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A STUDY OF ADOLESCENTS' BEHAVIOR AND THEIR FAMILIES' SOCIAL CLASS: ELMTOWN REVISITED

By

Craig C. Douglas

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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1997

ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF ADOLESCENTS' BEHAVIOR AND THEIR FAMILIES' SOCIAL CLASS: ELMTOWN REVISITED

By

Craig C. Douglas

The researcher's purpose was to determine whether there is a relationship between adolescents' behaviors and their families' social class. Social class was assessed by four factors: outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction. Adolescents' behaviors were categorized by high school experiences, jobs, recreational experiences, and plans for leaving school.

Adolescents' high school experiences were found to be related to their families' social class. Adolescents from upper- and middle-class families were found to be ranked highly in their classes and were highly involved in extracurricular activities. Adolescents from lower-class families were ranked lower in their classes and were less involved in extracurricular activities. Also, adolescents' jobs were found to be related to their families' social class. Adolescents from lower-class families were likely to have steady jobs, whereas those from middle- and upper-class families were likely to work part time, if at all.

Adolescents' recreational experiences and their plans for leaving school were found to be related to their families' social class, as well. Adolescents from upper-class families had more recreational experiences with their families and friends, including enrichment programs such as summer camps. Adolescents from middle- and lower-class families had fewer of these recreational experiences, especially lower-class adolescents. With regard to plans for leaving school, adolescents from middle- and upper-class families were found to have plans involving four-year and advanced degree programs; lower-class adolescents were more likely to look at earning a high school diploma and attending a community college. Small family differences tended to be related to large differences in adolescents' behaviors.

Social class is a complex concept that can be defined by outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction. Once a family's social class is defined, a predictable set of the adolescents' behaviors exists. A theory resulted from the study: Adolescents who do not conform to these predictable behaviors have been impacted by a force that creates an environment supportive of the new behaviors to be exhibited. This force may be internal or external, and it may be voluntary or involuntary, varying according to circumstances.

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Craig C. Douglas

1997

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Joan, for her support and belief in me. Without her love, I would not have finished it. Also, this is dedicated to my children--John, Katie, and Chris--whom I want to follow in my footsteps by becoming lifelong learners.

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Recognition goes to a special expert group of fellow graduate students. These students, advised by Dr. Cusick and Dr. Wilson, have met faithfully on research topics, proposals, and research methods. We have grown together as a group, and individually we have progressed. Members include Joanne Hughes, Sandy Setterlind, Jan Brady, Vickie Sneckenberg, Jim Du Vall, Mary Biziorek, Joe Koenigschnecht, Wen Qin Sun, Susan Bolton, Mike Johnson, Kay Packwood, Diane Scheerhorn, and John Zappala.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

> The truth is, all of it is part of a larger problem: an "us" and "them" attitude. We still draw lines in this country. Not just skin color. Age. Religion. Education. Politics. Wealth. Attitude. We see people as "our kind" or "the other kind." We see them as "trustworthy" or "a threat." We see them as "want to be with" or "don't want to be with." (Albom, 1994, p. 1)

Background of the Study

In the American social system, there are two conflicting social principles. One is based on the premise that all people are equal before God and their fellow human beings (Warner, 1964). According to this premise, all Americans have an equal opportunity to learn, to achieve, and to succeed (Jencks, 1972). Further, society provides a chance for individuals to eliminate poverty, ignorance, and powerlessness in their lives (Jencks, 1972). It is also assumed that equal opportunity and social mobility are American rights (Marshall, 1965).

The second principle is in conflict with the equality premise and is embodied in the statement, "All men are unequal in worth" (Warner, 1964, p. vii). Some people are successful whereas others are not, due to unequal abilities. Also, inequalities exist because of a success/failure phenomenon (Jencks, 1972).

The notion of social class is an appropriate context within which to examine the equality/inequality conflict. Social class is a "social rating . . . for every man rates his fellows and is rated by them" (Warner, 1964, p. 22). The word "class" refers to "the general economic status of the household" (Rossides, 1990, p. 163). Specific social classes have "values, norms, and skills" that reflect differentiation (Rossides, 1990, p. 163). Middle class, for example, is a label that identifies American values, norms, and skills for an entire group of people.

A number of researchers have studied the notion of social class (Banfield, 1970; Hollingshead, 1949; Kahl, 1957). Wright, Hachen, Costello, and Sprague (1982) at the University of Wisconsin and Herrnstein and Murray (1994) conducted explorations that have utility for the study. Their theories form the contextual framework for this investigation of adolescents' behavior relative to their families' social class.

Hollingshead did research in 1941 and 1942 that closely resembles the current study. He divided the population of a town according to social class and then studied the behaviors of the town's adolescents to discover how those behaviors related to the social class of the youths' families. Kahl (1957) defined six variables to operationalize the notion of social class; his research helped clarify the notion of social class. University of Wisconsin researchers (Wright et al., 1982) offered a Marxist viewpoint about social class in a classical, historical orientation. In the research for The Bell Curve, Herrnstein and Murray (1994) analyzed many variables, particularly intelligence, affecting social class. Banfield (1970) offered a perspective

of social class based on "outlook." The work of each of the above-mentioned researchers, which are discussed in depth in Chapter II, enhances the understanding of social class but also underscores the complexity of social class.

Statement of the Problem

Adolescents' behavior has long been studied, especially as related to the family unit. Why some adolescents behave differently from others has been viewed in terms of family characteristics, especially their social class. In 1941-42, Hollingshead studied the relationship of adolescents' behavior to their families' social class; his findings are recorded in Elmtown's Youth, published in 1949. Hollingshead found adolescents' behavior to be functionally related to their families' social class. His research is valuable because it has enhanced the understanding of adolescents' behavior, which is applicable to all of society. Schools, in particular, have responded to adolescents and their behaviors; educational programs are developed in response to those behaviors. Schools offer students an opportunity to improve themselves, given their unique circumstances. The social class of students' families is a framework for the students' circumstances.

Although Hollingshead's work is important, it is grounded in a narrow, 1940s American viewpoint. Many changes have taken place in the 50 years since Hollingshead conducted his research. Thus, it is important to update Hollingshead's study, to determine whether adolescents' behavior is functionally related to their families' social class in 1995 as it was in 1941-42.

There is a need to see whether the characteristics of Hollingshead's Elmtown exist today in a single town with a variety of social classes. The researcher studied

a modern-day Elmtown, with three distinct social classes, in an effort to update Hollingshead's ideas about adolescent behavior and social class. This study serves to identify changes in Hollingshead's 1941-42 findings. This study points out progress (or lack of it) in equal opportunity.

Purpose of the Study

The researcher's purpose in this study was to determine whether there is a relationship between adolescents' behaviors and their families' social class.[1] Adolescents' behaviors in four areas--high school experiences, jobs, recreational experiences, and plans for leaving school--were investigated in relation to the social class of their families. Social class was assessed in terms of four factors: outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction.

Research Questions

In this study, the researcher attempted to determine whether adolescents behave differently from one another and, if so, whether such differences in behavior are related to their families' social class. The following research questions were posed to guide the collection of data for this study:

1. Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' outlook?

---

[1]The term "adolescents" refers to the persons studied. Their "families" are the ones interviewed in this dissertation. "Family" (singular) is the unit of analysis for the study. Decisions about when to use the phrase "adolescents' behaviors" (plural), as opposed to the singular "adolescent behaviors," versus the general "adolescent behavior" category, were made by the writer. I tried to select what made sense within the text.

2. Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' cognitive ability?

3. Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' occupation(s)?

4. Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' interaction?

5. Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' outlook?

6. Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' cognitive ability?

7. Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' occupation(s)?

8. Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' interaction?

9. Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' outlook?

10. Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' cognitive ability?

11. Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' occupation(s)?

12. Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' interaction?

13. Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' outlook?

14. Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' cognitive ability?

15. Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' occupation(s)?

16. Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' interaction?

Importance of the Study

The findings of this research will be useful to educators, in particular, and society, in general. One potential outcome of this study is a better understanding of social class. Too often the idea of social class is connected to income. Yet it is more than that; this researcher investigated other factors that determine people's social class.

Adolescents' behavior was studied in depth. Educators and others constantly are attempting to determine why adolescents behave the way they do. Whereas some people explain adolescents' behavior in relation to their physiological changes, this researcher viewed that behavior through society's perspective in an attempt to determine whether adolescents' behavior is related to their families' social class. Although Hollingshead conducted research on this topic in 1941-42, a modern-day update of the relationship, if any, between adolescents' behavior and their families' social class has significance.

Other outcomes of the study have significance as well. They include an increased understanding of the community in which the research was conducted, an improved understanding of students' motivations, an understanding of how Hollingshead's research applies in 1996, an understanding of how changes in

education have affected students, and an understanding about the challenges and adversities students face in the 1990s.

The Normative Social Class Model

This was a qualitative study. Creswell (1994) explained the inductive role of theory in such a study. The researcher gathers information about a topic, e.g., social class, and asks questions about it. The researcher then forms categories, looking for patterns, and ultimately developing a theory (Creswell, 1994, p. 96). This study on social class is reinforced by Creswell's logic. The researcher offered a normative social class model as the starting point in the qualitative, induction process. Using the conceptual framework described in Chapter II, the investigation of social class was based on the normative model developed by this researcher. Feedback from informants and other data that were collected shaped and improved the normative model as the research was carried out.

The normative social class model developed for this study incorporates elements from Kahl (1957), Herrnstein and Murray (1994), Banfield (1970), and Wright et al. (1982). The model was based on four factors: (a) outlook, (b) cognitive ability, (c) occupation, and (d) interaction. Outlook is rooted in Banfield's work, cognitive ability is taken from Herrnstein and Murray, and occupation and interaction are both found in Kahl's research (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: The normative social class model.

Factor	Range of Social Classes		
	Lower (L)	Middle (M)	Upper (U)
Outlook	L	M	U
Cognitive ability	L	M	U
Occupation	L	M	U
Interaction	L	M	U

The normative social class model is introduced in Chapter IV. There are many reasons for this, but Creswell (1994) presented perhaps the strongest reason when he wrote, "Qualitative researchers modify or adjust the theory on the basis of feedback from informants in a study" (p. 101). The normative social class model was adjusted on the basis of feedback from informants in the study. The four factors–outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction–constituted the normative social class model from which adjustments in theory were made as feedback from informants was gathered.

Banfield's **outlook** was selected for the 1996 normative social class model because of its uniqueness. Outlook is a viewpoint different from Hollingshead's (1949) description of social class. Outlook describes the individual in a personal way. Outlook is measurable; in a matter of minutes, an individual can reflect on what is and is not important in his or her life. Family and future plans contrast with immediate gratification. Such information is revealing, offering an opportunity for a modern interpretation of social class.

Herrnstein and Murray's **cognitive ability** is based on intelligence. Intelligence and cognitive ability serve as descriptors for the phenomenon. In The Bell Curve, these researchers presented a compelling argument about the power that intelligence brings to an individual in the 1990s. Cognitive ability translates into a cognitive social class, and therefore it was included in the current study of social class.

Interaction and **occupation**, two of Kahl's variables, allowed the researcher to use Wright et al.'s traditional social class viewpoints. Both variables take into account job descriptions and other hierarchical/occupational features. The traditional viewpoint bridges present and past. Including the interaction variable provided the researcher an opportunity to include technology in the 1996 view. Technology, in particular, may give upper classes a chance to decrease their personal interaction because the use of telefax and computers diminishes the need to talk face to face. These new concepts are useful for a modern study of social class.

Delimitations

In his study of Elmtown adolescents and their families, Hollingshead employed a research team who lived in Elmtown for two years. As a result, his investigation included the whole community. However, because of the constraints on the present researcher's time and finances, this study included 15 adolescents and their families, rather than the entire community.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined in the context in which they were used in this study:

Adolescent. A young person who belongs in high school, usually between the ages of 14 and 18.

Class. The relative social position held by an individual or family. Also called social class, it is determined by at least four factors: outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction.

Cognitive ability. Intelligence; i.e., the ability to learn and to generalize what one learns.

Family. The parent(s), guardian(s), or other adult(s) identified as responsible for raising the adolescent.

High school experiences. The experiences, accomplishments, and achievements an adolescent has as a high school student.

Interaction. Being with people or groups of people.

Jobs. The employment opportunities enjoyed by adolescents.

Leaving school. Adolescents' dropping out of high school before they graduate, or graduating from high school with an earned diploma.

Occupation. Job, or work done for pay.

Outlook. Ability to imagine a future.

Recreational experiences. Leisure activities enjoyed by adolescents outside the educational system.

Overview

Chapter I contained the background of the study, a statement of the problem, purpose of the study, and the research questions. The importance of the study was explained, and the normative social class model developed for this study was introduced. Delimitations were set forth, and key terms used in the study were defined.

Literature pertinent to the topics of interest in the study is reviewed in Chapter II. The focus of this chapter is on research on social class conducted by Hollingshead (1949), Banfield (1970), Wright et al. (1982), Herrnstein and Murray (1994), and Kahl (1957). That research is then synthesized to develop the conceptual framework for this study. Writings on adolescents' behavior are also reviewed.

The methodology that was used in the study is explained in Chapter III. The purpose and research questions are restated. Next, the methodological concerns pertaining to the study are considered. The sample is then described, and procedures that were used in the study are discussed.

Results of the data analysis are presented in Chapter IV. Chapter V includes a summary of the study, conclusions drawn from the findings, recommendations for practice and further research, and the writer's reflections.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter contains a review of literature on social class and adolescent behavior. Of primary interest is the research conducted by Hollingshead; Banfield; University of Wisconsin researchers Wright, Hachen, Costello, and Sprague; The Bell Curve authors Herrnstein and Murray; and Kahl. Based on a synthesis of these researchers' theories regarding social class, the conceptual framework for this study is developed. In the final section of this chapter, studies on adolescents' behavior are reviewed.

Hollingshead's Research on Social Class

Hollingshead (1949) discussed what he called "four salient points about the class system." First, "institutional functions" in the workplace shape social class. For example, the institutional functions that exist between bankers and garbage haulers define those individuals' social class. Second, "values are ascribed to persons who perform the function." Values personalize class. An individual's role in society becomes affixed to that person. A doctor's role is held in esteem because society values doctors. Third, relationships form along class lines. A "channelization of intimate associations" promotes what Hollingshead termed "cliques." Friendships,

acquaintances, and marriages are determined and influenced by social class. Fourth, behavior is tied to social class lines, further reinforcing the existence of the classes. Members of the upper class behave differently than do persons of lower classes. According to Hollingshead, behavior is manifested in a variety of ways, especially in the places people go and the activities in which they engage.

Although Hollingshead's work is important, it is grounded in a narrow, 1940s viewpoint of American society. More current information was needed for an updated study about social class. Thus, the researcher reviewed the work of Banfield, Wright et al., Herrnstein and Murray, and Kahl to gain further knowledge of this subject. The result is a synthesis that provides a conceptual framework to be used in the current study of the relationship of adolescents' behavior to their families' social class.

Banfield's Notion of Social Class as Shaped by Outlook

Banfield (1970) studied social class by focusing on a person's "outlook." That is, Banfield believed that an individual belongs to a certain social class because of his or her particular **outlook** toward the future. According to this researcher, an individual's view of the future and an individual's concept of longevity shape outlook and define social class. The future relates to an individual's "ability to discipline [himself or herself] to sacrifice present for future satisfaction. The more distant the future the individual can imagine and can discipline himself to make sacrifices for, the 'higher' is his class" (p. 47).

Longevity is another aspect of outlook. Some people expect to live a long time, whereas others do not. A key element is the word "expect." Whether these people actually **do** live longer depends on many factors, of course. Banfield's logic attributes higher social class status to people who plan for a long life; conversely, individuals expecting a short life live for today, reflecting a lower-class outlook.

Banfield's reduction of social class to outlook is an interesting viewpoint. He did not focus on typical descriptions of income, wealth, and possessions. Instead, he viewed class differences as being based on a "psychological orientation toward providing for the future." Banfield pointed out that it is then possible for "a person who is poor, unschooled, and of low status [to] be upper class" (p. 48).

The choices that surround outlook evolve from delaying gratification. An upper-class individual provides for the future by deferring immediate needs. Often these needs are personal, and one may decide to postpone present needs to meet the future needs of children and grandchildren. The higher-class outlook is sensitive to future needs. The upper-class outlook is based on an expectation of longevity. In an upper-class family, for example, a college savings plan for the children channels funds away from immediate spending patterns. The future takes precedence over the present. Personal choices about self relate to outlook, and outlook determines social class. By considering a continuum of needs ranging from the immediate to the future, Banfield determined a range of social classes.

Research by Wright, Hachen, Costello, and Sprague on Social Relations of Control

University of Wisconsin researchers Wright et al. (1982) offered a social class theory based on concepts different from those espoused by either Hollingshead or Banfield. Wright et al. focused on "social relations of control" (p. 709), which are seen in investments, decision making, other people's work, and one's own work.

Wright et al. examined social class through a Marxist lens. This is not to say that they are Marxists; rather, they specified a "Marxist concept of class," which they equated to the notion of social class, in general. The Marxist concept involves unique terminology and "a particular kind of language and its insertion into a particular terrain of debate" (p. 709). Class conflict and the ability to move from one class to another are Marxist issues that were important to these researchers. Discussion evolving from "Marxist aspects" and a "particular terrain of debate" supports the complexity of social class.

According to Wright et al., "Marxist aspects" include "concepts like exploitation, social relations of production, mode of production, property relations, and so on" (p. 710). They added, "There is little agreement on what precisely these concepts mean, on how they are interrelated or on how they bear on the central issues of [social] class" (p. 710). What is known is how occupations aggregate in a hierarchy. For example, a manager who supervises a dozen people is higher in social class than a worker who supervises no one. That hierarchy determines social class status in a Marxian view of the world.

Taken in the Marxian context of the capitalist mode of production, social classes are defined according to "relations of appropriation" and "domination." "Relations of appropriation" refer to ownership. Higher classes own land, labor, and capital; they own the "means of production." "Domination" delineates "control" and "authority" in producing goods; the higher the level of authority/control, the higher the social class. Wright et al. labeled the class locations, ranging from the highest to the lowest, as "bourgeoisie, managers, supervisors, workers, semiautonomous employees, petty bourgeoisie, and small employers" (p. 713). The Marxist terminology used in the descriptions is crucial in these researchers' theory.

Within a Marxist view are discussions regarding "decision making, authority, managerial location, and autonomy." "Decision making" identifies the amount of direction participation in decisions: (a) being directly involved in making at least one decision, (b) not participating in any decisions but providing advice on at least one decision, and (c) not being involved in making decisions (p. 714). The inference is that people in higher social classes have more involvement in decision making.

Therefore, authority determines class. Authority determines whether a supervisor "is able to impose positive and/or negative sanctions on subordinates." Even if sanctions cannot be inflicted, the supervisor "does give orders of various kinds." Authority belongs to the higher classes. A lower-class worker "neither gives orders nor imposes sanctions." Such a person is a "nonsupervisor" with no authority (p. 714).

"Managerial location" ranges from "manager" to "advisor-manager" to "nonmanagerial decision maker" to "supervisor" to "nonmanager, nonsupervisor." Wright et al. aligned the "manager" location with higher social classes and established a range accordingly. They further described social classes by managerial extremes.

These researchers offered another descriptor of social class in discussing "autonomy." They characterized "high autonomy" as "an ability to design broad aspects of the job, engage in nonroutine problem solving on a regular basis and to put one's ideas into practice in a regular and persuasive way" (p. 716). A person with "moderate autonomy" has less ability to perform each of these functions, whereas one with "low autonomy" has "virtually no significant ability to plan aspects of the job, problem solving [is] a marginal part of the job, and only in unusual circumstances can one put one's ideas into practice" (p. 716). The hierarchy in which persons with the highest jobs have the greatest autonomy in the organization is supported. Upper-level jobs offer the most freedom to make decisions, with higher degrees of autonomy.

