3) Minister works at some other occupation besides ministry.

29a. Would you please circle any of the following high school organizations to which you belong?

(1) Hi-Y
(2) Y-teens
(3) Scripture Club
(4) Bible Club
(5) Newman Club
(6) Badminton Club
(7) Mermaid Club
(8) Girls Varsity Club
(9) Football Club
(10) Varsity Lettermen
(11) Tumbling
(12) Girls Athletic Association
(13) Spanish Club
(14) Latin Club
(15) French Club
(16) Bridge Club
(17) Chess Club
(18) Music Appreciation Club
(19) Drama Club
(20) Paint Splashers Club
(21) Glee Club
(22) Model Club
(23) Rifle Club
(24) Projector Club
(25) Camera Club
(26) Science Club
(27) Chemistry Club
(28) Girl's Social
(29) Etiquette Club
(30) Key Club
(31) Commercial Club
(32) Future Homemakers
(33) Future Teachers
(34) Future Nurses

29b. Would you please circle any of the following high school activities in which you participate?

(35) Student Council
(36) School newspaper
(37) School annual
(38) Girls' League
(39) Class play
(40) Honor Society
(41) Band
(42) Choir

29c. Would you please circle any of the following school teams of which you are a member?

(43) Football
(44) Basketball
(45) Baseball
(46) Wrestling
(47) Golf
(48) Tennis
(49) Swimming
(50) Track
(51) Cross country

30. Check the list of organizations, activities and teams in question 29. If for any reason you would like to participate in one, or more, of these, please write the number or numbers in this space _____

31. Would you please circle any of the following types of non-school activies in which you are active?

(1) Group sports
(2) Young people's religious groups
(3) Musical or artistic group activities
(4) Community activities
(5) Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts

32a. We often group individuals into types, because they have similar habits and occupations. Would you please circle any of the following types, if any, which you would like to be like?
(1) Some types of high school students
(2) Teachers in my school
(3) Some specific individuals my own age
(4) Well known adults in my community
(5) Some well known public officials
(6) Some personalities of television or movies
(7) Some type of athlete

32b. The things I consider important in a person I would like to be like are: (Please circle the appropriate choices)
(1) How much he stands up for his beliefs
(2) How well he convinces others of his beliefs
(3) How well his life expresses his beliefs
(4) How successful he has been in his chosen life's work
(5) How much he has achieved in material success
(6) How much he contributes to his community or country
(7) How much he is liked and admired by others
(8) How well he can get along with others
(9) How considerate he is of others' feelings

33. Sometimes people talk about upper, middle and lower classes in the community and say that a family is one of these. To which one of the following do you think your family belongs, if any?

Lower class.....1	Upper class.....4
Lower middle class.....2	Some other.....5
Upper middle class.....3	Don't know.....6

If some other, how would you describe it? _____

34. Do you usually run around with a group of good friends or a "gang" of boys or girls your own age? Yes...1 No...2
If you do, what are the names of some of these people? (Name as you wish.)

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

35. List the name of five students that you would select to represent your high school at a conference to discuss students' problems. (Assume that your school would be judged by these students.)

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____

36. High school students with similar backgrounds and interests usually form groups, and the members of these groups develop ideas about their group and other groups. Would you please circle the most appropriate characteristic below which most nearly represents the standard by which you judge your own group and other groups in your school?

I usually classify student groups:
(1) By the amount of social activities in which they participate
(2) By the organizations to which they belong
(3) By the type of behavior that characterizes members of the group
(4) By how high their standards of good conduct are
(5) By the social standing of the parents of group members

37. Compared with others of your age, how well do you usually feel you are dressed?
(1) Extremely well
(2) Better than average student
(3) About average
(4) Below average

38. Whose opinion counts most when you are deciding what to wear?
(1) Older brother
(2) Older sister
(3) Younger brother
(4) Younger sister
(5) Father
(6) Mother
(7) Fellows younger than I
(8) Girls younger than I
(9) Fellows about my age
(10) Girls about my age
(11) Fellows older than I
(12) Girls older than I
(13) No one
(14) Other (Specify)_____

39. Do you ever want to know whether other people like or dislike you?
(1) Never
(2) Once in awhile
(3) Often
(4) Very often

40. It bothers me when people talk behind my back. (Check the response below which most nearly indicates how you feel about this statement.)
(1) Strongly disagree
(2) Agree
(3) Uncertain
(4) Disagree
(5) Strongly disagree

FORM 2

The questions in this form are asked in order to find our <u>your</u> opinions about the use of alcoholic beverages. There are <u>no</u> right answers; your opinion is as correct as that of any other student.

In the question below will you please give your estimate of the proportion of people in your community who can be classified as regular drinkers, infrequent drinkers and people who do not drink. In your thinking, please distinguish among adults, high school students and "drop outs" (those people your age who have dropped out of school).