The Marxist lens adds to the complex nature of social class. Wright et al. identified particular points that have an economic orientation. Land, labor, capital, decision making, and authority all add to the complexity. Land, labor, and capital pertain to wealth; decision making relates to the individual's latitude to act autonomously in the workplace; and authority concerns the range of issues inherent in decision making. Each relates to the economy because each concerns the

organizational hierarchy. Social classes exist, and they range from low to high based on economic descriptors.

Whereas the social class theories of Banfield and Wright et al. differ, both viewed social classes in a range from low to high according to particular descriptors. Banfield used outlook as the descriptor, whereas Wright et al. used decision making, authority, managerial location, and autonomy as descriptors. Each set of descriptors adds to the notion of social class and increases the knowledge about social class. Underlying the various descriptors is the complexity of social class.

Herrnstein and Murray's View of the Cognitive Elite

The Bell Curve, written by Herrnstein and Murray (1994), is a discourse about modern American society and

> the emergence of a cognitive elite. The twentieth century dawned on a world segregated into social classes defined in terms of money, power, and status. . . . Our thesis is that the twentieth century has continued the transformation, so that the twenty-first will open on a world in which cognitive ability is the decisive dividing force. . . . Social class remains the vehicle of social life, but intelligence now pulls the train. (p. 25)

These theorists defined a "cognitive stratification" in America–that is, a stratification based on intelligence.

Herrnstein and Murray defined five "cognitive classes" based on intelligence as measured by intelligence quotient (IQ) scores. The highest class they assigned the label "Class I, very bright." Other classes, in order, were: Class II, bright; Class III, normal; Class IV, dull; and Class V, very dull. IQ was the determinant for the classes. Although Herrnstein and Murray called the divisions "arbitrary," they

represented cuts by IQ numerical scores. Thus, Herrnstein and Murray's design of Class I shaped the class they termed the "cognitive elite," the top 5% of the population by intelligence (p. 121).

Cognitive classes have power because the cognitive-class elites are increasingly being drawn to America's select colleges and universities. Herrnstein and Murray wrote,

> It is difficult to exaggerate how different the elite college population is from the population at large--first in its level of intellectual talent, and correlatively in its outlook on society, politics, ethics, religion, and all other domains in which intellectuals . . . tend to develop their own conventional wisdoms. (p. 50)

Class I youths attend elite colleges and universities with others of similar intelligence; the elite are the "thin layer of students of the highest cognitive ability who are being funneled through rarefied college environments" (p. 49). The elite colleges and universities shape the cognitive classes by deciding whom they admit. As a result, the notion of social class has intellectual origins.

In addition to influencing a person's education, cognitive social class has an effect on one's occupation. Significant is the relationship between intelligence and job performance. "A smarter employee is, on the average, a more proficient employee" (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994, p. 63). Further, intelligence as measured by an IQ score "is a better predictor of job productivity than a job interview, reference checks, or college transcript" (p. 64). Sheer intelligence is extremely important in the workplace. "An employer . . . can realize large economic gains from hiring those with the highest IQs" (p. 64). Less absenteeism and higher productivity are two

economic gains from hiring workers with high IQs. Conversely, employees with lower IQs tend to have higher absenteeism and lower productivity.

In The Bell Curve, Herrnstein and Murray posited that intelligence is the leading descriptor of social class. In comparing IQ with other factors, the researchers found that IQ was the strongest predictor of social class. They indicated that although other factors such as family, marriage, wealth, socioeconomic background, and education may determine social class, IQ was more strongly correlated with social class than was any of these other factors.

Herrnstein and Murray's argument is persuasive. They demonstrated that social class is related to intelligence. However, although Herrnstein and Murray's determination of Class I was based solely on intelligence, other "upper class" characteristics emerged as well. Graduates of the best colleges who earn the best degrees land superior jobs with the highest prestige; all of these characteristics belong to Class I individuals. Therefore, The Bell Curve's cognitive classes add another dimension to the complexity of social class.

Banfield's expectations, Wright et al.'s Marxist lens, and Herrnstein and Murray's view of cognitive class overlap in American social classes. These notions describe and detail a modern social order, enlarging on Hollingshead's 1940s social class viewpoint. Numbering social classes is less important than identifying the complexity of social class. One needs to understand social class from a variety of perspectives, which leads to the development of a way to focus the diverse theories under a single conceptual framework.

Describing the concept of social class has particular utility in this study. Such a description establishes a conceptual framework that enables one to examine the equality/inequality tension in America. Inequality leads to obvious problems. The social class distinction frames such problems and provides a way to examine the equality/inequality tension. That tension overrides social problems; it shapes the problems of an entire system.

Kahl's Social Class Theory

The discussion of the existence of social classes is useful because it helps one understand and describe the equality/inequality tension existing in American society. For purposes of this study, it is important to establish what constitutes social class in order to provide a context for examining the equality/inequality conflict. Beyond establishing that social classes exist is the need to refine a synthesis concerning the notion of social class. A synthesis of the research of Banfield, Wright et al., and Herrnstein and Murray is needed, and the researchers' various approaches to social class need to be organized.

At Washington University, Kahl (1957) operationalized the notion of social class by developing a theory based on six independent variables that can be used in describing and analyzing social class theory. These variables provide the organization needed to bring different theories together. Kahl's six variables are: (a) personal prestige, (b) occupation, (c) possessions, (d) interaction, (e) class consciousness, and (f) value orientation. These variables are useful in synthesizing

the theories of Banfield, Wright et al., and Herrnstein and Murray regarding social class.

According to Kahl (1957), "**personal prestige** is a sentiment in the minds of men" (p. 8). Some individuals seem to have higher prestige than others, and this is one characteristic of social class. Kahl noted, "It is necessary to study prestige in two ways: by asking people about their attitudes of respect toward others, and by watching their behavior" (p. 8).

Occupation refers to how time is spent at work. Kahl defined occupation as "a social role which describes the major work that a person does" (p. 9). Whereas the social role defines prestige, the title associated with one's work shapes his or her social role; "some occupations are 'higher' than others, partly because they are more important to the welfare of the community, partly because it takes special talents to be in them, partly because they pay high rewards" (p. 9). This view accounts for the esteem often given to doctors and lawyers, whose social class is influenced by their work. Thus, doctors and lawyers often have greater personal prestige than people in other occupations because they contribute to the community's welfare and offer special talents to the community.

Possessions include capital and consumer goods. Kahl wrote,

> Perhaps the easiest way to study stratification in the United States is by money income, and we know that people with high incomes can afford an elegant style of life in consumption behavior, have contacts with people of note, are granted considerable prestige, and through the workings of capital investment, can multiply their incomes. (p. 9)

The ability to make money and accumulate possessions is linked to one's occupation.

Interaction refers to how people choose their friends. It is "personal contact" and includes "daily social behavior." Kahl called this "community stratification," which results from a "who-invites-whom-to-dinner" school of thought. The variable, interaction, shapes the composition of cliques and groups in society. Today, people commonly talk about networking, which is one way to think about interaction.

Class consciousness concerns the groups that are formed in society. Kahl stated, "The degree to which people at a given stratification level . . . are aware of themselves as a distinctive social grouping is called their degree of class consciousness" (p. 9). These social groups may form around events and themes--politics, service, religion. Groups reflect class, and the greater a person's group involvement, the higher the person's social class.

According to Kahl, "**values** are convictions shared by people in a given culture or subculture about things they consider good, important, or beautiful. . . . Values define the ends of life and the approved means of approaching them" (p. 10). The shared culture motivates people to "become organized into systems." The shared "abstract values" and other "specific values" are Kahl's value orientations (p. 10). Values are important because they represent a common bond among individuals, resulting from shared values.

In summary, Kahl offered six variables that are characteristics of social class and are applicable to understanding social class. The variables collectively define

social class; as they change, the social class changes. Kahl's variables served as the groundwork for shaping a conceptual definition of social class for this study.

In the following section, Herrnstein and Murray's thoughts regarding cognitive social class are interwoven with those presented by Wright et al., along with Banfield's ideas concerning outlook. These three diverse theories are explored in connection with Kahl's six variables; the result will be a better understanding of a complex idea. Furthermore, the social class notion is updated, a necessary condition for a study of adolescents' behavior relative to their families' social class. The result will be the conceptual framework for this study.

Conceptual Framework for the Study

The notion of social class is complex. Kahl's six variables provide a way to revisit Banfield's outlook theory, Herrnstein and Murray's intelligence notion, and Wright et al.'s Marxist lens. By weaving their divergent viewpoints through a discussion of Kahl's six variables, a better understanding about a complex topic evolves. (See Table 2.1.)

Personal Prestige

Considering personal prestige, Kahl's first variable, provides a means for comparing Banfield (X1) with Herrnstein and Murray (Y1) and Wright et al. (Z1). Personal prestige is one way to contrast an individual's view of "self-confidence" (Banfield, 1970) with a formal hierarchy (Wright et al., 1982). Confidence flows from the person and is a function of psychological behavior.

In general, the more self-confidence one has, the higher the social class. The upper-class person is "confident that within rather wide limits he can, if he exerts himself to do so, shape the future. . . . The individual is markedly self-respecting, self-confident, and self-sufficient" (Banfield, 1970, pp. 48-49). Equal opportunity is reflected in Banfield's outlook theory. At the lower extreme, "the lower-class individual lives in the slum and sees little or no reason to complain" (p. 62). Lower class translates into a lower outlook on life. Banfield's X1 variable focuses on expectations, which are believed to drive personal prestige and define one's particular social class. The slum is further defined by living for today, gratifying any and all needs immediately. In contrast, the suburbs are full of people who are on the rise, achieving today and planning for tomorrow. What the upper class desire are long-term commodities: a good education, a nice home, a good retirement package. Immediate needs are not as important as needs defined by long-term planning in a climate of high expectations.

Table 2.1: Conceptual framework for the study.

Kahl's Six Variables	Theorist		
	Banfield	Herrnstein & Murray	Wright et al.
Personal prestige	X1	Y1	Z1
Occupation	X2	Y2	Z2
Possessions	X3	Y3	Z3
Interaction	X4	Y4	Z4
Class consciousness	X5	Y5	Z5
Value orientation	X6	Y6	Z6

In contrast, Wright et al. offered a "formal hierarchy" (variable Z1) as the equivalent of Kahl's personal prestige. The formal hierarchy shapes personal prestige and is based on "decision-making participation" and "authority." A person with no decision-making authority possesses low personal prestige; conversely, a person who has "direct" decision-making authority is higher in prestige (Wright et al., 1982, p. 725).

Herrnstein and Murray (1994) (variable Y1) made personal prestige a function of "genetic partitioning." They stated, "In fact, IQ is substantially heritable. . . . We will adopt a middling estimate of 60 percent heritability, which, by extension, means that IQ is about 40 percent a matter of environment. . . . The balance of evidence suggests that 60 percent may err on the low side" (p. 105). The researchers' conservative estimate regarding the role of heritability in shaping intelligence leaves 40% or less of intelligence determination as attributable to the environment. Therefore, prestige is linked to IQ, with the highest class, Class I, composed of those who possess the highest IQs. Herrnstein and Murray used the following logic:

* If differences in mental abilities are inherited, and

* If success requires those abilities, and

* If earnings and prestige depend on success, then

* Social standing (which reflects earnings and prestige) will be based to some extent on inherited differences among people (p. 105).

Kahl's personal prestige variable reveals a voluntary versus involuntary paradox. Whereas Wright et al. posited a formal hierarchy as shaping personal

prestige, Banfield found a relationship between prestige and outlook: If an individual delays gratification and looks to the future, prestige rises. Herrnstein and Murray (Y1) explained a link between prestige and cognitive ability, which is largely inherited. Within the theories, the voluntary (outlook and expectations) nature of prestige clashes with the involuntary (how much intelligence has been inherited and how much authority a person possesses in the occupational hierarchy). Thus, the complexity of social class continues to be reinforced; the dynamics of social class heighten the equality/inequality tension.

Occupation

Kahl's second variable, occupation, adds to the complexity of social class. Banfield's (1970) research provides information about education in relation to occupation and social class (variable X2). Upper-class members, with their future orientation, insist that their offspring stay in school. "The upper-class parent is not alarmed if his children remain unemployed and unmarried to the age of thirty, especially if they remain in school," Banfield wrote (p. 49). Whereas outlook is the determinant of social class location, Banfield admitted to

> at least a rough correspondence between being, for example, upper-class in the present sense and upper-class as ordinarily defined. . . . This is because people who are capable of providing for a distant future tend by that very circumstance to get education (as distinct from schooling) and with it wealth, status, and power. . . . People incapable of looking ahead for more than a day or two or of controlling their impulses are likely to be poor, unskilled, or low status. (p. 48)

Occupation is less the focus than are education and training. The upper-class outlook is toward education, "especially requiring more children to spend more time

in school. . . . The more high school one has, the less unemployment one is likely to suffer in later life and the greater one's lifetime earnings are likely to be" (p. 133). Education provides the means for people to compete in society for occupations. Occupations lead to wages and income, which in turn lead to possessions. Therefore, by placing an emphasis on education, higher-social-class occupants reinforce their outlook to the future. People in higher classes are better off in their outlook because they expect to live longer and they plan for the future, saving for college instead of spending on current needs.

Wright et al. (1982) presented a Marxist view of occupation (variable Z2). Whereas Banfield linked outlook indirectly to occupation, Wright et al. posited a direct link in terms of the "capitalist mode of production." Occupations are designed according to what they termed "relations of appropriation," which are ownership issues. Wright et al. specifically identified three such relations: (a) the ownership relation (one either does or does not own capital), (b) an exchange relation (one either buys or sells labor), and (c) a decision-making relation (one either does or does not make decisions). Relations of appropriation are shaped by authority; in occupations, as authority increases, the latitude to be in charge increases. Wright and his colleagues called this the "domination" aspect of occupations: Some occupations entail direct control and authority, whereas others do not. This aspect is important in understanding the hierarchy of occupations because that hierarchy forms and supports the American social class system.

In contrast to Banfield and Wright et al. (variables X2 and Z2), Herrnstein and Murray (1994) spoke of a "cognitive partitioning" (variable Y2) that hinges on cognitive ability. Certain occupations require higher levels of intelligence. They explained, "IQ becomes more important as the job gets intellectually tougher. . . . As the century draws to a close, a very high proportion of that same group [bright people] is now concentrated within a few occupations that are highly screened for IQ" (pp. 51-52). Class and occupation are defined by intelligence. Hence, partitioning occupations by intelligence makes sense, and an occupational shape for The Bell Curve's social class is determined.

Possessions

The third variable Kahl established is possessions. According to Banfield (1970), outlook (satisfying future versus present needs) influences possessions (variable X3). He wrote,

> Upper-class [that is, future-oriented] culture permits the individual to emphasize either theme: the disposition to postpone present satisfaction for the sake of improving matters in the future and the desire to "express one's personality." . . . If he thinks that his means (money, power, knowledge, and the like) are almost certainly adequate to maintain him and his "line" throughout the future he envisions, the future-oriented individual has no incentive to "invest." (p. 49)

In contrast, the lower-class individual consumes immediately and gathers possessions related to such immediate consumption. This is a live-for-today attitude that de-emphasizes planning and goal setting; the lower-class individual journeys through life on a day-to-day basis. Money comes and goes as needs are met immediately.

A desire to "control investments" (variable Z3) is how Wright et al. (1982) relate to the possessions variable. They stated, "Classes in this research are not defined in terms of categories of occupations, but in terms of social relations of control over investments, decision making, other people's work, and one's own work" (p. 709). It is the "control over investments" that translates into possessions. Further, the ownership relation concerns whether or not the person has "ownership of the means of production" (p. 713). From a Marxist viewpoint, ownership of land, labor, and capital leads to higher-class status. A lack of these things implies the opposite: lower-class status.

Herrnstein and Murray (1994) framed possessions by intelligence (variable X3). For example, the cognitive classes that have the highest poverty are the lowest social classes. Specifically, Class IV, which they called "dull," has a 16% poverty level. Class V, called "very dull," has 30% poverty. When these two classes are compared to Class I (2%), Class II (3%), and Class III (6%), a clear relationship is seen between cognitive class and poverty. Poverty is inversely tied to possessions, thus demonstrating the link between Herrnstein and Murray's cognitive theory of social class and Kahl's possessions variable.

Interaction

Kahl's fourth variable, interaction, relates to social class and groups. According to Banfield (1970) (variable X4), "the upper-class individual feels a strong attachment to entities (formal organizations, the neighborhood, the nation, the world). . . . He sees 'community' (or 'society') as having long-range goals. . . . He

tends to be active in 'public service' organizations" (p. 50). The upper-class individual "does not mind being alone. . . . He requires a good deal of privacy. . . . He wants to express himself" (p. 49). Class status and involvement are directly proportional: The higher one's class, the greater his or her interaction within the community.

The middle-class individual experiences less group commitment. "In the lower middle class, the taste for public service and reform is relatively weak. . . . The middle-class individual is less willing than the upper-class one to give time, money, and effort to public causes" (Banfield, 1970, p. 51). The lower-class person has a thirst for "action," which "take[s] precedence over everything else" (p. 51). The person is "a nonparticipant. . . . He belongs to no voluntary organizations, has no political interests, and does not vote unless paid to do so. . . . He feels no attachment to community, neighbors, or friends. . . . [He] resents all authority. . . . He has companions, not friends" (p. 53). The interaction of the lower-class person is based on what is needed at the present time. Often these interactions are impulsive because "impulse governs his behavior" (p. 53).

Wright et al. (1982) provided occupation-based insight into the notion of interactions (variable Z4). Their work on relations--ownership relation, exchange relation, and authority relation--has already been discussed. Each is part of a larger body the researchers termed "relations of appropriations" and "domination." Based on capitalism, Wright et al. focused on competition. Therein lies the need to formalize decision-making authority. Power is at the heart of the matter, and the

ability to issue sanctions is valued. These are formal interactions, which are directed by the organizational hierarchy found in the workplace.

Wright et al. had more to offer about interaction (variable Z4). The additional viewpoint is in what the researchers termed "the contradictory character" in the social class, an American term. Derived from a belief that "class content is determined simultaneously by more than one basic class, . . . the American class structure can not plausibly be represented by a simple scheme of polarized class relations" (p. 724). American social class is complex, and interactions occur between and among members of different social classes.

Herrnstein and Murray added to the complexity of social class. They discussed a phenomenon termed "isolation" (variable Y4), which refers to "the increasing physical segregation of the cognitive elite from the rest of society" (p. 91). The authors pointed out that technologies such as computers and telefax machines "make it increasingly likely that people who work mainly with their minds collaborate only with other such people" (p. 91). A 1990s trend is the effect of technology on social interaction. This effect will be a function of wealth if higher social classes **decrease** their interactions because of technology; higher classes possess the wealth to purchase the technology.

American society is mobile. Equal opportunity is designed to translate into freedom of choices as to "where to live, shop, play, worship, and send [one's] children to school" (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994, p. 91). Equal opportunity is based on "giving every youngster a chance to develop his or her latent cognitive ability" (p.

91). Intelligence is based on "both genes and environment," but the equalization of the American environment has placed a greater emphasis on heredity. "The irony is that as America equalizes the circumstances of people's lives, the remaining differences in intelligence are increasingly determined by differences in genes" (p. 91). As a result, the equality/inequality tension is heightened. As efforts increase equality, inherited IQ advantages become more significant.

Intelligence also influences whom one marries. "Likes attract when it comes to marriage, and intelligence is one of the most important of those likes" (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994, pp. 91-92). The researchers termed this "assortive mating." The phenomenon increases isolation and heightens the role intelligence plays in determining Kahl's interaction variable. In The Bell Curve, Herrnstein and Murray described the role of genetics: "As a general rule, as environments become more uniform, heritability rises" (p. 106). Competition is designed to allow people to move up in social class; Herrnstein and Murray called this "churning." They wrote,

> American society has historically been full of churning, as new groups came to this country, worked their way up, and joined the ranks of the rich and powerful. . . . Meanwhile, some of the children of the rich and powerful, or their grandchildren, were descending the ladder. . . . This process has made for a vibrant, self-renewing society. (p. 113)

Assortive mating works in opposition to churning, and the result is a society with less mobility.

Herrnstein and Murray argued that cognitive ability has diminished churning. Isolation has made "a society . . . increasingly quiescent at the top" (p. 113). Focusing on an upper-class, cognitive elite, the authors offered three observations

on this issue. Each observation has direct ramifications for Kahl's interaction variable. They are as follows:

1. The cognitive elite is getting richer, in an era when everybody else is having to struggle to stay even.

2. The cognitive elite is increasingly segregated physically from everyone else, in both the workplace and the neighborhood.

3. The cognitive elite is increasingly likely to intermarry. (p. 114)

For the cognitive elite, less interaction is likely to occur. This leads to a greater emphasis on IQ and less social mobility, in general. The equality/ inequality tension is heightened as a result.

Class Consciousness

The fifth Kahl variable is class consciousness. The preceding discussion extends to this variable, as well. Banfield's (1970) view of future versus present needs defines a class consciousness (variable X5), as do the "contradictory character" and "cognitive elite" notions offered by Wright et al. (1982) and Herrnstein and Murray (variables Z5 and Y5, respectively). Banfield wrote of the minimal commitment to the community by lower classes and their relationships built on immediate gratification. The lower-class desire for action prevails. Upper classes look to the future, delaying such satisfaction. Wright et al. admitted that Americans determine their class through a number of interactions. A "contradictory character," which is distinguishingly American, means that although Americans are aware of class, they interact in a variety of ways across class boundaries. Herrnstein and Murray argued that isolation makes class consciousness an even greater factor.

The logic offered by Banfield, Wright et al., and Herrnstein and Murray is that interaction is based on social class, and interaction translates into a social class consciousness. Interaction shapes social groups; Hollingshead (1949) would call these groups cliques. Regardless of the name applied to them, social groups result from interaction. Herrnstein and Murray saw social groups within the intellectual "partitioning" occurring in America. Whereas they linked these groups to intelligence, Wright et al. used a Marxist view to identify groups that form due to occupation. Banfield wrote of a different kind of isolation, which is determined by levels of dependence and commitment, both factors related to the future-versus-present viewpoint. Dependence and commitment determine group membership, further defining the social class.

Value Orientations

Value orientations, the sixth Kahl variable, exist at a personal level because values are internal. Values define life; that is, values determine what people deem to be worthwhile, good, important, and beautiful (Kahl, 1957, p. 10). Banfield (variable X6) based his theory on beliefs of living for the present (a lower-class value) versus living for the future (an upper-class value). These choices are fundamental; they are value orientations. The strata between the extremes (present versus future) represent degrees of value orientations. Hence, the middle social class represents value orientations somewhere between "now" and "the future," measured in various time units (Banfield, 1970). Therefore, thought needs to be given to present-versus-future dimensions when determining class structure.

When considering class structure, Wright et al. (1982) saw value orientations connected to work (variable Z6). Decisions fall within hierarchical patterns. Work roles are dictated by an organizational chart, and that chart shapes authority. Authority determines who gives sanctions and who receives them and from whom. Evaluations and directives drive value orientations; individuals operate within the structure (Wright et al., 1982). Much like a 1950s-style factory, in which a foreman watched the assembly line, the structure determines the class.

Herrnstein and Murray (1994) focused on "family matters" as a fundamental value orientation. Although the American family has changed greatly, the researchers discussed marriage, divorce, and illegitimacy as related to intelligence. They stated, "The more intelligent get married at higher rates than the less intelligent" (p. 167). Also, "higher IQ was still associated with a lower probability of divorce after extracting the effects of other variables" (p. 174). Further, "low cognitive ability is a much stronger predisposing factor for illegitimacy than low socioeconomic background" (p. 167). The researchers concluded, "The American family may be generally under siege, as people often say. But it is at the bottom of the cognitive ability distribution that its defenses are most visibly crumbling" (p. 190). For the present study, the notion of social class is a way to study the equality/inequality tension in American society. Herrnstein and Murray offered convincing arguments that cognitive ability is the major determinant of social class structure.

Herrnstein and Murray (1994) used similar logic in discussing a number of topics under the broad heading of "social behavior"; these topics included poverty; schooling; unemployment, idleness, and injury; welfare dependency; parenting; crime; and civility and citizenship. Each topic is replete with values. As Kahl (1957) said, values are the approved "means" for approaching the "ends" in one's life. Each area describes a variety of "means," and what is significant here is that in each area, intelligence is a strong if not overriding determinant. Social behavior is linked with intelligence; intelligence shapes values. The core beliefs of highly intelligent people are different from those of people possessing lower intelligence (Hermstein and Murray, 1994).

Herrnstein and Murray's view of social class based on cognitive ability gives an advantage to Class I, the cognitive elite. Class I members edge forward competitively in society, and they possess norms that enhance their competitive advantage. Lower classes struggle in the competition because they lack intelligence. Across any Kahl variable, people with higher IQs have an advantage over those with lower IQs. It has been pointed out that in an equal environment, inherited IQ is even **more** important. Intelligence carries a greater premium because heredity, by which intelligence is transmitted, lies outside the environment. Equal opportunity, which is intended to exist within society, cannot and does not influence inherited traits such as IQ.

Banfield's (1970) future-versus-present outlook furthers the tension between equality and inequality. Planning for the future means investing in education–

delaying present-day purchases and activities for schooling in the expectation that a better tomorrow will result. By delaying gratification, one gains a competitive edge. People who plan can seize opportunity; lower classes, seeking action, do not recognize "opportunity." Like the cognitive argument, the outlook argument competitively favors the higher social classes. Logically, it can be stated that "equal opportunity" is missed by groups who have an immediate outlook–the lower social classes.

Through their Marxist lens, Wright et al. (1982) placed a premium on hierarchy. Within organizations that are guided by charts, titles, and authority lines, competition is structured as well. Promotions are defined by successful work experiences as measured by evaluations, appraisals, and the absence of sanctions. Opportunities exist and are defined by hierarchy. Structure adds to the organization, and work-related schooling is rewarded within the system. The course up and down the social class ladder is mapped out by the charts, titles, and authority lines.

Summary

All of the above-mentioned factors reinforce the contention that the social class notion is complex. The six Kahl variables can be used to operationalize the theories espoused by Banfield, Wright et al., and Herrnstein and Murray. The six variables frame the discussion of diverse and distinct ideas pertaining to outlook, hierarchy, and intelligence. Each has utility in updating the notion of social class from Hollingshead's time to the present. This is vital for a study of adolescents' behavior relative to their families' social class.

Therefore, the investigation of social class will be based on the conceptual framework developed for this study. The six Kahl variables form the conceptual framework, weaving Banfield's ideas with those of Herrnstein and Murray and Wright et al. The conceptual framework provides an update of Hollingshead's concept and is a way to display the complexity of social class in a modern context.

The focus now turns to adolescent behavior, in general, and adolescent behavior in school, in particular. The general concept of adolescent behavior is vital because the researcher's purpose was to examine the way adolescents behave relative to their parents' social class.

Adolescent Behavior

Adolescence has been defined as "the period in the life cycle of the individual from age 14 to 24" (Hollingshead, 1949, p. 5). Hollingshead described adolescence as follows:

> Sociologically, adolescence is the period in the life of a person when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him [male or female] as a child and does not accord him full adult status, roles, and functions. The phrase "adolescent behavior" . . . refers to the social action patterns of young people. (pp. 6-7)

An adolescent is in conflict with society. "The inexorably unfolding nature of the organism produces a 'rebirth of the soul' which brings the child [adolescent] inevitably into a conflict with society" (Hollingshead, 1949, p. 5). Hollingshead further described the period using terms such as "storm and stress" and "revolution," words reflecting the conflict inherent in this stage of life.

An adolescent is in transition from childhood to adulthood: One day the behavior is childlike; the next day it is mature and nearly adult. The way society perceives the individual fluctuates accordingly. As described above, the "adult status, roles, and functions" are not actually adult. Therefore, the adolescent is placed somewhere in between. Therein lies the conflict; the youngster is caught between a child and an adult status. The resultant "storm and stress" engenders a variety of behaviors.

Because this study was undertaken to update Hollingshead's work, it is helpful to examine his view of adolescents' behaviors. The study took place in a midwestern community that Hollingshead called Elmtown, USA. He organized adolescents in the community into two broad categories: high school students and out-of-school adolescents. His study took place in 1941 and 1942, a time when many students left high school before graduating. "In May, 1942, the 735 adolescents studied were divided rather equally into these two categories: 390 (53 per cent) were in school, and 345 (47 per cent) had withdrawn from [high] school" (p. 161).

Hollingshead described high school adolescents' behaviors in terms of five attributes (see Figure 2.1). "The high school in action" described the curriculum students received and the extracurricular activities in which they participated. The behaviors included in this category were grades earned, discipline received, and memberships in clubs/organizations. Second, "cliques and dates" described relations and the number, type, and size of cliques. Underlying notions were who-

dates-whom and who-are-friends-with-whom. Third, "religion and religious behavior" identified religious beliefs, affiliation, and types and levels of participation. Elmtowners placed a high priority on church and church attendance. Fourth, "jobs and ideas of jobs" included part-time jobs, jobs and social class, and ideas about jobs. School and work were connected at various levels in Elmtown. Fifth, "recreation and tabooed pleasures" contained Hollingshead's findings on adolescent organizations, informal recreation, and tabooed pleasures. As a wide set of categories, recreation and tabooed pleasures ranged from joining Boy Scouts to shooting pool. Both formal and informal activities were identified within recreation and tabooed pleasures.

The High School in Action
Cliques and Dates
Religion and Religious Behavior
Jobs and Ideas of Jobs
Recreation and Tabooed Pleasures

Figure 2.1: Hollingshead's high school adolescent behaviors.

Hollingshead described out-of-school adolescents' behaviors according to four attributes: leaving school, toil and trouble, leisure-hour activities, and sex and marriage (see Figure 2.2). With so many Elmtown students out of school, these characteristics were important to the research. "Leaving school" identified folklore versus facts and the process of withdrawal from school. The second attribute, "toil and trouble," referred to job channels and levels, work history, occupational pursuit,

job performance, the vocational horizon, and ideas of "good" jobs. In many cases, students who were leaving school planned to work, and this second attribute helped describe that phenomenon. The third attribute, "leisure-hour activities," included formal organizations, cliques, leisure, and delinquent behavior. The fourth attribute, "sex and marriage," included dates and dating, getting married, class position and marriage, and home conditions.

Leaving School
Toil and Trouble
Leisure-Hour Activities
Sex and Marriage

Figure 2.2: Hollingshead's out-of-school adolescent behaviors.

Hollingshead found that adolescents' behaviors (however categorized) were related functionally to the position their families occupied in the social structure of the community. In the study, Hollingshead found that families belonged to one of five social classes. Hollingshead wrote, "Each of the five classes differed from the others by the possession of a complex set of traits that we called class culture" (p. 439). In observing the behavior of both high school and out-of-school adolescents, Hollingshead found that the behavior was distinguished by their family's social class. He wrote,

> We can conclude with confidence that adolescents who have been reared in families that possess different class cultures may be expected to follow different behavior patterns in their responses to situations they encounter in their participation in the community's social life. (p. 441)

Thus, the family's social class shaped the adolescents' behaviors. For example, students from higher social classes were found to be more involved in extracurricular activities, earned better grades, and were better prepared for college because they took harder classes.

Hollingshead's finding that adolescents' behavior was related to their family's social class has been supported in the literature. In 1964, Warner identified five social classes in a town he called Jonesville, which he described as "the city of the Common Man" (p. ix). The Common Man was middle class, and Warner discovered two classes above and two others below that status. He wrote, "The young people of each class tend to marry at their own level. . . . Their children acquire the status of the parents, learn their way of life, and thus help maintain their part of the class system and insure its permanence" (p. 28). Warner found that children reflected their family's status; "there [was] a mirror-like relationship between the positive and negative characteristics being rated" (p. 81). Children made "clear-cut differentiations along social class lines" (p. 83). For example, higher-class students were involved in their school. They participated in sports, and they planned to go on to college. Just the opposite was true for lower-class students.

Marshall (1965) identified three aspects of United States citizenship: civil, political, and social. Whereas civil and political changes may come quickly, social class changes do not because of what Marshall termed "hierarchy of status"; that is, social class is passed from one generation (parent) to another (offspring). According to Marshall, social class inequality "is regarded as necessary and purposeful"

because of the stability social classes provide (p. 94). The motivation for a stable relationship between generations has been established. When Marshall conducted his research, elementary schools supported the existing social class structure, further reinforcing adolescents' reflection of their parents. Teachers aimed for the middle-class values, teaching hard work, honesty, and similar values. The existing social class structure was reinforced for other students: The lower-class pupils knew they were lower class because their instruction did not reflect their upbringing. A goal of equal educational opportunity is to prevent adolescents' behaviors from mirroring their parents' behaviors. However, adolescents' behaviors largely **do** reflect their parents' behaviors, thereby reflecting the families' social class. Therefore, this condition works against equal educational opportunity and makes social change slow and difficult (Marshall, 1965).

Jencks (1972) noted that "Americans believe in equality . . . but most feel some are 'more competent than others'" (p. 3). This belief affects adolescents because "some parents are bound to succeed while others fail" (p. 2). Society is competitive, and a variance in parenting skills underlies a variance in adolescents' behaviors. Students whose parents are confident and involved in school seem to behave in the same way.

In 1978, Lightfoot investigated the teacher's role in student behavior. She examined what teachers expected from students. According to Lightfoot, teachers saw the family as the means for shaping "the world of the child. . . . Children become shadows of their parents' social position, miniature versions of doctors, garbage

collectors, secretaries, accountants. . . . Teachers can not look at a child without seeing the parents" (p. 9). Lightfoot argued that "a dissonance between family and school . . . is not only inevitable in a changing society, it also helps to make children more malleable and responsive to a changing world" (p. 39). School is oriented toward the middle class, and children are taught by the school to exhibit middle-class behavior. This works if the family is middle class, but it creates a "dissonance" if the family is lower or upper class. According to Lightfoot,

> In an extreme sense, schools must smother the unharnessed, spontaneous nature of the child and produce a cooperative and civilized citizen. . . . The tension between the collective norms and individualistic needs must be resolved in the direction of maintaining social order. (p. 214)

Lightfoot found that the child's behaviors are directly related to his or her social class.

Okey (1990) studied the family perspective on students' decision to drop out of high school. He identified a "conflict in culture between the family and the school" as key to analyzing "the family, the family's perspective on school, and the act of dropping out. . . . The conflict between these cultures antecedes dropping out by several years" (p. 258). Student behavior is shaped by the student and conflicts with school norms. Okey wrote,

> The dropout [student] represents the family at school. The school's rejection of this representation results in feelings of rejection and conflict in the family. Dropping out ends the conflict between family and school and reduces conflict between the child and the family. It unites the family and reinforces the passing on of the family culture. (p. 250)

The family expects the child to behave in certain ways, according to "the family culture," which, according to Okey, is established by the family's social class. If this

culture runs counter to school norms, the conflict may result in the student's "dropping out." The conflict between school and family is thus eased when the student leaves school.

Herrnstein and Murray's (1994) research reported in The Bell Curve included references to schooling. Like Okey, they discussed students choosing to drop out of school. According to Herrnstein and Murray, "Of all the social behaviors that might be linked to cognitive ability, school dropout prior to high school graduation is the most obvious. Low intelligence is one of the best predictors of school failure" (p. 144). Because intelligence is passed from parents to offspring through genetics, the decision to drop out is linked to IQ, and IQ is linked to the parents by heredity.

Other student behaviors are related to IQ, as well. Because parental IQ varies, student IQ also varies. A variety of student behaviors become affixed to the parents' cognitive class. The cognitive class becomes a place of belonging for both parent and child. The decision to drop out results from the family's cognitive class, as do other student behaviors. In particular, Herrnstein and Murray looked at students who completed a college degree. The found that "if cognitive ability is high, socioeconomic disadvantage is no longer a significant barrier to getting a college degree" (p. 154). The higher the IQ, the more likely it is that the student will attain a degree. "Most dropouts with above-average intelligence go back to get a GED" (p. 153). IQ is a predictor of finishing school, whether high school or college. Thus, because IQ is passed from parent to child, finishing school is a family matter.

Social class appears in schools because students reflect the family's social class and behave differently relative to social class. Hollingshead (1949) studied this phenomenon in detail over a two-year period some 50 years ago. Warner (1964) found similar results in Jonesville, and Jencks (1972), Marshall (1965), Lightfoot (1978), Okey (1990), and Herrnstein and Murray (1994) supported the notion of adolescents' behavior being related to their parents' social class.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The methodology for carrying out the study is described in this chapter. Included is a restatement of the study purpose, along with the pertinent research questions. Methodological concerns are shared, and the study setting is described. Sample selection is explained. The procedure for conducting the research is discussed, and the plan used for data analysis is documented.

Purpose of the Study

The researcher's purpose in this study was to determine whether there is a relationship between adolescents' behavior and their families' social class. Adolescents' behaviors in four areas--high school experiences, jobs, recreational experiences, and plans for leaving school--were investigated in relation to the social class of their families. Social class was assessed in terms of four indicators: outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction.

Research Questions

The following research questions were posed to guide the collection of data for this study:

1. Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' outlook?

2. Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' cognitive ability?

3. Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' occupation(s)?

4. Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' interaction?

5. Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' outlook?

6. Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' cognitive ability?

7. Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' occupation(s)?

8. Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' interaction?

9. Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' outlook?

10. Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' cognitive ability?

11. Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' occupation(s)?

12. Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' interaction?

13. Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' outlook?

14. Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' cognitive ability?

15. Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' occupation(s)?

16. Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' interaction?

Methodological Concerns

The study was qualitative in nature. Before attempting to answer the research questions regarding adolescents' behaviors relative to their families' social class, the researcher addressed two methodological concerns: (a) How is a family's social class determined? and (b) How is an adolescent's behavior ascertained? Concerning the first question, Hollingshead wrestled with social class in the following way:

> The question we faced was: How could families be placed in the social structure? Three possibilities were open to us. First, a single factor index, such as occupation, income, education, or area of residence, might have been used. . . . The second alternative was reliance on a composite index. . . . The third possibility appeared to be the development of a procedure which would apply a common measure to all families. Therefore, a rating procedure was developed which, we believe, met the objections to a single criterion and previously developed scales. . . . This idea seemed to be sound in view of the size of Elmtown, the stability of the population, the knowledge one person had about another, and the way the people referred to one another, to social groups, organizations, and institutions. (pp. 26-27)

Hollingshead devised a rating procedure to define social class, using more than 100 items taken from interviews. The 100 items were synthesized under five general headings: (a) the way a family lived; (b) income and material possessions;

(c) participation in community affairs, politics, and religion; (d) family background; and (e) reputation or prestige. These headings gave meaning to the notion of social class, and they provided a way for raters to place families in specific social classes.

Hollingshead conducted a series of community interviews, from which he determined a "control list" of 20 families as representative of each of five social classes. People secured as raters analyzed all 535 Elmtown families, rating each according to social class. Confidentiality was ensured, which kept families from knowing how raters classified them.

The second methodological concern is how to ascertain adolescents' behavior. That is, how is that behavior seen, measured, and determined? Hollingshead used a variety of methods to learn about adolescent behavior. He and his associates reviewed official records such as high school student records, court cases, and police arrests. They conducted interviews with adolescents and their families. Hollingshead also administered questionnaires, and some of the students wrote autobiographies for the research. Participant observation was the method Hollingshead used to learn about adolescent behavior. As ideas were formed, leads were pursued. Data were gathered from adolescents, their parents, and Elmtown residents outside the family.

The Study Setting

The study was conducted in a small-town midwestern high school. The town and surrounding community were given the name Pinetown. There are fewer than 20,000 residents in Pinetown, and unemployment is low. The main industry is

producing electricity because Pinetown is located on the sandy shores of a great body of water. Tourism is popular, which means that midwesterners flock to Pinetown to recreate: People enjoy swimming, boating, lying on the beach, and fishing. They also enjoy hunting in the vast fields found near the Pinetown area.