PLEASE CIRCLE THE CORRECT PROPORTION

1. In your opinion, what proportion of adults drink regularly? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

2. In your opinion, what proportion of adults drink sometimes but not regularly? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

3. In your opinion, what proportion of adults never or rarely drink? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

4. In your opinion, what proportion of high school students drink regularly? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

5. In your opinion, what proportion of high school students drink sometimes but not regularly? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

6. In your opinion, what proportion of high school students never or rarely drink? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

7. In your opinion, what proportion of "drop outs" drink regularly? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

8. In your opinion, what proportion of "drop outs" drink sometimes but not regularly? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

9. In your opinion, what proportion of "drop outs" never or rarely drink? (0) None (1) One-fourth (2) One-half (3) Three-fourths (4) All or nearly all

The following suggested reasons are some of those given by people to explain why they drink. Please read them over and use them to answer the next three questions. Select the three you consider the most common reasons why adults, high school students and "drop outs" use alcohol.

FROM THE LIST BELOW, SELECT THE NUMBERS WHICH REPRESENT THE REASONS WHICH YOU THINK ARE THE BEST ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

(1) To be sociable with others
(2) Afraid of being left out of the group
(3) Not enough supervision, discipline
(4) For pleasure or recreation
(5) To celebrate some occasion
(6) Their parents don't care
(7) Because their family drink
(8) They want to be one of the crowd
(9) They think it is all right
(10) It is a habit with them
(11) To prove they can hold it
(12) They think they are smart
(13) They are afraid they will be considered sissies if they don't
(14) To get rid of worries
(15) Domestic or family troubles
(16) To see what it is like
(17) Financial troubles
(18) They are rejected by others
(19) They are bored and have nothing better to do
(20) To get attention from others
(21) They are unhappy or sick
(22) They don't know any better
(23) To act group up
(24) It makes them feel important
(25) They are afraid they will be considered squares if they don't

10. The first, second and third most important reasons that cause adults to drink are ____, _____, and ____

11. The first, second and third most important reasons that cause high school students to drink are ____, ____ and ____

12. The first, second and third most important reasons that cause "drop outs" to drink are ____, ____, and ____

The following suggested occasions for drinking are some of those given by people to explain the situations in which they drink. Please read them over and use them to answer the next three questions. Select the three you consider the most likely occasions on which adults, high school students and "drop outs" will drink.

FROM THE LIST BELOW, SELECT THE THREE MOST APPROPRIATE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

(1) At dances
(2) At parties
(3) When relatives visit
(4) After school events
(5) At weddings
(6) Only on special occasions
(7) New Years, Christmas or other holidays
(8) At a friend's home
(9) When they entertain at home
(10) Daily drinking in the home, taverns, bars or night clubs
(11) At games, other sporting events
(12) Card parties
(13) On fishing or hunting trips
(14) On weekends for recreation
(15) With parents or relatives
(16) At wild parties
(17) At beer parties
(18) On all night parties
(19) On teen-age parties
(20) When with older people
(21) At unsupervised parties or gatherings

13. The three occasions at which adults are most likely to drink are ____, ____ and ____

14. The three occasions on which high school students are most likely to drink are ____, ____ and ____

15. The three occasions on which "drop outs" are most likely to drink are ____, ____ and ____

FROM THE LIST BELOW, SELECT THE THREE MOST APPROPRIATE ANSWERS TO THE NEXT THREE QUESTIONS

(1) At dances or parties
(2) At bars, night clubs, roadhouses or taverns
(3) In parks, at lakes or outdoor recreational areas
(4) At home
(5) When entertaining at home
(6) In a friend's home
(7) In private clubs
(8) At unsupervised parties
(9) In secret where others can't know
(10) In an automobile
(11) In the country on back roads
(12) At summer cottages

16. The places in which adults are most likely to drink are ____, ____ and ____

17. The places in which high school students are most likely to drink are ____, ____ and ____

18. The places in which "drop outs" are most likely to drink are ____, ____ and ____

19. Do you consider yourself as a person who drinks? Yes...1 No...2

20. If your answer to question 19 is NO, have you ever tasted alcoholic beverages? Yes...1 No...2

21. If you consider yourself a drinker, how frequently do you drink?
Heavily.....1 Sometimes.....3
Often.....2 Rarely.....4

22. If you drink beer, would you please indicate the amount you drink in an average week, including the weekend, by circling the correct answer? (0) Never (1) Rarely drink beer--less than one bottle per week (2) Less than three bottles in an average week (3) From three to six bottles in an average week (4) More than six bottles in an average week

23. If you drink whiskey, would you please indicate the amount you drink in an average week, including the weekend, by circling the correct answer? (0) Never or rarely drink whiskey (1) Less then three shot glasses or highballs (2) Between three and six shot glasses or highballs (3) More than six shot glasses or highballs

24. If you drink wine, would you please indicate the amount you drink in an average week, including the weekend, by circling the correct answer? (0) Never or rarely drink wine (1) Less then three wine glasses (2) From three to six wine glasses (3) More than six wine glasses

25. If you drink mixed drinks, in addition to whiskey high balls, would you please indicate the amount you drink in an average week, including the weekend, by circling the correct answer? (0) Never or rarely drink mixed drinks (1) Less than three mixed drinks (2) From three to six mixed drinks (3) More than six mixed drinks

26. If you drink, which of the following describe the situation(s) in which you drink? Circle the appropriate answer(s). (1) When I am with a group of friends (2) When I am with my parents (3) When I am with relatives (4) When I am at a party where drinking is going on (5) At some special event (6) On holidays such a New Years or Christmas (7) On weekends for recreation (8) On fishing or hunting trips or vacations (9) Anywhere I can

27. If you drink, which of the following reasons best describe your feelings about drinking? Please circle the correct response(s). (1) I drink because I like it (2) I drink to be with the crowd (3) I drink when I am unhappy (4) I drink because I have older friends who drink (5) I drink to celebrate some special occasion

28. If you don't drink, but have tasted alcohol, which of the following describe the situation(s) in which you tasted alcohol? Please circle the appropriate answer(s). (1) I tasted it when I was with a group of friends (2) I tasted it when I was with my parents (3) I tasted it when I was with some relatives (4) I tasted it at some special occasion (5) I tasted it at a party where drinking was going on (6) I tasted it on a holiday (7) I tasted it on a hunting or fishing trip or on a vacation

29. If you don't drink, but have tasted alcohol, which of the following best describe your reason(s) for tasting it. Please circle the correct responses. (1) To see what it was like (2) On a dare (3) Because a friend urged me to (4) To see if I could do it (5) I was interested because it was forbidden (6) I was tricked into thinking it was something else (7) I was angry at my parents or close friends

30. Whether you drink or not, which of the following best describes your personal opinion of drinking by people your own age. Please circle the best answer.
(1) Drinking is all right
(2) Drinking is all right, if one doesn't get the habit
(3) Drinking is all right, if one doesn't lose self-control
(4) Drinking is all right, unless one is driving
(5) Drinking is all right, if one drinks only on weekends
(6) Drinking is all right, if one drinks only on holidays, special events
(7) Drinking is all right, if one only drinks to be with the group
(8) Drinking is sometimes all right and sometimes wrong, depending on the circumstances
(9) Drinking is all right with parents' approval
(10) Drinking is all right, if it is properly supervised
(11) Drinking is all right, at home with parents
(12) Drinking is wrong, but once to see what it is like is all right
(13) Drinking is wrong, but it is the individual's own business
(14) Drinking is never right no matter what the circumstances

31. People often talk about types of people because most people in the same occupation and with the same kind of social background have similar habits. Please look at the list of types below and check your opinion of their drinking habits. Be sure to check <u>only</u> <u>once</u> for each type

TYPE OF PERSON	DRINKS HEAVILY	DRINKS SOMETIMES	DRINKS NEVER	DON'T KNOW
Movie stars	___	___	___	___
Television actors	___	___	___	___
Newspaper reporters	___	___	___	___
Authors of books (writers)	___	___	___	___
Professional people	___	___	___	___
Businessmen	___	___	___	___
College teachers	___	___	___	___
School teachers	___	___	___	___
People like me	___	___	___	___
Student leaders in my school	___	___	___	___
School athletes	___	___	___	___

TYPE OF PERSON	DRINKS HEAVILY	DRINKS SOMETIMES	DRINKS NEVER	DON'T KNOW
College students	____	____	____	____
"Drop outs"	____	____	____	____
People who have little money	____	____	____	____
People with average incomes	____	____	____	____
Wealthy people	____	____	____	____
High school students	____	____	____	____
Religious students	____	____	____	____
Religious people	____	____	____	____

32. Which of the following types of trouble have you had about either drinking or not drinking? Please circle the items in the list below which are appropriate.

(1) Parents' disapproval
(2) Teachers' disapproval
(3) Getting into trouble with police
(4) The people in my church don't approve
(5) Adults criticize me
(6) My friends don't like it
(7) People think you are a sissy or chicken
(8) People think you are a square
(9) People are afraid to confide in me
(10) My boy friend doesn't like for me to drink (for girls)
(11) My girl friend doesn't like for me to drink (for boys)
(12) My boy friend wants me to drink (for girls)
(13) My girl friend wants me to drink (for boys)
(14) Some of the other students disapprove
(15) Costs too much to drink
(16) Fear of traffic accident
(17) Fear of loss of self control
(18) It's bad for health
(19) I sometimes think I would like to try it
(20) I might not be allowed to play on the team
(21) I have poor grades
(22) I have trouble keeping my attendance regular
(23) It is difficult to get and keep a job
(24) Others (list them) _____

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