Other Pinetown industry includes several small businesses where the pay is good and the number of employees small. The newest employer is located in the city nearby. This brings people into the area and creates hope for the future. Time will tell, but with the natural resources found in Pinetown, things look positive.

As with most small towns, Pinetown's high school is a point of pride. Housing about 600 students in grades 9 through 12, the 30-year-old building has adequate unused space. The high school has a traditional, broad-based curriculum for students. The teaching staff is old, yet new ideas are accepted because the staff is innovative. At school events it is common to overhear parents tell about a teacher they had in school who is now teaching their children, too. Parents generally like that. This speaks about most teachers' desire to stay in Pinetown; it is a good school system that the faculty finds comfortable. They are well paid and treated with respect. Most seem happy with Pinetown High School, all things considered. It has a strong academic reputation.

Sample Selection

Although Hollingshead rated all Elmtown families according to social class, such widespread rating was not feasible for this study because the cost of rating all families in the selected community would have exceeded the researcher's time and

financial resources. Furthermore, rating all families in the community would have had no utility for this study; the social class of students being studied was the primary focus. Thus, a sample of 15 adolescents from 14 families was selected for the study.

In his research, Okey (1990) started with one family and allowed the sample to grow in size until he concluded that "an adequate saturation had been reached" (p. 76). This sampling technique, known as "theoretical sampling," is based on the finding of an

> instance of the case. . . . As the explanation is generated, each addition to the sample serves to revise, extend, or otherwise alter the explanation. When a negative instance is discovered, one which does not conform to the explanation, the explanation is transformed and adjusted to account for this negative instance. So the sample is built, discovering categories, testing their properties, and seeking interrelationships. (p. 63)

Theoretical sampling is not the same as random sampling. Theoretical sampling has depth, which random sampling lacks; one instance of the case leads to others in theoretical sampling. These cases build the theory, and the theory benefits by the feedback from informants. The depth in this research is found in the development of the theory. Theoretical sampling is designed to provide theoretical development. Random sampling, in contrast, is designed to test a theory that has already been developed. The theory does not change; it is verified or nullified by the data. A random sampling technique would not provide the depth needed in the present study; therefore, theoretical sampling was the preferred method.

Procedure

In this study, families' social class was addressed through field study research. The investigator's contacts in the high school found in the selected community yielded a number of families to be interviewed. A series of questions was posed to each family regarding social class. Rather than using Hollingshead's five general headings, the researcher used the conceptual framework developed in this study (see Chapter II). In particular, Kahl's (1957) six variables were used in conjunction with the theories propounded by Banfield (1970), Wright et al. (1982), and Herrnstein and Murray (1994). The work of each of these theorists had application within the conceptual framework.

The researcher used interview procedures similar to those employed by Okey (1990)--specifically, Gorden's "Tools for Interviewing." Each interview was tape recorded and later transcribed. By doing this, the researcher was able to categorize the data after the interview, allowing him to interact with the family members during the interview.

The researcher's purpose in this part of the research was to learn about the families' social class. Through theoretical sampling and interviews, the researcher achieved what Hollingshead accomplished in 1942. The research on contemporary American families and their social class status was carried out within the available financial and human resources. Confidentiality was ensured because the sample was small enough that the researcher was able to do the ratings himself.

The units of analysis were the adolescents' families. The issue at hand, social class, was an important aspect of the research defined in this study. Data that were gathered about social class were based on Kahl's six variables. Using the conceptual framework established for this study, the collected data were linked to propositions about the notion of social class.

The normative social class model described in Chapter II was the basis for this qualitative analysis. The researcher measured the four factors--outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction--on the basis of selected indicators (see Table 3.1). The researcher developed these indicators over time, after discussing them with an expert group. The expert group, consisting of Michigan State University doctoral students, provided the researcher with insight and assistance in refining these indicators. Further refinement occurred as the study was conducted.

As shown in Table 3.1, several indicators were selected to measure the four factors chosen for study (outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction). For outlook, the following questions were among those that addressed the indicators: Are the families liberal or conservative politically? Do they save money? Do they pay attention to world affairs? Do they expect a long life? Do they set goals for the future? Second, for cognitive ability, the questions included: Are the families high school graduates? Are they college graduates? Were they successful in school? Do they consider themselves to be well-read? Third, questions addressing occupation included the following: What are the families' occupation(s)? How long have they done this work? Did they receive special training for this work? If so,

how? What salaries do they earn? Are they hourly workers? Do they supervise others? Where, on a hierarchy, do their occupations fall? Fourth, for the factor interaction, questions included the following: What are the families' activities? Who are their friends? Do they employ technology? Do they travel? Do they belong to social groups? These and other topics were explored to determine the families' social class. Confidentiality was ensured so that open, honest answers could be elicited.

Table 3.1: The normative social class model: Factors and indicators.

Factor	Indicators
Outlook	Liberal/conservative politics Spending/saving Positive/negative view of life Long/short expected life span Setting/not setting goals
Cognitive ability	Formal education/little formal education Grades and achievement: strong/weak Books read: many/few
Occupation	Families' jobs Longevity Training Salary Supervision and responsibilities
Interaction	Families' activities Families' friendships Families' memberships and socialization choices

A variety of methods was used to learn about adolescents' behavior. The primary method for collecting the data was the personal interview. Adolescents from

the families studied with regard to the above-mentioned social class issues were interviewed. These adolescents were high school students and drop-outs. They were interviewed on the following topics: high school activities, jobs, plans for leaving school, and recreational activities.

Supportive data were obtained from school and community records. School records included academic and behavioral artifacts found in students' files. Specific grading and attendance figures were investigated.

Data-Analysis Procedures

The objective in gathering data for analysis centers on the need to have accurate, reliable data. Care was taken to ensure that this would happen by employing a tape recorder for accuracy. The taped interviews were then transcribed in total. The transcriptions ensured accuracy, and they gave the researcher an opportunity to review the data. The researcher obtained categories, interrelationships, and other connections in reviewing the transcripts.

The data analysis shaped the theory of expected adolescent behavior. The normative social class model was refined as the interviews were conducted. Feedback from informants was transcribed, and categories, interrelationships, and other connections became data.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The researcher's purpose in this study was to describe and explain adolescents' behaviors relative to their families' social class. Adolescents' behaviors were defined by four sets of activities: recreational experiences, plans for leaving school, high school experiences, and jobs. Families' social class was assessed by four factors: outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction. Sixteen research questions guided the data-collection process, which consisted of structured interviews with adolescents and with their parents. Fourteen families and 15 adolescents were interviewed. The data analysis that follows is organized by the four social class factors. First, **outlook** is presented for each family, followed by **cognitive ability, occupation,** and **interaction**. These factors allowed comparisons to be made to describe the families' social class. Following social class, data analysis is presented on the adolescents' behaviors chosen for this study: **recreational experiences, plans for leaving school, high school experiences,** and **jobs**. Generalizations can be made about the families' social class and the adolescents' behaviors so that conclusions can be developed to address the 16 research questions.

Families' Social Class

Outlook

Banfield (1970) studied social class by focusing on a person's "outlook" (p. 13). Banfield theorized that, by examining someone's outlook, social class could be determined. He thought that if a person delayed the gratification of his or her needs, the person belonged in the upper social class. Furthermore, a person who expects to live a long life indicates being in the upper social class; conversely, if a person expects to live but a short time, he or she would be in a lower class. Banfield offered a convincing theory about outlook; it was one of four factors selected for the normative social class model (p. 7). In Table 3.1 (p. 56), outlook was linked to the following indicators: (a) liberal/conservative politics, (b) spending/saving, (c) positive/negative view of life, (d) long/short expected life span, and (e) setting/not setting goals.

Data were gathered on these indicators from structured interviews with parents of adolescents. In the presentation that follows, the data are summarized, and direct quotations from the structured interviews are provided. If the writer added words to the quotations, they are included in brackets; the writer added to informants' direct quotations whenever there was a need to clarify something for the reader. Care was given *not* to alter the informant's viewpoint in doing so.

The quotations were intended to help the reader understand the family's outlook as represented by the parent who participated in the structured interview. In the responses, many parents discussed setting goals for their children, for

example, but not for themselves. Also, several parents indicated that they followed a budget, unless their children needed something; then, the children's needs came first, regardless of the budget. Most parents claimed that they voted in elections, and they offered a variety of responses about politics (liberal versus conservative, party affiliation, and so on). Most parents said they had a positive view of life, and some told the researcher they expected to live into their seventies, eighties, and beyond.

The Aller family. Marilyn Aller was the mother of adolescent daughter Diane Aller. Marilyn said she "usually vote[d]" in elections and was "probably more Democratic than Republican." She admitted she was "probably a conservative person in many areas" and operated on a strict budget she had helped design. She stated,

> I've always been a saver, and money was rather tight, I guess, when I was growing up, and I think that has been a carry-over into my adult life. I tend to be very conservative with money. I don't really make up a budget or something [written], but I've always got [a thought] in the back of my mind where this and that is going, and I like to know and plan ahead.

Marilyn indicated that she set goals. "I'm not a last-minute sort of person," she said. "I become really frustrated [without goals]". She added, "I've always been that way, and I think my mother . . . was that way, too. . . . I've always been someone who plans for [being alone]. . . . I don't just let things come. I want to know what's happening." By her own admission, Marilyn was "somewhere in between" being an optimist and a pessimist. "I guess the two of us [she and her husband] hopefully make up the whole picture. We're different in that way. . . . Sometimes it's

frustrating." With regard to being given bad news, Marilyn noted that "We've been very lucky. I don't really totally fall apart, but I guess I can say I probably would get depressed and really down for a while, but I can hold myself together." Marilyn confided that she expected a very long life, "into my eighties," based on her family background. She stated,

> I did have a family background of a father dying at a very young age, but everyone else has lived to a ripe old age . . . grandparents into the nineties even. My mother is [in her] late seventies and very healthy, and I'm hoping. . . . I've been very healthy all of my life.

Hence, it can be seen that Marilyn Aller was conservative, tended to save money, expected a long life, and set goals.

The Curry family. Waldo Curry was the father of adolescent daughter Jennie Curry. A self-proclaimed Democrat, he voted and was involved in the political process. He rejected the opportunity to call himself a liberal or a conservative. "I wrestle with people issues, social welfare issues, issues of life around our community and society. We [need to] take care of one another. . . . I get real concerned about what I see as the swing of things . . . [to a] call for [the] right wing." Waldo stated that he saved money for his retirement and his daughter's college education. He had a positive outlook, planning to live a long life. "For the most part, I see myself retiring and [living] into the seventies," he said. Given bad news, he adjusted. "I try to touch base [with my parents] . . . [and] where things come to a halt, what am I going to do now? [I keep] my feet moving; I figure out what my actions are all the way along." This respondent set goals. "I could not go back and find documentation of my goals, yet they're there," he said. "I think I've always had

a keen sense of where I'm going and what I want to do to accomplish [things]." To summarize, Waldo Curry saved money, had a positive outlook, expected a long life, and set goals.

The David family. Homer David was father to adolescent daughter Judy David. He voted in elections "all the time" without political party affiliation. "I see myself as a pragmatist," he commented. "I vote for the person because I go to Lansing a lot, [and] I found out that you want to keep the people in power that you know will listen to you." He set goals, both personally and professionally. As an example, Homer shared that he thought contracted services with school districts would replace employees. "Because of that mental picture . . . we've got a group of people together--an accountant, a broker--so [we're] ready to roll [as a contracted service] when the time comes." This respondent saw a long life expectancy for himself. "Because longevity is in my family--my grandmother's 96, my grandfather died at 87; my dad's got three-quarters of his heart gone, he's 72. . . . I never picture myself going any time before 80 or 90 . . . 90 probably; I will be working till the day I die." Homer reported that he maintained a positive attitude, striving to live life to the fullest.

> I would say my staff is the closest. We go out about twice a week; I guess I'm old enough to know better . . . [but] the older I'm getting, the more energy I'm trying to use. The cliff is coming, so it doesn't matter, might as well drive 60 miles per hour instead of 10. It's still coming, so you might as well go.

This interviewee did not practice moderation in his life. In summary, Homer David was a spender who had a positive outlook, and he expected to live a long life while setting goals.

The Duke family. Kathleen Duke, mother of adolescent son Irvin Duke, labeled herself "more conservative." She explained that she voted in elections but did not belong to a political party. Kathleen shared that she participated in a 401K retirement plan through work and tried to save money from her wages, too." My savings go out the window sometimes with [my kids], but we try to put money aside for certain things," she explained. "Mostly, it ends up being borrowed out to help [Irvin]." Kathleen stated that she had a positive attitude about life; she dealt with bad news "with a grain of salt, mostly. . . [I] just go on; it's gotta change and you can't change it, accept it." She expected to live a long life into her eighties or nineties. Kathleen set some goals, and she recently had achieved a personal goal--to buy her own car. "That was a major accomplishment in my life." In summary, Kathleen Duke was conservative, saved money for certain purchases, had a positive outlook on life, set goals, and expected a long life.

The Holden family. Peggy and Douglas Holden were parents of adolescent daughter Jane Holden. Both Peggy and Douglas reported that voting in elections was a priority. Peggy called herself "probably conservative" and "Republican to independent" in her political beliefs. Douglas saw himself as "pretty conservative. . . . Therefore, I usually vote Republican, but I do split my ticket [because] I look at the individual." For him, "fiscal conservatism is a plus; I think both state and federal [government] needs to do a lot better job matching income with outflow." Peggy saved money for the family, and this carried over into her habits. "I'm a saver of things, too. In terms of setting goals, Peggy reported that her goals were "not as

concrete as maybe they should be. But I think they're there." Douglas also shared that he had set goals, also. "I don't actually write them down. I tend to . . . think, yeah, I've got certain [goals]. I can't be specific, but I know what I want . . . for my kids, I want the best for them." Peggy said that when she received bad news, she had "to think about what it might be before I think about how I'd handle it. . . . I think problem solving, what am I gonna do about it, what's reasonable." Douglas said that he believed "you have to step back and sort of reexamine" goals when bad news comes along. "That is sort of a judgmental term; maybe the news that we're getting depends upon [the context] . . . like maybe our daughter not getting the kind of grades [expected]. . . . I try to look through it, whatever the situation, to how it can be improved." Both parents reported that they had positive attitudes; Douglas noted, "In my life so far, I haven't had to deal with an awful lot of bad news. Obviously, we all have our setbacks and disagreements and everything, but I've been pretty lucky." Peggy said she expected to live a long life, but "[I] kind of figure things will be okay, and we haven't made any specific [retirement] plans. We've saved for it, but not, are we gonna live here [or] are we gonna live in the house we live in now." Douglas thought of living into his nineties and beyond.

> I know what the statistics are; if you live to be 50, your odds are that your table keeps adding up, and I think my expectancy right now just based on, I don't smoke; I'm pretty careful; I don't exercise like I should, but I do a little bit. . . . My father is active and chipper as can be, and my grandmother lived to her middle nineties, so that's an optimistic point, also. I want to be around; I want to see my kids have kids, and they start [having children] later now, so you have to live longer.

Douglas and Peggy seemed to be planning a long life for themselves and their family; they planned for this financially. In summary, the Holdens were conservative money-savers who planned to live a long time. They set goals and had a positive outlook on life.

The Longo/Slosser family. Mary Longo, mother of adolescent son Alton Slosser, voted in elections. She called herself "more liberal" without considering herself a Republican or Democrat. "No, I feel I look for the best candidate," Mary stated. She did not operate on a budget. "I can't save money. . . . I am right where what-I-make goes to what-I-need-to-pay. I just try to pay the bills. . . . I can't wait to pay off one bill to go to another [because] I live paycheck to paycheck just like everyone else." This interviewee believed she had a positive view of life: "I think because of my mother; she was always forgiving. She was always happy." When Mary received bad news, "I try not to think about it. I put it in the back of my mind. It won't go away, but I try not to let it get me down." She had had a challenge raising her son because of his substance-abuse problems. She stated,

> I don't sit and whine and feel pity. I tell [my children] they won't go anywhere if they are into drugs. . . . When I found out he was smoking dope, I would tell him I knew what he was going to do with it [money]. . . . I got ahold of his probation officer. . . . [Alton] told everything. The whole truth. . . . I know all boys go through [drug experimentation]. . . . I went through it with two older sons.

As a result of the substance abuse, Mary had isolated Alton by screening calls from his friends, even forbidding him to spend time with certain others. She believed she must limit those with whom he associated. There was no mention of college, no talk about Alton's future; rather, Mary focused on getting him through the present. For

herself, she stated that she expected to live "at least until 90." She said she set goals "for my children, yes. I always have set goals for them. Myself, no. I never have." Mary Longo may have been planning for a long life, but, by her own admission, she lived from paycheck to paycheck and did not save money for the future. She was liberal, and she set goals for her children that dealt with some tough current problems.

The Lynch/Coles family. Jean Lynch was the mother of adolescent daughter Mary Ann Coles. Jean had voted in many elections but did not belong to a political party. She said, "Yes, I vote, I try. . . . My husband does all that stuff [party affiliation]; he really watches the stuff on TV. I don't, and then he'll say, 'Certain people . . . I want them out." Jean shared that talking about politics at home was limited. "For the presidency, that's probably about it. That's the only one [election] I'd go for . . . but when it comes to schools and stuff like that, when they have things for the Pinetown School District, I'm good at that. I vote for them." When asked about saving money and living on a budget, she added, "I love spending money; I'm constantly spending money. My husband's always yelling at me about that, but, for 18 years, I [have] never had anything shut off." Jean believed she had a positive attitude, and she reported that she handled bad news by discussing it at home. She planned a long life ahead. "I think actually I will make it to my nineties," she said. Jean set goals to achieve a full life. She commented, "I have goals all the time, all the time. I mean actually with my house, what I'm doing with [it]; I got my life actually

all planned out. I really do." In summary, Jean Lynch was a spender, had a positive attitude, expected a long life, and set goals.

The Robbins family. Millie Robbins was the mother of adolescent son Bruce Robbins. This interviewee stated that she usually voted in elections without aligning with a political party. "I think I go more toward each issue individually," she said. Millie did not believe that she was liberal or conservative. She shared a positive belief about life. When she received bad news, she explained, "I get angry. . . . I don't deal with bad news, and I tend to blow up easier than I would any other time." She hoped for a long life; "I feel I'm gonna be old . . . yeah, 80 [years]." Millie did not set goals: "No, I just take it as it comes. . . . I'm a person that flies by the seat of my pants [and I] take what comes and it doesn't rattle me." Millie did not budget. As she expressed it, "[I am] a person with a financial planner as a husband, [but], no, [we don't budget]." She expected to live a long life, yet was not one to set goals or save money.

The Swartz family. John and JoAnn Swartz were parents of adolescent sons Ronald and Martin Swartz. They voted in elections, but JoAnn considered herself "extremely politically inactive unless it is a school issue; then I consider myself extremely active." John reported that he had not "missed one [election] yet." His wife said she belonged to a political party and was "probably more conservative than anything else." John was prohibited from joining a political party because he was a judge. "Before I left private life to take the judicial appointment, I was and had been a committeeman in the local Democratic Party," he revealed. JoAnn did not

save money because "I guess we've been fortunate that we don't really need to." According to John,

> [The] government gives me a savings plan--401K--[where] money comes out. I never see it, and that's a forced savings; they match. That's pretty darned good because I'm taking the max out that I can, and at the level of pay I get that's a lot of money, so I don't really worry about savings after that. She [JoAnn] had some family money when her father died, and we just manage that conservatively.

John shared that he believed he had a positive outlook on life; JoAnn stated that she was "more pessimistic than John and the kids." She added, "Watching Michigan football, I'm the one saying they're going to lose. . . . I'm the one more cautious, more pessimistic. . . . I'm the worrier." She said she "would fight for what I wanted if I really felt that strongly about it, but usually the only issues I feel that strongly about are related to my kids." Her husband claimed to handle bad news as if "there's nothing to do; you cope with it the best you can." He added,

> When there's something bad, you know the adrenalin . . . the fight or flight impulse. . . . If you're put to the test, if somebody near you is bleeding, you either freak out and do nothing or you kick it into gear and do something and overcome whatever it is that's the problem. . . . When the time comes you find out.

JoAnn said she expected to live until age 75 or 80. Her husband claimed that he expected "a normal life span; I do believe that you can will yourself to live longer." JoAnn shared that she set goals "daily." Her reason was: "There are things I want to do; what I expect to accomplish each day [is] very minimal. What I want long term are things for my boys, my family. In terms of next month, that's not so important to me. It's whatever comes up." John had set professional goals for himself, as he shared in the following statement:

> When I was young, before I started out in my career, I had to decide what I was going to do. I could have gone into my father's business; he would have sent me to business school or any graduate school or law school. . . . And I did a lot of thinking. . . . I don't know if I want to work one place my whole life. If I go into law, I can have a whole lot of careers and still be in law. I could go into business, I could teach . . . public service, private practice. . . . I could change careers mid-stream, so I said that's where I should go.

John and JoAnn Swartz apparently did extensive planning for the future by setting goals. They were conservative, saved money through his retirement plan, had a positive outlook on life despite JoAnn's cautiousness, and expected to live long lives.

The Sweet family. Jeannie Sweet was the mother of adolescent daughter Betty Sweet. She "vote[d] in every election" without political party affiliation. "I tend to lean more [toward] Republican, but I don't vote party at all." When asked whether she was liberal or conservative, Jeannie stated, "I used to think I was very liberal. Then I grew up, and now I'm not quite so liberal." She lived on a strict budget. "As far as my budget is concerned, I have a two-week budget. I budget very closely." When asked about outlook, Jeannie said she believed she had a positive view of life. "Well, this hasn't been the best year, so that has colored my attitude, [but] generally, I have a very good outlook." When she received bad news, Jeannie's reaction was to "cry and then tackle it. Look at what has to be done and do it." She added, "It [bad news] doesn't go away; you can't try and make it go away by avoiding it. I don't know of any other way to face it other than that." Jeannie was analytical about her life expectancy, which she established to be age 70 or more. "From what my family has done, my dad died when he was 62 and my mother is 76. . . . I [should] live as long as my mother and be as good as she is [seventies]." This respondent said she

set goals. "I do a lot of long-range planning. . . . I think in terms of real short things and then a big picture. Now, my big goal is to get Betty through high school, and then I can reevaluate where we are and what I want to do." Like most other parents, Jeannie Sweet's attitude was positive, she expected to live a long life, and she set goals. Furthermore, she saved money and, to some extent, was a self-proclaimed liberal.

The Underwood/March family. Fran March was the mother of adolescent daughter Jill Underwood; Fran was in her second marriage. "I usually vote in elections," stated Fran, "but I'd rather be independent. . . . I am unpredictable [because] I vote the issue [not a political party]." Fran reported that she did not set goals for herself or for her family; she operated without a budget. When she received bad news, she handled it by "getting over it by going out." On balance, Fran March called herself a conservative and admitted being independent of any political party affiliation. She usually voted in elections and concentrated on what she called "the issues." She did not save money. Fran said she had a positive view of life, and she expected to live into her sixties. She did not set goals.

The Weide family. Dorothy Weide was the mother of adolescent daughter Martha Weide. When asked whether she was liberal or conservative, she responded "liberal." Dorothy said she voted in elections without belonging to a political party. She tried to "stay pretty much on a budget," but did not have a savings plan. "When I get a little extra money, I put it aside," she claimed. When asked whether she was positive or negative about life, Dorothy admitted to a

negative view of life. She stated, "I've had so much bad news all my life. . . . I handle it [bad news] sometimes, but other times I lose it completely; . . . [eventually] I bounce right back." Dorothy said she expected to live into her fifties. She explained that she had no goals established for herself, but she claimed to set goals for her daughter. "I'd like her to go to college and do what she wants to. I've just been so proud of her . . . I can't believe. She's doing good; I don't know where she gets it from, because my other daughter is just like me, it's unreal." In summary, Dorothy Weide was a liberal who saved money without setting goals. Unlike other parent interviewees, she had a negative outlook on life and expected a short life span.

The Williams family. Elaine Williams was the mother of adolescent son Max. When asked about politics, Elaine reported having little interest in it until this year. "I almost ran for county commissioner," declared Elaine. "I decided not to, [but instead] to wait until Max is out of school." Also, she was busy attending college to earn a teaching certificate. She was hesitant to align with a political party. "I attended a county Democratic Party meeting and was totally turned off," Elaine said. She voted in elections and called herself neither a liberal nor a conservative but a "moderate." Elaine Williams saved money; she belonged to an investment club and operated on a budget. She reported having a positive attitude toward life, but when given bad news, she ate food. She commented, "I usually go eat something, which I am trying very hard to deal with [an eating habit]." She believed that she would live into her eighties. "The key is being able to do what you want to do when you're

alive," she said. Elaine set goals and strove to achieve them; her current quest to earn a teaching certificate is a prime example. To summarize, Elaine Williams had a positive attitude, expected to live a long life, set goals, saved money, and called herself a moderate.

The Withrow family. Shelly Withrow was the mother of adolescent daughter Laurie Withrow. She voted in every election, along with her husband. Shelly believed she voted "Democratic, mostly," and she offered that she was "liberal, very much." Shelly claimed to be "kind of an activist" because of her involvement and commitment politically. "We're very active in the AIDS program--we've had a member of our family die of AIDS. All they have to do is call us. . . . We'll cook the meal, anything, we'll be there." When given bad news, Shelly looked to her religious faith. "We have a very strong thing in our religion and that's a rudder. . . . That's what we're trying to emphasize to our kids." This interviewee did not save money, except for her children's college expenses. Shelly set goals, especially financial ones; she and her husband recently finished "paying off some debts that we had . . . getting ready for the kids when they need the financial support from us." She believed she would live well into her nineties, perhaps reaching 99 years old. In summary, Shelly Withrow was liberal, saved money, had a positive outlook about life, set goals, and expected to live a long life.

Data analysis: Families' outlook. Table 3.1 (p. 56) linked Banfield's theory about outlook to five indicators: (a) liberal/conservative politics, (b) spending/saving, (c) positive/negative view of life, (d) long/short expected life span, and (e) setting/not

setting goals. Table 4.1 represents families' responses to the five indicators of outlook. Note the lack of variety in the responses.

Rationale. The lack of differences in Table 4.1 is apparent. All parents except Robbins, Underwood/March, and Weide reported setting goals, and all except Underwood/March and Weide expected to live a long life. Twelve of the 14 were positive in their outlooks. Four were self-proclaimed liberals, five were conservatives, and five were neither liberal nor conservative. Nine saved money, whereas five did not. Table 4.1 was based on the five indicators, and the data reported for these indicators made it impossible to determine the families' social class, based on outlook, except possibly for Underwood/March and Weide. Due to the short life expectancy, combined with no goal setting and no savings plan, both were lower class based on the indicators. They were the only lower-class families when looking at the indicators as five separate topics.

Looking at a **combination** of indicators helped in making a distinction between and among the families in **the way they viewed their children's future**. Longo/Slosser, Underwood/March, Duke, and Weide were far removed from Holden, David, Lynch/Coles, Swartz, Curry, Williams, Sweet, and Aller in the way they viewed their children's future. The following examples support this contention.

The Longo/Slosser family was occupied with Alton Slosser's drug use and abuse; there was no talk of college in the future. Kathleen Duke did not offer much about her son Irvin's future, either; her pride was in having purchased her own car. Dorothy Weide, one parent in a lower-class family based on the indicators taken

Table 4.1: Families' responses to the indicators of outlook.

Family	Indicator of Outlook				
	1	2	3	4	5
Aller	C	Sv	O	L	G
Curry	O	Sv	P	L	G
David	O	Sp	P	L	G
Duke	C	Sv	P	L	G
Holden	C	Sv	P	L	G
Longo/Slosser	L	Sp	P	L	G
Lynch/Coles	O	Sp	P	L	G
Robbins	O	Sp	P	L	N
Swartz	C	Sv	P	L	G
Sweet	L	Sv	P	L	G
Underwood/March	C	Sp	P	S	N
Weide	L	Sv	N	S	N
Williams	O	Sv	P	L	G
Withrow	L	Sv	P	L	G

Key:

1. Liberal/conservative politics — L = Liberal, C = Conservative, O = Other
2. Spending/saving — SP = Spending propensity
Sv = Saving propensity
3. Positive/negative view of life — P = Positive, N = Negative, O = Other
4. Long/short expected life span — L = Long, S = Short
5. Setting/not setting goals — G = Setting goals, N = Not setting goals

taken separately, wanted her daughter to attend college but offered no plan. Fran Underwood/March, the other lower-class parent based on indicators, offered no plan either. Instead, both were surprised at their children, stating that they did not know where the talent and college potential originated. Contrast these four families with the others. For example, Aller, Withrow, and Sweet operated on strict budgets because they were saving for their children's college, whereas Longo/ Slosser lived paycheck to paycheck. Holden, David, Swartz, and Curry spoke about retirement plans that included their children and future grandchildren; Weide mentioned putting a little money aside, that was all. Concerning long/short expected life span, Holden expected to live into the nineties, and Aller, Williams, Duke, and David into the eighties; Weide said she expected to live into her fifties. To this researcher, four families--Weide, Underwood/March, Duke, and Longo/Slosser--were lower class based on outlook due to the way they viewed their children's future.

Much more difficult was finding a distinction between upper- and middle-class status. The line between the two categories was not as easy to determine. For example, the Swartzes did not budget and may have been more pessimistic (e.g., Withrow talked about saving for college and relied on religious faith for a source of optimism). However, on balance, the Swartzes did not budget like other families because they possessed inherited wealth and a sizable annual income, and their definition of pessimism (i.e., "Michigan is going to lose") did not really reflect a lower-class outlook. Two families--Withrow and Robbins--were designated middle class for reasons based on their responses. Shelly Withrow admitted to not saving money

"except for the children's college expenses" and said that they had just "paid off some debts." Millie Robbins admitted to not setting goals and not budgeting, being what she called a person who "flies by the seat of her pants." These responses caused the researcher to designate the families as middle, not upper, class.

The reader will notice that little has been said in this analysis about positive/ negative view of life and setting/not setting goals. These two sets of indicators told little about the families. One problem with positive/negative view of life is that it appears to fluctuate, given any variety of circumstances. Jeannie Sweet taught the researcher that when she said, "Well, this hasn't been the best year, so that has colored my attitude." She was referring to the loss of her husband, first to divorce, then to death, in the span of a few months. Another problem with the indicator, positive/negative view, which surfaced during the interviews, was defining exactly what a positive or negative view is. Several respondents, like Holden, admitted they had been lucky not to have experienced tragedy in their lives; does the "lack" of tragedy color viewpoint? The truth is, yes, it does. That makes the indicator less useful overall in determining a family's outlook. Also, in examining the data, there was little variance in the findings. Table 4.1 showed that most families set goals, and most were positive. A lack of variance concerning goals and positive/negative outlook was not helpful in determining social class. In Table 4.2, families are ranked by the first factor, outlook.

Better indicators of this were liberal/conservative politics, spending/saving, and long/short life span. The best indicator was the one just developed: how parents viewed their children's future.

Table 4.2: Families' social class based on outlook.

	Social Class	Family
Range of Social Classes	Upper	Holden David Aller Swartz Curry Williams Sweet Lynch/Coles
	Middle	Robbins Withrow
	Lower	Weide Duke Longo/Slosser Underwood/March

An understanding about social class is increased by the factor, outlook. Ultimately, each family was placed into a social class based on **all** the factors. Therefore, work on the other social class factors must be shared, and now the focus is on the second factor, cognitive ability.

Cognitive Ability

Cognitive ability, which designates the second social class factor, intelligence, is based on the work and theories of Herrnstein and Murray (1994). Herrnstein and Murray defined five cognitive classes based on intelligence. Their cognitive classes ranged as follows: The highest class, labeled Class I, represents very bright

persons with the highest intelligence. The other classes in descending order are Class II, bright; Class III, normal; Class IV, dull; and Class V, very dull. The divisions between and among the classes are based on intelligence delineations loosely determined by test scores and similar intelligence measures.

The cognitive class theory offered by Herrnstein and Murray adds to a social class understanding, and it was determined that cognitive ability (i.e., intelligence) would be useful for this research regarding families' social class. Although intelligence is difficult to measure by itself, there are ways to measure indicators that reflect intelligence. Families' cognitive ability (intelligence) was measured by three sets of indicators: (a) formal education/little formal education, (b) grades and achievement: strong/weak, and (c) books read: many/few (Table 3.1, p. 56).

Data were gathered through structured interviews with parents, and the responses from the parents were transcribed, categorized, and analyzed. Typical responses regarding the first indicator, formal education, surrounded high school and college experiences. Parents discussed high school and college experiences; some remembered, in detail, various stories about specific courses and teachers. The second indicator, grades and achievement, was determined by parents' responses about letter grades, grade point averages (GPA), favorite subjects, and honors such as scholarships, class ranking, and honor society recognition. Similarly, some parents remembered specific information about their achievements, whereas others did not recall nearly as much. The third indicator, books read, was shaped

by the number of books read over time. Typical responses concerned specific book titles and subject matter.

The Aller family. Marilyn Aller graduated from high school and Michigan State University. She said, "At that point in the late 60s or 70s, women weren't really being pushed that much into business, which might be where I would head if I were graduating . . . right now." An economics major and math minor, Marilyn graduated from college with honors. "I majored in economics, and that's kind of hard," she stated. She read "a great deal, mostly fiction" as an adult; she cited The Rainmaker as a book she had read recently. Her analysis was that, if times had been different two or three decades ago, she might have chosen a business career over teaching. In summary, Marilyn Aller received a bachelor's degree, had been a strong student, and read for leisure.

The Curry family. Waldo Curry said he had "made it out of high school [and] bounced around a lot of schools in undergraduate [courses]." He was a strong student who enjoyed school. "I think I've always enjoyed any course work that I've been involved in. . . . My science background is the weakest of all," he said. Waldo earned a master's degree in social work from the University of South Carolina. He recalled that his strongest courses were psychology and sociology, with the aforementioned science the least favorite. This interviewee shared that he did not read books for pleasure due to time constraints; "I read for the most part to keep up [professionally]." Waldo Curry had had advanced schooling (master's degree), strong achievement, and a love of reading.

The David family. Homer David graduated from high school after attending "parochial schools for 12 years." He was a successful student in high school, and this success carried into college. David began college at the University of Detroit, then transferred to Central Michigan University (CMU), where he earned a bachelor's degree. He later returned to CMU to earn a master's degree. Homer favored history and social studies, but he disliked math--"most likely because my dad was a very good student in math. [He] could not understand why I could not get math." Homer reported he was an avid reader, reading many books each year. The last book he read was Leadership in the Computer. Homer appeared to be intelligent and motivated to be an adult learner, as reflected in the books he read and especially his formal education. He had a master's degree and strong achievement to accompany his propensity to read.

The Duke family. Kathleen Duke graduated from high school in the 1970s. She said she was "interested in art, mostly, and business course[s]. Kathleen remembered getting good marks in school; "I was pretty good, National Honor Society and stuff like that. [However], math was not my good point; that's why I'm doing math now . . . [a] total reversal." After high school, Kathleen attended a business school. ("It was just a secretarial course.") She said, "[I] was manager of a company, . . . then [went] back to work, and I'm working at an accounting firm." This interviewee read the daily newspaper, but few books; she had not read a book in "probably over a year. I don't remember what it was, even. . . . Reading the paper at night is enjoyment; that's about it." It would appear that the activity of reading the

newspaper was for pleasure more than for her own education. Kathleen Duke's educational attainment of business school was noted along with the other indicators --strong high school grades/achievement and books read for pleasure.

The Holden family. Peggy Holden graduated from high school and Purdue University. At Purdue she earned a bachelor's degree with a home economics major. "It's been real interesting for me lately . . . to reflect on why I chose that," she reported. Child development and clothing construction were favorite subjects, and science was the most difficult for her. Peggy shared that she read many books for pleasure; she belonged to a "circle group" whose members traded books monthly. The circle group met to discuss one or two books a year. "Most book clubs get together and discuss them every month, but we [don't because] it's harder to do that when you're not reading them at the same time," she explained. Douglas Holden reported that he had been "a very poor high school student." After graduating from high school, he attended Indiana University and the University of Michigan Law School. He graduated from law school with honors. Douglas explained it as follows: "Basically [in high school], because I was bored, I rebelled, and I was unable to get accepted anywhere but our local state university, Indiana University." He had liked psychology, comparative-religion courses, classes that "were not the ones in my major field." Douglas said that he enjoyed reading many books for pleasure. He and his wife were well-educated, both having been strong students in college, and they read a great deal for knowledge and pleasure.

The Longo/Slosser family. Mary Longo did not graduate from high school. She said, "I went to twelfth grade, then I quit. I was going to fail twelfth grade . . . it was more or less like they [school authorities] pushed me into it [quitting] . . . because I could get married. I never had anybody--nobody--[to] encourage me in education." Mary remembered being "an average student [earning] C's." Her favorite class was science, but other classes attracted her attention as well. "Back then," she said, "education didn't really mean that much. I missed a lot; I skipped a lot. I was hardly ever there. But when I did go, I liked it. I liked gym, naturally. . . . I liked history; history was one of my favorites." In summary, Mary Longo was a high school dropout who had weak high school achievement; she read novels for pleasure.

The Lynch/Coles family. Jean Lynch dropped out of high school after attending several elementary and secondary schools as a youngster. "I quit [high school]," she stated. "I went to adult ed after I had Mary Ann, I got my GED, and I stayed in school to get my regular high school diploma; I felt more better with a high school diploma than with a GED." Jean recalled receiving "mostly B's, C's, you know, with general courses." She cited math and history as two of her favorite classes, whereas science and gym were two of her "worst." As an adult, Jean received much training through her work on topics such as sanitation. "We have training all the time, and we have to learn about food safety," she said. Reading and studying were associated with those classes. In addition, she read many books for pleasure. "I love to read; I read a lot. I read my Bible every day." As an adult, Jean

showed a different approach to learning than when she was a teenage dropout; as a dropout, she would be lower class. Now, with her training, she certainly was higher than that. In summary, Jean Lynch had a high school diploma in addition to ongoing training through work, she had strong achievement as an adult learner, and she read for both knowledge and leisure.

The Robbins family. Millie Robbins graduated from high school with above-average grades; she earned an associate's degree in Applied Science at Delta College with a "3.0 in college." Robbins recalled favorite subjects as "English, not the math." In college she became interested in "the whole X-ray program: I went from a C student to a 4.0 student just because I loved it so much." As an adult, Millie read books for pleasure; she chose "mostly novels, some autobiographies, no technical books." She added, "I just finished a real good one . . . called The Power of Hope, a wonderful book." In summary, Millie Robbins possessed a two-year college education with successful grades, and her reading enjoyment was apparent.

The Swartz family. John Swartz graduated from high school in 1967, from City College (New York) in 1971, and from Boston College in 1974. He earned honors in college; according to John, he became "a math major because I went to [a special] math and science high school and thought . . . I was good in math." This interviewee remembered having success in a wide variety of courses, and his ability to earn high marks shaped his interests. "I went back to . . . what else did I get an A in? Political science . . . [and] economics had a little math, and it [economics] fit nicely in with the political science." As an adult, he read novels for enjoyment.

John's wife, JoAnn, graduated from high school with honors in 1969. She graduated from the University of Michigan with a bachelor's degree in Sociology. JoAnn recalled that her favorite courses were math and social studies. "I really liked math courses," she said, but a high school math teacher had convinced her that "I would be sorry if I ever took calculus in college." As an adult, JoAnn read books for pleasure. In summary, both John and JoAnn Swartz had college degrees from highly regarded institutions, both had many honors and achievements associated with school, and both read avidly for pleasure.

The Sweet family. Jeannie Sweet graduated from high school in 1973. "I went on to a school nursing program, which in the 70s was very popular. [It was] . . . a three-year program, and I graduated from that in 1976. To renew your license you take continuing education, so I've taken continuing education every year for the last 20 years," she noted. Jeannie remembered receiving high marks in school. "I was a very good student . . . on the honor roll all through high school," she said. She told of earning a "3.5 out of 4.0 grade point average and likewise in nursing school." Jeannie's interest in science may have led to her nursing career, but she also enjoyed other classes. "I was equally involved in everything. . . . I enjoyed English literature very much." This interviewee called herself a "voracious" reader today, enjoying many types of books. She cited favorites such as "biographies, autobiographies, just about anything. . . . The Rainmaker, I enjoyed it." Jeannie Sweet had had three years of college, she had strong achievement, and she read for leisure.

The Underwood/March family. Fran March graduated from high school in 1967 after earning what she called "average" grades. "I went to all the schools in the area [before graduating from Pinetown High School], and gym class was a favorite," she stated. "I liked math . . . but not science." Fran did not attend college, but she did take some business courses at a local trade school. Aside from reading the daily paper, she did not read. In summary, Fran March graduated from high school with average grades and read the newspaper.

The Weide family. Dorothy Weide graduated from high school in 1977. When asked about her high school achievements, she responded that her grades were "not real good, not bad, probably average, some D's." Dorothy said her favorite class was golf; she "didn't like government at all or English classes." Her high school experience did not lead to further college or post-high school classwork. Dorothy's career in bartending had added some training to her background; "We took a class once for [how] to tell if someone was drunk." This interviewee stated that she read no books at all. Therefore, she was a high school graduate who had weak achievement in school, and she did not read books as an adult.

The Williams family. Elaine Williams's husband was an ophthalmologist in the city. During the interview, she shared information about her *own* education--that she had graduated with good grades from a Catholic high school in Ohio, and that she had attended various colleges, including Ohio State University and the University of Cincinnati. "I had all C's the first semester [at Ohio State]," stated Elaine. "I had mostly B's the rest of the way." She had enjoyed taking classes her entire life,

earning bachelor's and master's degrees along the way. "I got my master's in health education," Elaine related. "I took a job at the University of Cincinnati teaching dental hygiene . . . for three years." After moving to Ann Arbor, Elaine enrolled in a Ph.D. program at the University of Michigan; she did not finish the degree. Another move–the one that brought her to Pinetown–provided Elaine a chance to take even more classes. At the time of the interview, Elaine was nearly finished with a teaching degree. Her husband had attended college nearly a decade, training to enter his profession; Elaine had as much cumulative schooling if her fields of study were combined. She enjoyed science, health education, and social studies as topics, and she had really enjoyed college, in general, taking a variety of classes. She commented,

> I hope to do student teaching in January. I'll be in the market for a secondary job. So, when you talk about education, I mean I have *hardly* ever been out of it. I *enjoy* taking classes; I find I do better when I go to the school. I've thought about these telecourses [over television], but I am not disciplined enough for that. I need to be at the school. I enjoy the rapport with the students; that I am an older student is much *more* valuable.

Elaine was an active reader; she read historical novels for pleasure. To summarize, Elaine Williams had been a successful lifelong learner. She had earned two degrees (B.S., M.A.), and she was about to earn another (another bachelor's degree with a teaching credential). Her husband was an M.D. with his own successful higher educational experiences.

The Withrow family. Shelly Withrow graduated from a Catholic high school in the 1970s; "I'm a Catholic brat," she noted, adding that "The nuns put you in pigeon holes. . . . I was stupider than [others] . . . then I had my junior and seniors

[in which I earned] A's and B's." Shelly went to college, where she earned a "B average," and then she continued to graduate school and earned A's. She commented, "So you know [I] just progressed." This interviewee recalled social sciences as favorite classes, and math, biology, and physics as less appealing. As an adult, she was an avid reader, reading newspapers (e.g., The Detroit Free Press) and books for pleasure. "The Right of Privacy . . . is very good," she commented. In conclusion, Shelly Withrow's college work, her achievements in school, and her love for reading as an adult were noted.

Data analysis: Cognitive ability. Table 4.3 provides a summary of the cognitive ability information gathered from the interviews and presented in this section. In Table 4.4, families are ranked by the second factor, cognitive ability.

Rationale. As with the first factor, it was a clearer task to separate families into the upper and lower social classes based on cognitive ability. For example, the first indicator, formal education/little formal education, showed a sizable spread between those with medical or law degrees (Holden, Williams, and Swartz) and master's degrees (Curry, David, and Aller) and those who had dropped out of high school (Longo/Slosser) or had graduated from high school but had little other education (Underwood/March, Duke, and Weide). A similar delineation resulted from the analysis of the second indicator, grades and achievement: strong/weak. Interviews revealed strong grades and achievement in 11 families (Holden, Swartz, Williams, Curry, David, Aller, Sweet, Robbins, Withrow, Duke, and Lynch/Coles); weak grades and achievement were found in three families (Underwood/March,

Table 4.3: Families' responses to the indicators of cognitive ability.

Family	Indicator of Cognitive Ability		
	1	2	3
Aller	BS	S	L
Curry	MA	S	F,K
David	MA	S	K
Duke	HS	S	N
Holden	JD	S	L,K
Longo/Slosser	D	W	L
Lynch/Coles	HS	S	L,K
Robbins	C	S	L
Swartz	JD	S	L
Sweet	C	S	L
Underwood/March	HS	W	N
Weide	HS	W	F
Williams	MD	S	L,K
Withrow	BS	S	L

Key:

1. Formal education/little formal education
   D = Dropout HS = High school diploma C = Some college
   BS = Bachelor's degree MA = Master's degree JD = Law degree
   MD = Medical degree

2. Grades and achievement: strong/weak
   S = Strong W = Weak

3. Books read: many/few
   L = Leisure N = Newspaper/news magazine
   K = Knowledge/professional reading F = Few or no books

Table 4.4: Families' social class based on cognitive ability.

	Social Class	Family
Range of Social Classes	Upper	Williams Swartz Holden David Aller Curry
	Middle	Robbins Sweet Withrow Lynch/Coles
	Lower	Underwood/March Duke Longo/Slosser Weide

Weide, and Longo/Slosser). The Lynch/Coles classification is interesting because Jean Lynch dropped out of high school, having experienced weak grades and achievement, then returned to earn a GED (an achievement), then earned an adult education diploma (another achievement), and currently received extensive training from the Burger King corporation on topics such as nutrition, food handling, and management (strong achievement).

Therefore, based primarily on the two strongest indicators--formal education/ little formal education and grades and achievement: strong/weak--four lower-class families existed, based on cognitive ability. Also, six upper-class and four middle-class families existed, based on cognitive ability. They are shown in Table 4.4.

The third indicator, books read (many/few), turned out to be less useful than intended. Holden pointed out that he read because of his profession (e.g., publications), but due to time limitations he was unable to read very much for leisure. In fact, 11 of the families indicated they did a lot of reading, either for pleasure (e.g., Lynch liked to read novels) or for the profession (e.g., David recently had read a computer book). Only Curry, Underwood/March, and Weide indicated they did not read; Curry, in all likelihood, read professionally more than he discussed in the interview because of his job. Due to this limitation, the first two indicators--formal education and grades/achievement--had better application for the second social class factor, cognitive ability.

Thus far, the writer has assembled a social class profile of each family. For two social class indicators, readers have an understanding about the families collectively. Table 4.5 is provided to combine information about the two factors. Two families, Sweet and Lynch/Coles, had different social classes for the two factors. Both were ranked upper class due to outlook and middle class due to cognitive ability. The rationale has been given about the rankings for each factor, and as the analysis continues, this will happen with other families. When it does, it will be noted for the reader.

Cognitive ability (intelligence) tells us about social class through its indicators. The families' social classes can be defined according to cognitive ability based on distinctions found in the indicators, especially formal education and

grades/achievement. Next, attention is turned to the third social class factor, occupation.

Table 4.5: Families' social class based on cognitive ability, in comparison with outlook.

	Social Class	Family	Cognitive Ability	Outlook
Range of Social Classes	Upper	Swartz	U	U
		Holden	U	U
		Williams	U	U
		David	U	U
		Aller	U	U
		Curry	U	U
	Middle	Robbins	M	M
		Sweet	**M**	**U**
		Withrow	M	**M**
		Lynch/Coles	**M**	U
	Lower	Underwood/March	L	L
		Duke	L	L
		Longo/Slosser	L	L
		Weide	L	L

Occupation

Occupation has long been linked to social class. That link was explored earlier. Kahl (1957) and Banfield (1970) provided convincing connections between occupation, education, and social class. Wright et al. (1982) indicated a direct relationship between occupation and social class. Herrnstein and Murray (1994) showed a relationship between intelligence and occupation, which determines, in part, a "cognitive partitioning" found in social classes. Because of occupation's close relationship with social class, it was designated one of the four factors in the

normative social class model. Occupation was determined by five indicators: (a) families' jobs, (b) longevity, (c) training, (d) salary, and (e) supervision and responsibilities.

Responses frequently were offered about earlier generations; many parents told about **their** parents' occupations–the mother, often a homemaker, and the father, often the laborer. Their own occupations were varied; some were in a long-standing professional role within a company (e.g., chief executive officer), and others were in a new position or new career (e.g., fast food manager). Some had received extensive training on an ongoing basis (e.g., nurse), and others had little or no training (e.g., bartender). Some earned a six-figure salary (e.g., judge), whereas others earned just a fraction of that amount (e.g., cook). Whereas some supervised many employees (e.g., fast food manager), others supervised no one else (e.g., data processor). The responses told much about today's society–how people's lives vary, how their daily functions vary, and how their roles in society vary. That was not the purpose of the inquiry, though, however interesting that might be. Learning the family's occupation helped in describing and explaining each family's social class; understanding the family's occupation was found to be useful in understanding their social class. The following summaries are provided to assist the reader in learning about the families' occupations; direct quotations are provided, which were taken from the parents' interviews.

The Aller family. Marilyn Aller reported that her own parents "were not college educated"; her mother had worked as a bookkeeper after Marilyn's father died when

she was young. Marilyn's formal training was at Michigan State University, where she earned an educational degree. She said, "I've taught 25 years, not full time, I taught half time for about 16 years after I had my first child; I taught half-days [until] . . . teaching full time again . . . the last three or four years." As a teacher, she earned more than $60,000 in wages and benefits. Although Marilyn did not supervise other adults, she had direct responsibility to her students for mathematics instruction. Also, she had an indirect responsibility to parents to help them guide their children through high school and prepare them for college, work, and adult life after high school graduation. In summary, Marilyn Aller had parents who were laborers, and as a teacher, she had a wide span of supervision and responsibility. She earned a salary between $40,000 and $70,000, received ongoing training for her job, and had more than eight years in her position.

The Curry family. Waldo Curry's father had been a custodian in Flint; his mother "didn't work outside the home until [later]" when she worked part time as a custodian, also. Waldo was trained to be a social worker, and he currently supervised 40 professional staff as a coordinator of planning and monitoring data for an intermediate school district. Much of this work was in special education. He said, "My role in terms of coordinating [is] scheduling things, conducting workshops and services needed, helping people . . . [as] kind of a resource person." Waldo earned approximately $60,000 in wages, and he reported to a director. In summary, Waldo Curry's parents were laborers, and he worked in a position with a wide span of

supervision and responsibilities, earned between $40,000 and $70,000 in wages, received ongoing training, and had held the position for more than eight years.

The David family. Homer David's parents both had worked full time; his father had been a letter carrier, and his mother a secretary. Homer reported that he had worked in various recreational, athletic, and educational settings during his career. Previous employment included the YMCA, along with teaching and coaching at parochial and public schools. He told of extensive experience as a basketball coach at various levels in the Bay City area. Currently, he worked in a neighboring school district as the adult and community education director, a job he had held for several years. In that position, David earned approximately $60,000 in wages annually, supervising a staff that oversaw a variety of adult education and community service programs. Like Waldo Curry, Homer David received ongoing training, had a wide span of supervision and responsibilities, earned between $40,000 and $70,000 in salary, and had worked in his position more than eight years; his parents were laborers.

The Duke family. Kathleen Duke said that her father had been a butcher and her mother had "raised a family, then . . . later on [she] was a cleaning lady at a school." As for herself, Kathleen explained it this way: "I sold home interior products, cooked at a rectory; I worked at a body shop as a secretary, at [another business] as a secretary . . . [a] little bit of everything and now just data processing at the CPA firm." She had worked in her current position one year and reportedly had not received formal training for the position. "It's more like 'in-house' training

[where employees] ask a lot of questions." Kathleen shared that she made "less than $8 per hour [doing] depreciations, personal property statements [plus] help with the bookkeepers and bank reconciliations and stuff like that." No employees reported to Duke, and she reported to a supervisor as well as "the partners of the firm." In summary, Kathleen Duke had held this job less than two years, had a narrow span of supervision and responsibilities, earned less than $40,000 in annual wages, and received no ongoing training. Her parents, like those of Aller, Curry, and David, were laborers.

The Holden family. Peggy Holden's father had graduated from General Motors Institute and had worked for General Motors. Her mother had been a homemaker until the children went to college, at which time she worked as a receptionist to earn extra income to cover their college expenses. Peggy's husband, Douglas, described a similar situation for his father, who worked for General Motors as an electrical engineer. Douglas's mother was trained to teach school, but she was a homemaker while the children were at home. Peggy told about having a brief teaching career of her own, early in their married life. She left a home economics teaching position 20 years ago to be a homemaker and community volunteer. Douglas shared his experiences as the chief executive officer (CEO) for a company in a nearby city, a position he had held for nearly a decade. Six people reported directly to him, and he explained the situation as follows:

> We don't have that many layers. . . . I've got more of a matrix attitude anyway. . . . I just go right to the person that has the information. It's not a typical pyramidal type organization. Although you have certain lines of

> reporting, we flatten it out quite a bit. We work hard not to have a lot of barriers.

As a CEO for a major company, Douglas's salary and benefits exceeded six figures; he frequently traveled abroad and served on several national and international boards of directors. In summary, Douglas Holden's wide supervision and responsibilities, high salary, ongoing training, and long tenure were noted. Also, both of his parents had professional occupations.

The Longo/Slosser family. Mary Longo's father had been an electrician at Dow. "He made good money there," she offered. Mary's mother "would always waitress"; then, she explained, "it became kind of complicated." After Mary's parents divorced, her father had become a township inspector in another town. Mary had worked for the local system for eight years in their cafeteria as a cook and food server. She reported her current earnings to be $9.48 an hour. Because she worked only four hours a day in the cafeteria and just during the school year, she had to supplement her wages by working for a Burger King restaurant. She reported working 15 hours a week there, except during the summer, when she increased it to 40 hours a week. Mary made $4.25 an hour at Burger King. These two part-time jobs were supplemented by $75 a week child support from her ex-husband, "when he pays it." Mary received no ongoing training in the cafeteria, and she offered no information about Burger King's training. She reported to one supervisor in both locations. Mary had one co-worker who cooked and served food with her in the school cafeteria, and at Burger King she was a member of a team. In summary, Mary Longo had a narrow span of supervision and responsibilities in both jobs, she

earned less than $40,000 altogether, she had worked at the school more than eight years, she received no training in her school position, and her parents were laborers.

The Lynch/Coles family. Jean Lynch's father had worked at Dow Corning, and her mother had been "just a housewife." She explained her own occupational history as follows:

> I was just only . . . a housewife until Mary Ann [daughter] started getting older; then I had my son, and after that I went into Burger King as just a crew person. I left there and started working at the Greyhound Bus Station; I worked there about a year and a half. Then I went back to Burger King as a manager, and I've been there ever since.

Jean received "training all the time" on Burger King's food preparation and storage, topics she called "food safety, you know, everything." Currently she worked as a restaurant manager, supervising four other managers and 36 assistants while reporting to a district manager. Her wages comprised a salary of $22,500 and monthly bonuses based on performance (up to $250 per month). Jean seemed to have made strides in her career. In summary, she had parents who were laborers, she had worked more than eight years for a corporation that provided ongoing training, and she had moved up in rank to a managerial position with a wide span of supervision and responsibilities, yet earned less than $40,000 in annual wages.

The Robbins family. Millie Robbins reported that her mother had stayed at home until her father had retired from his pipe-cutting job; then she became a medical receptionist. Millie stated that she had worked as a nurse in X-ray "since college." She currently worked as clinic coordinator with mammography, which she explained was "above and beyond regular X-ray." She received ongoing training in

the field to maintain certification and to enhance her own knowledge. Her annual wage was approximately $23,000. Millie reported that she supervised others "a little bit." Her work as clinic coordinator meant she supervised the X-ray staff and reported to a supervisor. Her parents were laborers, and her ongoing training in her job, her wide supervision and responsibilities, her annual salary (less than $40,000), and her longevity in the job (more than eight years) were all noted for this study.

The Swartz family. JoAnn Swartz's mother had been a homemaker and her father a businessman. "My father wanted a swimming pool, so he went into the swimming pool business because no one around here sold swimming pools," she explained. JoAnn's mother had ended up helping her father with the "family business." John Swartz shared a similar story about his parents. His mother had stayed at home raising children, while his father had been an entrepreneur and a businessman. John reflected on his father this way:

> My earliest recollection is when I was five years old . . . my father had a restaurant in Long Beach, Long Island. And, after that, I recall he drove a bakery truck for a while; oh, even before that he was in the scrap metal business. . . . My father hurt his back, he got out of that; he started to study. . . . He didn't like doing that and . . . bought into a vending machine business. When I was really little, this is what I heard; he had the first car wash in Manhattan.

JoAnn Swartz was a full-time homemaker. She was also a frequent volunteer at school and was active in areas she saw as important for her sons. John was a sitting judge; he said his tenure had reached 12 years. Before that, he had been employed by a law firm in Bay City. As judge, he supervised a staff of clerks and secretaries who operated the court. The primary clerk, in particular, hired and fired

a staff of about 100. John earned a six-figure income in wages and benefits as a judge. On balance, the Swartz family's indicators were as follows: JoAnn's and John's fathers had been in business (professionals), and John was a judge with more than eight years' experience, receiving a salary higher than $70,000. In addition, he had a wide span of supervision and responsibilities, and he received training through his position.

The Sweet family. Jeannie Sweet stated that her father had been "a farmer, and we [the family] lived on a farm in South Dakota until I was in second grade. Then he . . . was left an enormous debt." The family had moved to the city so that her father could earn a better wage; he worked as a butcher. Jeannie's mother had been a medical secretary "until she was married. . . . [Then] she quit working . . . she raised kids and stayed home." For Jeannie, jobs had related to the field of nursing since she first worked as a nurse's aide when she was a high school senior. She told of working in an intensive care unit after graduating from nursing school, and she later worked in a doctor's office for 11 years. A move to her current residence altered Jeannie's employment, and she explained it this way: "Since we've moved here I [have] had two jobs. I started working for a company . . . doing medical bill analysis for auto plants and medical malpractice for attorneys. . . . That's what I continue to do." Concerning salaries, Jeannie stated, "[At] entry level right now in the hospital [a beginning nurse salary] is probably about $32,000." When asked about ongoing training, she offered the following:

> Continuing education. What that basically is . . . nurses are required, in order to renew their license, to take a certain number of hours a year. It was 30 hours a year. . . . What you do . . . there are a multitude of classes you can take. . . . You get a list of various hospitals that put them on, and educational

> institutes. For example, this fall in November I went on a cruise to the Bahamas, and it was a continuing education cruise so I took classes while I was on the ship.

Outside of training new employees, Jeannie reported that she did not supervise other people. In total, she had a narrow span of supervision and responsibilities, she received ongoing training in her position, she earned less than $40,000 in salary, she had worked between two and eight years in her current position, and her parents were laborers.

The Underwood/March family. Fran March's father had worked at a cement plant and farmed 30 acres. "He grew produce," she stated, adding that her mother had helped her father on the farm. Fran started work in a Detroit office but quit after discovering she did not like being in an office all day. "I worked for a year but didn't enjoy it," she said. "I got married and we moved back here. . . . I had kids and didn't work for [quite] a while. . . . Then I went to work for a medical care facility as a nurses' assistant and have been there 16 years." She performed patient care, working eight hours a day for five consecutive days, followed by three days off. She described her job as follows:

> Being there as long as I have, I'm assigned to certain patients. So I have the same ones to take care of every day. And they become attached to me. If I take a day off, they say, "Where is she?" They become pretty attached to me. I am good at what I do. I enjoy it.

Fran received on-the-job training in topics related to the health field. She reported to a supervisor but had no one reporting to her unless someone new was assigned. "When someone is hired in, they are assigned to one of us," Fran said. "They may be hired in at five-something an hour. . . . I make $9.45 an hour plus a 9% [bonus] once a year. I get longevity . . . triple time for holidays like Christmas." In summary,

Fran March's father had been a laborer; she had been a nurses' assistant for more than eight years, received ongoing training, had a narrow span of responsibility, and earned less than $40,000 annually.

The Weide family. Dorothy's father had worked at a local business; her mother had not worked. Dorothy had been employed as a bartender by the same establishment for the past eight years. The training she received to bartend had been limited. "We took a class once . . . to tell if someone was drunk or something," she said. Dorothy reported making "$5 per hour, plus my tips." She did not supervise anyone at the bar, and she reported directly to the owner of the bar, whom she called her "boss." To summarize, Dorothy Weide's annual salary was less than $40,000, she had a narrow span of supervision and responsibilities, she received some training on the job (however, it was *limited* training), she had worked there more than eight years, and her parents were laborers.

The Williams family. Elaine Williams's father had been a dentist. Her mother had been a receptionist/bookkeeper–first for a company that made sprinklers, and later for a gas company. Before she was married, Elaine had worked as a dental hygienist; she was now finishing a teaching degree. As reported earlier, Elaine's husband was a veteran ophthalmologist; he supervised many staff members and earned a six-figure salary. To summarize, the Williams family had two parents with much college education. Elaine was not employed at the time of this study, but her husband commanded a salary exceeding $70,000. He was in a position with a wide span of supervision and responsibilities, and he had extensive ongoing training. He had been in the position more than eight years.

The Withrow family. Shelly's mother had been a bookkeeper, and her father a custodian at Dow. Shelly became a classroom teacher in the 1970s until she became "pink slipped," meaning she was placed on lay-off status. After a short stint as a bookkeeper, she remained a homemaker. Currently, she was "kind of working around, trying to get to be a teacher aide." In the process, Shelly had not held full-time employment, working occasionally as a substitute teacher. "I like to be home when [the children] get home. . . . [I need to] hear the day's news, and heaven forbid you miss the tennis matches." Shelly earned approximately $60 to $70 daily as a substitute teacher, and she supervised no other adult in that job. In summary, Shelly Withrow's parents had been laborers. Also, she received no ongoing training in her substitute teaching, earned far less than $40,000 in wages, had a narrow span of supervision and responsibilities, and had a longevity as a substitute teacher of less than two years.

Data analysis: Occupation. Occupation is a meaningful social class factor. It is a way to describe the families' social class with clarity. Of the five occupation indicators, three stood out as especially helpful: training, salary, and supervision and responsibilities. They help describe the occupation, and the differences between and among the indicators help in defining upper, middle, and lower social class. Table 4.6 contains information regarding the families' responses to the indicators of occupation. It is a summary of the data presented in the preceding text. Families are ranked according to the third social class factor, occupation, in Table 4.7.

Table 4.6: Families' responses to the indicators of occupation.

Family	Indicator of Occupation				
	1	2	3	4	5
Aller	La	A	On	B	Wd
Curry	La	A	On	B	Wd
David	La	A	On	B	Wd
Duke	La	C	N	C	Na
Holden	Pf	A	On	A	Wd
Longo/Slosser	La	A	N	C	Na
Lynch/Coles	La	A	On	C	Wd
Robbins	La	A	On	C	Wd
Swartz	Pf	A	On	A	Wd
Sweet	La	B	On	C	Na
Underwood/March	La	A	On	C	Na
Weide	La	A	On	C	Na
Williams	Pf	A	On	A	Wd
Withrow	La	C	N	C	Na

Key:

1. Families' jobs: Pf = Professional La = Laborer

2. Longevity: A = More than eight years
   B = Two to eight years
   C = Less than two years

3. Training: On = Ongoing training N = No training

4. Salary: A = More than $70,000
   B = Between $40,000 and $70,000
   C = Less than $40,000

5. Supervision and responsibilities: Wd = Wide span Na = Narrow span

Table 4.7: Families' social class based on occupation.

	Social Class	Family
Range of Social Classes	Upper	Swartz Holden Williams
	Middle	Curry David Aller Robbins Sweet Lynch/Coles Withrow Duke
	Lower	Longo/Slosser Weide Underwood/March

Rationale. Previous factors provided a way to think about a family's social class in comparison with other families; occupation is a third factor to serve in this capacity. Occupation is similar to outlook and cognitive ability: Separating the lower-class families from the upper-class ones by analyzing a single factor and its indicators is a simple enough task. The difficulty arises at the boundaries between upper and middle classes and between middle and lower classes. As with the other social class factors, some indicators were more useful than others. This is illustrated by the following examples.

Based on occupation, Weide, Underwood/March, and Longo/Slosser were lower class. Their families' jobs were diverse; Weide's father had worked for a local business, Underwood/March's father had been employed in a cement factory, and

Longo/Slosser's father had been an electrician for a large corporation. However, Weide had been a bartender for eight years, having a narrow span of supervision and responsibilities and receiving only minimal training. Longo/Slosser had worked two part-time, low-wage jobs for the past eight years, with little training in either job, and with a narrow span. Weide, Underwood/March, and Longo/Slosser supervised no other workers. They had no promise for advancement because training, salary, and responsibilities were fixed into the future at their low levels. There were no plans to improve their occupational lots. They had been where they were for a considerable period, and Weide, Underwood/March, and Longo/Slosser were likely to stay there.

Just as clear appeared the upper-class status based on the factor, occupation, for Swartz, Williams, and Holden. Elaine Williams's father had been a dentist. The Swartzes' fathers had been successful businessmen; one father owned the first car wash in Manhattan among his business ventures, and the other owned a swimming pool supply company. The Holdens' fathers both had been professional employees for General Motors Corporation; Douglas Holden's father still consulted for them at age 76. Elaine Williams was married to an ophthalmologist, and she attended college without the need to gain employment. John Swartz had been a judge for 12 years; he had a high salary with specific supervision and job responsibilities dictated by law. Douglas Holden was the CEO of a major company, and with his salary and benefits came the responsibility for overseeing an international operation. None of the spouses worked, and all were visible volunteers in the community, in general, and at school, in particular.

David, Curry, and Aller may have been close to upper class based on occupation, but they may have ranked below Williams, Swartz, and Holden based on distinctions in supervision and responsibilities and salary. David and Curry were administrators in charge of staffs that fell within an organization. Aller was a teacher, and her husband was an administrator; both, even if considered together, had less responsibility than Swartz and Holden. Salary differences for each corresponded to these distinctions in responsibilities. Each family had both husband and wife working (i.e., David: husband was an administrator and wife was a secretary; Curry: husband was an administrator and wife was a social worker; Aller: husband was an administrator and wife was a teacher). The other families (Robbins, Sweet, Lynch/ Coles, Withrow, and Duke) were ranked by occupation to be in the middle class due to their status based on the five indicators. (See Table 4.7.)

The number of families with varied social class rankings has grown to seven (see Table 4.8). The social class factor, occupation, affected five families. It should be noted that one family--Duke--actually was ranked one social class higher because of occupation. Thus, occupation seemed to add an important, if not narrowing, descriptor to the complex social class notion. Occupation seemed to expand the middle class and shrink the upper and lower classes.

Interaction

The fourth social class factor was interaction. The primary writers in this area are Wright et al. (1982) from the University of Wisconsin. In the present study, interaction was based on three indicators: (a) activities, (b) friendships, and (c) memberships. Information about the three indicators of interaction was obtained

Table 4.8: Families' social class based on occupation, in comparison with cognitive ability and outlook.

	Social Class	Family	Occupation	Cognitive Ability	Outlook
Range of Social Classes	Upper	Williams	U	U	U
		Swartz	U	U	U
		Holden	U	U	U
	Middle	**Curry**	**M**	**U**	**U**
		David	**M**	**U**	**U**
		Aller	**M**	**U**	**U**
		Robbins	**M**	**M**	**M**
		Sweet	**M**	**M**	**U**
		Lynch/Coles	**M**	**M**	**U**
		Withrow	M	M	M
		Duke	**M**	**L**	**L**
	Lower	Underwood/March	L	L	L
		Longo/Slosser	L	L	L
		Weide	L	L	L

from interviews with parents. Responses concerning activities often included the entire family. Because the unit of analysis was **families'** social class, the response was encouraged by asking about **family** activities, **family** friendships, and **family** memberships. In 11 interviews, recreation was cited as an activity. Recreation involved a wide variety of activities, from playing softball to watching football, from skiing to going to the movies. In eight interviews, respondents cited travel as a family activity. Sometimes traveling involved camping; other times, travel was defined as trips overseas. The second indicator, friends, was defined in nine interviews to include cousins, brothers and sisters, and aunts and uncles–their extended families. Another typical source for friends was the neighborhood. A most unusual response was the parent who still met once a month with her **high school**

classmates. When asked about memberships in clubs, organizations, and groups, interviewees gave responses varying from a book club (one response), to professional organizations (five responses), to service organizations (six responses), to church groups (four responses).

The Aller family. Marilyn Aller shared that traveling was an Aller family activity. She stated,

> We've done a lot of traveling together, and we . . . purchased a camper when the kids got a little older. . . . It wasn't what I thought was the greatest thing to do, but once we got into it, I realized it was an affordable way to go places and see parts of the country. . . . We still manage to do a few trips out West [as a] family vacation. When we stopped doing it, they [the children] decided they missed it. We had sold the camper by then; that wasn't the mode of travel they wanted to use anymore.

Close friends were people with children similar in age to the Aller children. "One family in particular has shared family vacations with us for many years," Marilyn said, "in addition to the ones [vacations] we took just with our own family." The friends endured even after "the children have all kind of gone their separate ways as teenagers." The neighborhood served as a group because the Allers had lived in the same one for 16 years. "We're very close with some of the neighbors; we get together." Other than church ("We're not real strong members"), the Allers did not belong to clubs, organizations, or groups. They seemed to take part in a variety of activities, enjoyed many friendships, and belonged only to church.

The Curry family. As with other families, travel formed many activities for the Curry family. Waldo cited these activities: "camping, recreational things, bike riding, basketball games, baseball games, [and] there's an annual trip to South Carolina . . .

to the beach." The Currys drew on family for their friendships. "We're close with our families; outside of that . . . [no other close friends]," Waldo said. He did not belong to any clubs, groups, or organizations. Therefore, Waldo led the family in a variety of activities, and the family enjoyed many close family friendships without belonging to clubs, groups, or organizations.

The David family. Homer David said he stayed "on the go." He cited travel as a primary family activity; "We're going to Florida together" for their next trip. Closest friends were found at work. "I would say my staff is the closest," he stated. "We go out about twice a week." Homer belonged to local groups (e.g., the YMCA Board), state groups (e.g., Michigan Schools' Public Relations Association), and national groups (e.g., the Democratic Party). He noted, "I get involved . . . where decisions are made." The David family was very active, traveling as a family and enjoying friendships at work. Through Homer's many memberships, the family belonged to many organizations, including at least one service organization (YMCA) and several professional ones.

The Duke family. Kathleen Duke did not choose to take part in many activities. She commented, "We haven't had a chance to do much of anything lately. The boys are getting at an age where they like their own things." Kathleen named baseball for her youngest son and "cars and electrical stuff" for Irvin. She added,

> Richard [her husband] took me to learn how to country line dance, but then [tax time at work] came upon us and that didn't last too long. During the summer we go to the beach, just relax. . . . We took the boys to Cedar Point for a main vacation, so . . . we'll go further this year.

Kathleen's best friend was her sister. "Again, because of the workload, we talk more

on the phone than we see each other," she said. She did not belong to any clubs, groups, or organizations. On balance, the Duke family seemed to have done more when the children were small, friendships were limited to just a few family members, and there were no memberships.

The Holden family. As with other families in the study, travel was a major family activity for the Holdens. As Peggy told it, they had traveled far and wide.

> We've taken them [the children] to Europe . . . London a couple of times . . . one [trip] was just to London and one was to London and France . . . we went to Germany a couple of times. . . . [On] that trip we went to Denmark, Spain. That was [with] Amy and Jane; they wanted to go speak Spanish. Last Christmas we went to Mexico. We like to travel, and as the kids have gotten older, we find it's one good way to get the family together.

Douglas Holden reiterated travel along with golf and church when he said,

> We do travel together, Peggy and I and also the kids. . . . We've made real efforts and that's kind of where we spend our discretionary income, traveling . . . showing the kids the world. . . . We like to golf, but we haven't done much of that lately, although we're resolving to do more of it. Having three kids is a problem: always one too many for a foursome. . . . We go to church; we're quite active in church.

Peggy listed among her activities a book club. We try to discuss one [book] or maybe two a year. . . . We only meet three times a year." Douglas added, "[I am] spend[ing] a lot of time on the computer, probably more than I should because I'm just really nuts about what's going on out there on the Internet." Friendships seemed to evolve from activities; as Peggy put it, "My circle of friends is school," meaning those parents who attended school functions as she did. Douglas cited another activity: "Church, probably, is where most of my good friends are." He cautioned about close friendships at work: "That's one thing about being a CEO--it makes it

very difficult, and they say it's lonely, and it is in a way." The Holden family evidenced something for each indicator. They were active, traveling and doing more than most people. They had friendships from church and the activities they did (e.g., school). Finally, they had memberships in professional organizations, church, and a book club.

The Longo/Slosser family. Mary Longo discussed activities that involved her family:

> We used to do a lot when the kids were littler. As time went by, with the kids getting older, they started doing things on their own. We don't do as much. . . . I sit and talk with my kids a lot. I do talk with them a lot. We might go to a family get-together once a week, or something like that. We play cards once in a while, things like that. I really am close to my kids. . . . It seems as the years go by, as it's going, farther and farther apart, it seems there isn't as much family activity.

Mary named no friends outside her family. As she told it, "I don't have any friends. I won't have any friends. I had two husbands, and both ended up with my friends. I won't have any friends anymore. I have my sisters." Mary did not belong to any groups, organizations, or clubs. She admitted that her family was her only focus. Therefore, the Longo/Slosser family concentrated on the family for friendship and activity; they belonged to no other organizations.

The Lynch/Coles family. Activities centered on the extended family, especially since Mary Ann Coles gave birth to a son of her own. "We like bowling," stated Jean Lynch. "The kids like bowling, watching movies. Usually we rent tapes and watch them because with my schedule it's so hectic to get to the show." Jean

said that the "Chucky Cheese" pizza place was another family favorite, especially for her daughter Mary Ann's new son. Friendships were defined to be within the family and the neighborhood trailer park.

> We like to go to graduations and weddings, you know, invitations like that. My girl friend lives like five trailers down; she's been my best friend for 18 years, and then my sister Mary that works here in the kitchen. She lives in the same trailer park . . . but I'm not one to go to someone's house to sit and drink coffee and visit. If they come to my house, I enjoy it very much, but to go to somebody else's, I never been into that. I'd rather be cleaning or [something].

Jean's only membership was an affiliation with the Salvation Army Church. She stated, "I used to belong to the Salvation Army Church; I really haven't had time to go to church." Her church avoidance was attributable to more than time, however. Jean shared her general perception about church: "They [Salvation Army Church] don't criticize you . . . how much money you have or what you look like when you walk in there. . . . It's the way church should be [but isn't]." The Lynch/Coles family seemed quite active; they especially enjoyed family activities, like the pizza place. They had a few friendships, which were mostly family and neighbors, and one membership.

The Robbins family. Activities for the Robbins family focused on "camping, sports [because] we're all into sports." Attending games and joining in recreation varied because, as Millie said, "We're all going in different directions." The family kept a busy pace with Millie and her husband working full time. Friendships were important to her; she had a "nice circle of friends . . . a group that gets together every month since high school. . . . [We are] all still living in the same area." Family

reunions also provided a way to renew friendships for Millie. Whereas she did not belong to any clubs, organizations, or groups, her husband belonged to service and professional organizations. "He's always gone," Millie stated. "He's the treasurer or secretary or something for one of the estate planning councils." In summary, Robbins family activities focused on recreation; friendships, especially family, were derived from the area; and memberships were based on the husband's service and professional affiliations.

The Swartz family. John and JoAnn Swartz identified the primary family activity as travel. "We travel; we ski, [but] I like to ski less and less because everyone else is better," JoAnn stated. "We always take our vacations together. . . . We cruise every three years or so," John added. "We go to shows together . . . Broadway shows or the equivalent of Broadway shows in . . . Toronto [and] Chicago," he said. Concerning friendships, John and JoAnn Swartz had many. JoAnn stated,

> We have a very close circle of friends which include my extended family and people who were closest friends in life, like my father's best friend, and his daughter is now my best friend; the grandparents are friends. It's multi-generational, and my whole family is very close. We get together every week. It originally started [when] we lived down the street, when jogging was real big. Everyone used to jog down and around the neighborhood, then meet in my house for bagels and juice. Every Sunday morning, [we] still do it, even after my father died. Now we rotate houses, but we get together every Sunday.

In addition, John had a variety of friends associated with his profession. He offered,

> One of them is a businessman in town; another is a businessman in town who lives away from town right now. . . . [That is], if you're thinking about . . . the ones who are my current best friends that I see and talk to all the time . . . but if you picked me up and put me back in New York, I'd be in a totally different group again.

Memberships for the Swartzes centered on civic and religious themes. John said,

> I don't belong to any clubs. My father-in-law was a bigger joiner than anybody [I have] ever seen. He belonged to everything. . . . I saw a need in our temple that wasn't being met, so I volunteered there . . . but I don't belong to any of the Rotaries or . . . others.

JoAnn was very active at the high school as a parent volunteer. She also had served on the hospital and YMCA boards. "I belonged to some temple organizations, but I do as little as possible [now]," she added. Therefore, for the Swartz family, activities centered on travel and family recreation. Friendships came from family and professional colleagues, and memberships were derived from professional, church, and service organizations.

The Sweet family. Jeannie Sweet responded to the question about activities as follows: "Probably the number one thing right now we do is shop. . . . that's one of the few things we do." In her leisure time, Jeannie liked to do needlework and bike or walk for exercise. She and daughter Betty belonged to church but did not have a close circle of friends. They were "not terribly active church members," according to Jeannie. She did belong to the Michigan Nursing Association, but she had declined opportunities to serve that organization on committees or in leadership positions. She stated, "I've been asked [to serve] several times, [but] I'm a single parent and I put that [committee work] on hold." The Sweet family enjoyed family friendships and shopping trips, whereas memberships were limited to professional organizations related to nursing.

The Underwood/March family. Fran March enjoyed her family. "My house is the focus for everybody," she declared. She added,

> We [family] are all close. . . . The only thing we actually all do is Cedar Point or something like that. We cook and eat together. . . . We like to watch a movie or go to a ball game together. . . . Me and Jackie [older daughter] played softball together. . . . Next year Jill will be old enough to play, too.

There was little or no other family travel outside what has been described. As for friends, there were some close ones from work who ended up playing softball and an occasional game of pool. Some liked to play cards, but Fran did not join in. She did not belong to any groups other than the softball team. On balance, there were some family and recreational activities, primarily involving softball. There were friends, too, but the only membership was on the softball team Fran and her older daughter played for during the summer.

The Weide family. Dorothy Weide was not involved in activities outside work. She stated, "I don't do much [activities], not much." She worked at a local bar, so evenings often were spent at work. Friends were found at work. "Over the years, I have had quite a few [friends], through the bars, mostly. One of my best friends from high school just came back a couple days ago from Arizona. When asked about her best friend, Dorothy described a co-worker: "We talk every day; when we are low, we go to Mt. Pleasant gambling. . . . She knows everything about me, and I know everything about her." Dorothy did not belong to any organizations, groups, or clubs. In summary, the Weide family's interaction was based primarily on work and friendships developed from work.

The Williams family. Elaine Williams reported many opportunities for family travel and recreation. "We do go to some of the historical places I like to go," stated Elaine. "We usually go to a big ophthalmology meeting every year, usually alone,

although one year we did take Max." Trips to Mexico, England, and Spain were among the family vacations she reported. She identified camping, biking, and sailing as family activities, as well. Family was a big focus for the Williamses, but so were friends. "Probably our best friends now are parents of kids Max used to hang around with," Elaine offered. "The boys don't get along anymore, but we [the parents] do." Other friends included fellow doctors and people who ran with her husband on Sunday mornings. Friends from the historical society were close to Elaine Williams, as were college friends. Both Elaine and her husband belonged to various service clubs (e.g., Girl Scout Council board, literacy council) and were active in school. On balance, the Williams family belonged to many groups, had several friends, and enjoyed close family ties.

The Withrow family. Shelly stated that family activities frequently involved travel to a big city, attending events and shopping. "We go to Chicago quite a bit, to art museums. . . . We attended the Stratford Festival [in Canada] . . . and we're going to Cleveland . . . to [the] zoo." Sometimes the family split up; her husband and the other children went camping, while Shelly and Laurie might go shopping. "We're very family oriented," Shelly added. Family was a part of the friendships formed over the years, and many relatives interacted as friends. "Being in town . . . most of my cousins are here, so the kids are hanging out with their cousins." Shelly added that the neighborhood was central to other friendships that existed. "In that sense we have neighborhood friends that we interact with; we take care of a little 80-some-year-old woman, doing her shoveling and that, and I think that's good because that's

generational." Other friends Shelly mentioned lived in Michigan towns such as Galesburg and Belding. The primary organization for the Withrow family, according to Shelly, was their church. They were very involved in church, as she described:

> We're very active at St. John's [church]. I'm on the sharing committee at church. [My husband] and I teach CCD [religion classes] with 18 fantastic kids. We did junior high up until a year ago, till our youngest began high school. [My husband] is on the parish council, [and] the kids and I as a family do hospitality together; we bring cookies and doughnuts. We try to teach the kids that you're a member of something, you're a member of the community. You pay back to the community because you are a part of it; if you don't give back to it, what's gonna happen to the community?

For the Withrows, the primary activity was travel. Friendships came from family and neighbors, and memberships included church.

Data analysis: Interaction. Attention now turns to the families and their collective responses to the indicators of interaction. These responses are presented in Table 4.9. Eight families cited travel, and 11 mentioned recreation when asked about activities. In both sets of answers, the predominant theme was related to the family. In the cases of Longo/Slosser and Duke, the family activities had diminished as the children grew older. In three instances (Swartz, Williams, and Holden), the travel was extensive and worldwide. Concerning the second indicator, friendships, nine responses were about friendships that originated in the family, four cited friends who were neighbors, and three responded that work provided their friendships. For example, Homer David talked about going out with his staff often. For the third indicator, memberships, six families indicated service organizations (e.g., the YMCA) and eight indicated either church or professional organizations. One family spoke of a book club. Four families indicated they belonged to **no** clubs, groups, or

Table 4.9: Families' responses to the indicators of interaction.

Family	1	2	3
Aller	Tr	Cl,Nr	Ch
Curry	Tr,Rc	Fy	XX
David	Tr	Wk	Pr,Sr
Duke	Tr,Rc	Fy	XX
Holden	Tr,Rc	Cl,Ch	Ch,Sr,Bk
Longo/Slosser	Rc	Fy	XX
Lynch/Coles	Rc	Fy,Nr	Sr
Robbins	Rc	Fy,Nr	Pr,Sr
Swartz	Tr,Rc	Fy,Wk	Ch,Pr,Sr
Sweet	Rc	Fy	Pr
Underwood/March	Rc,Fy	Fy	Sp
Weide	Rc	Wk	XX
Williams	Tr,Rc	Cl	Sr,Pr
Withrow	Tr	Fy,Nr	Ch

Key:

1. Activities — Tr = Travel; Rc = Recreation

2. Friendships — Fy = Family; Nr = Neighbors/area; Wk = Work; Cl = Children same age

3. Memberships — Bk = Book club; Pr = Professional organization; Sr = Service club; Ch = Church; XX = None; Sp = Sports team

organizations. Responses seemed varied across a wide range for all three indicators, which was helpful when trying to determine differences in social classes.

The responses from parents regarding the indicators helped in assembling a profile of their social class based on interaction. In Table 4.10, families' social classes are compared by the fourth social class factor, interaction.

Table 4.10: Families' social class based on interaction.

	Social Class	Family
Range of Social Classes	Upper	David Holden Robbins Aller Swartz Williams
	Middle	Curry Withrow Sweet
	Lower	Underwood/March Lynch/Coles Weide Duke Longo/Slosser

Rationale. It is easier to speak about the lower-class designation based on the indicators–activities, friendships, and memberships. Five families (i.e., Underwood/March, Longo/Slosser, Duke, Weide, and Lynch/Coles) were placed in the lower class due to the information obtained about the three indicators (see Table 4.9). For example, Longo/Slosser did only a few activities as a family, and that was

it. In terms of friendships, we learned a lot when Mary Longo said, "I don't have any friends. . . . I had two husbands, and both ended up with my friends." Likewise, there were **no** family memberships; they did not belong.

Weide was less isolated, but by her own admission she limited her activities to work at the bar. That is where friends were, too, except for an occasional high school friend (e.g., one friend just came back to town from Arizona). She did not join groups; as a family, they did not belong. The Duke family seemed less isolated because they had done *some* things; as a family, they had gone to Cedar Point and tried country line dancing. However, Duke admitted not doing "much of anything lately." Friends were family, primarily, and the family had never joined clubs, groups, or organizations; as a family, they did not belong. The Lynch/Coles family enjoyed activities based on the family (e.g., bowling). Lynch's friends were in the neighborhood, only; her close friend "lives five trailers down." There was one membership--the Salvation Army Church; they barely belonged. Likewise, for the Underwood/March family, the softball team was the only organization to which they belonged, and their friends were primarily their own unusual family, spanning multiple generations and marriages. They barely belonged, as well.

The upper class lay at the other end of the spectrum, away from the examples of the lower class. The upper class had busy schedules and needed to keep close track of their activities, both personal and professional. Friendships were the result, in some cases. Recall Holden's book club: friends who shared books monthly and met three times a year because they were all too busy to meet more frequently.

David went out with his work staff once a week. The Allers' friends had children about the same ages as theirs, and they ended up watching the children's games and events together. Memberships varied, from church (e.g., Holden), to service groups (e.g., Williams), to associations (e.g., Robbins). The upper class is busy with activities, friendships, and memberships. Commitment is important to these people; it is understandable why Franklin Planners may be popular with them.

Table 4.11: Families' social class based on interaction, in comparison with other social class factors.

	Social Class	Family	Interac-tion	Occupa-tion	Cognitive Ability	Outlook
Range of Social Classes	Upper	David	U	M	U	U
		Holden	**U**	**U**	**U**	**U**
		Robbins	U	M	M	M
		Aller	U	M	U	U
		Swartz	**U**	**U**	**U**	**U**
		Williams	U	U	U	U
	Middle	Curry	M	M	U	U
		Withrow	**M**	**M**	**M**	**M**
		Sweet	M	M	M	U
	Lower	Underwood/March	L	L	L	L
		Lynch/Coles	L	M	M	U
		Weide	**L**	**L**	**L**	**L**
		Duke	L	M	L	L
		Longo/Slosser	**L**	**L**	**L**	**L**

The middle class is left in the middle, located somewhere between the upper and lower classes. This seems logical. One might ask, where else would the middle class be? However, the importance in the logic is the need to, first, establish the

upper and lower class memberships, then the middle-class ones. The middle class becomes the place for families who do not exhibit upper- or lower-class traits. This makes the middle class diverse; the middle class becomes spread. There is, within the middle class, an **upper** middle class and a **lower** middle class. The terms seem confusing, but the concept is clear: Within the middle class, there are diverse situations that create an internal ranking. Within the normative social class model, middle class represents diversity; middle class represents a lot.

It is easier to speak about those families who did **not** vary across the social class factors. In the lower class, Weide, Underwood/March, and Longo/Slosser consistently were ranked there for all four factors. Only one family--Withrow--was ranked middle class four times, and only three families--Holden, Williams, and Swartz--were upper class each time. Not only does this point out the complexity of social class, it also points out how families vary. The data were based on parent interviews, and in the interviews the diversity surfaced. Stated from the standpoint of the seven families who did not display much variance, they may be the exceptions in 1996 society.

Summary: Families' Social Class

An overall picture of the families' social class is provided in Table 4.12. The table shows the four social class factors in one compilation. A rationale is provided for the rankings. Their importance cannot be overstated because the rankings form the basis for the study's purpose.

Table 4.12: Families' social class based on all social class factors.

	Social Class	Family	Social Class Factor			
			A	B	C	D
Range of Social Classes	Upper	Williams	U	U	U	U
		Holden	U	U	U	U
		Swartz	U	U	U	U
	Middle	David	U	U	M	U
		Curry	U	U	M	M
		Aller	U	U	M	U
		Robbins	M	M	M	U
		Sweet	U	M	M	M
		Withrow	M	M	M	M
		Lynch/Coles	U	M	M	L
		Duke	L	L	M	L
	Lower	Underwood/March	L	L	L	L
		Longo/Slosser	L	L	L	L
		Weide	L	L	L	L

Key:

A = Outlook
B = Cognitive ability
C = Occupation
D = Interaction

U = Upper social class
M = Middle social class
L = Lower social class

Rationale. Fourteen families were analyzed by studying four social class factors, each of which had three to five indicators to assist in the analysis. Table 4.12 is provided as a way to understand the families' overall social class, taking into consideration the social class factors and indicators. As previously stated, the lower and upper classes seemed clear. It is the middle class that was not, especially at the boundaries.

In the upper-class category, the three families who rated upper class on each factor were Williams, Holden, and Swartz. Although no steadfast rule exists within the normative social class model that an upper-class family *must* be identified as upper class on each factor, it *does* make sense that, because these families were the only ones to do so, they should be considered upper class. Stated differently, it would *not* make sense to conclude otherwise.

For the lower class, the three families positioned there, Underwood/March, Weide, and Longo/Slosser, were rated lower class on each social class factor. Truly, when comparing these families with the Williams, Holden, and Swartz families, the family groups were at the opposite ends of the spectrum for the factors of occupation, interaction, outlook, and cognitive ability. Much attention already has been given to these factors and the differences the families exhibited on them.

The middle class seemed muddled because of the differences within it. The analysis showed just how diverse the middle-class occupants were. For example, Lynch/Coles, Sweet, Robbins, Aller, Curry, and David rated upper class on one or more factors, whereas Duke rated in the lower class on three of the four factors. Yet, all occupied the **middle** class. The middle class, when viewed within itself, was the most diverse class.

The research findings indicated that few, if any, in the middle class were truly "middle" in all aspects. Even Withrow, as one example, rated middle class on all four social class factors in the normative model, but the family may be **upper**-middle or **lower**-middle on the social class factors. The purpose of this research was not

to identify distinctions such as these, so it was unnecessary to search further for combinations such as upper-middle. The point should be noted, however, that within the normative social class model, middle class takes in a wide variety of inhabitants.

The normative social class model was designed to provide a way to describe families' social class. This is an important, even crucial, activity in order to achieve the goal of this research: to describe and explain adolescents' behaviors relative to their families' social class. Without the ability to define social class, the goal becomes unachievable. The normative social class model, however, by the previous discussion, *has* achieved the goal; that model has provided a way to define families' social class. Attention now turns to how adolescents behave, in order that the purpose of the study can be achieved; that is, adolescents' behaviors can be discussed relative to their families' social class.

Adolescents' Behaviors

The researcher's purpose in this study was to determine whether there is a relationship between adolescents' behaviors and their families' social class. Earlier in this chapter, the families' social class was analyzed. The analysis achieved part of the study's purpose concerning class, a complex concept. Now, the focus shifts to an equally important concept, which speaks to how adolescents behave. Such a broad area, adolescent behavior, also is complex; adolescents' behaviors need to be defined in a way that is refined. Based largely on Hollingshead, adolescent behavior was discussed earlier in this thesis, which provided focus and refinement. Specifically, four of Hollingshead's (1949) attributes were selected for this study:

1. Recreational experiences--leisure activities enjoyed by adolescents outside the educational system.

2. Plans for leaving school--adolescents' dropping out of high school before they graduate, or graduating from high school with an earned diploma.

3. High school experiences--the experiences, accomplishments, and achievements an adolescent has as a high school student.

4. Jobs--the employment opportunities enjoyed by adolescents.

In this study, adolescents were defined as young persons who belong in high school, usually between the ages of 14 and 18.

Narrowing the broad topic "adolescent behavior" as described above shaped the data-gathering process. Structured interviews, students' school records, and parent interviews were used to gather information about how adolescents behave. Fifteen adolescents from 14 families were interviewed, and their responses were tape recorded. Their interviews were transcribed, and the responses were categorized and analyzed. The following summary is the result of transcribing, categorizing, and analyzing the data. When quotations are provided from the interviews, they are intended to enrich the reader's understanding of the adolescent, how he or she thinks, and how he or she behaves. When necessary, the writer's thoughts were added in brackets to provide clarity; this was done for all informants, based on the meaning being conveyed in the interview. Care was taken not to change the informant's message contained in the quotation.

In addition, students' school records were studied, further assisting in the analysis. Students' transcripts were useful in determining achievement (e.g., grades) and areas of study (i.e., courses). The grade point average (GPA) is one way to determine the relative success an adolescent has experienced while in school. Student portfolios, résumés, and educational development plans were studied; these documents were helpful in understanding the students' accomplishments and career ambitions. Finally, data were taken from the parents' interviews, which helped in understanding adolescents' behaviors. For example, it was previously reported that family vacations were frequently a priority for activity, and parents' discussions about family vacations directly applied to adolescents' behavior in the area of "recreational experiences." Other times, the parents' interview provided information about the behavior of the adolescent child that may not have been emphasized or even revealed in the adolescent's interview. This was not a surprise; in many cases, the parents spoke more freely when they were interviewed than did the adolescents.

Adolescents' Recreational Experiences

Adolescents' recreational experiences were defined as leisure activities enjoyed by adolescents outside the educational system. Students' responses covered a variety of topics that fit into three basic categories: family gatherings/ travel, friends' events/activities, and enrichment summer institutes/camps. First, family gatherings and travel describe reunions, vacations, and the like. Thirteen of the 15 adolescents discussed family trips, reunions, or vacations. Second, friends'

events and activities included trips adolescents took to games, parties, movies, and similar activities; 14 of the 15 adolescents discussed these kinds of recreational experiences. Third, enrichment summer institutes and camps describe sport and special-topic camps; 7 of the 15 adolescents discussed these recreational experiences.

The Aller family: Diane Aller. Family travel occupied summer and school vacations for Diane Aller. Her mother, Marilyn, had joked in the interview that her oldest son was the navigator on these excursions and, now that he was at college, fewer trips would be taken. Diane said, "We do a lot more as a family; we go camping a lot in the summer." In addition, she talked about recreational activities with her friends. She mentioned "just being with my friends, going to basketball games, school dances, just like on the weekends . . . [which] are kind of full right now." Diane cited going to the movies as another recreational activity she and her friends enjoyed. Also, summer camps had been recreational activities for her; one camp she had attended when she was younger now employed her, as well. Family travel, friends' activities/events, and summer camps provided Diane Aller much recreational opportunity.

The Curry family: Jennie Curry. Jennie Curry traveled with her family extensively throughout her youth. According to her, "We have a cabin up north; we go cross-country skiing in the winter . . . [and] at Easter break we go to South Carolina to a state park and stay." Like other adolescents, Jennie told of spending time with her friends: "[I] go with my friends; sometimes we just get movies and

stuff. It's amazing that kids just think that in order to have fun you have to drink and stuff like that," she said. Jennie had attended basketball camps and the "I Dare You" international conference in California. Her recreational experiences were broad, covering the areas of family gatherings/travel, friends' events/activities, and summer institutes/camps.

The David family: Judy David. Homer David reported that family travel was a recreational experience that daughter Judy had had; he gave as a recent example a Spring Break family trip to Florida. Judy spoke of friends when asked about recreation and free-time activities she enjoyed. "[I] go to the movies. . . . Usually a group of friends will just get together and just talk or something like that," she offered, and continued, "[We] go to the movies, go to the mall, things like that; I like to check my E-mail, too." Judy's father, Homer, reported that Judy visited basketball camps that Homer would work, sponsored by another coach named Stan Kelner. "Judy had the great fortune to . . . work all of Stan's [basketball] camps," Homer said. "He [Stan] had [Judy] run the camp store." There was no mention of summer enrichment recently for Judy. Therefore, Judy David's recreational experiences encompassed family travel, friends' events/activities, and, to a limited extent, summer institutes/camps.

The Duke family: Irvin Duke. Friends' events/activities were a major part of Irvin Duke's interview regarding recreational experiences, and so were cars. Irvin shared that he enjoyed working on cars and attending auto races. "I work on them [cars] all the time. I go to races all the time," he stated. Irvin worked on cars with his

brother-in-law and liked to "sleep and work on cars" over the weekends. Irvin had had neighborhood friends during his youth; as a group, they went over to friends' houses more than they went to Irvin's home. The family occasionally took trips to Cedar Point. Also, Irvin reported, "Every now and then we [as a family] bowl. . . . Otherwise, most of the time everybody works." Irvin did not mention enrichment summer institutes/camps; thus, family gatherings/travel and friends' events/activities were considered his primary recreational activities.

The Holden family: Jane Holden. Travel was a frequent recreational activity of the Holden family. "Every summer I go to Chapin, Colorado, and go hiking, backpacking, and stuff," said Jane. She added that the family took vacations together; Douglas and Peggy Holden also mentioned this during their interviews. Travel with her parents had included Europe and other nations outside the United States. Jane reported that she enjoyed attending games and school functions with friends. Other recreational activities she had been involved in included attending a summer enrichment conference (the Summer Youth Leadership Conference sponsored by the Council of Michigan Foundations). Also, she had twice attended a Women in Sports Leadership Conference, sponsored annually by the Michigan High School Athletic Association. Although that conference is included here under the heading "adolescents' recreational experiences," its content is perhaps as much academic as it is recreational. Also, Jane had traveled on her own time twice, going with a group from her church to build and repair homes; once the group worked in Texas and Mexico, and another time they went to South Dakota. Jane had

extensive recreational experiences involving family gatherings/travel, friends' events/activities, and enrichment summer institutes/camps.

The Longo/Slosser family: Alton Slosser. Family travel and recreation had been a part of Alton Slosser's life when he was younger. According to Mary Longo, Alton's mother, "We used to do a lot [travel] when the kids were littler. . . . As time went by, with the kids getting older, they started doing things on their own. . . . We don't do as much [as a family]." When asked about what he did with his free time, Alton responded, "Nothing. . . . I used to [do things] but not anymore. . . . I just work." Although he was less focused on family travel and recreation than others, Alton was accustomed to activities with friends. This had included drug experimentation and alcohol use. According to Alton, "It [drugs and alcohol] dragged me down a lot. . . . [It] got me in trouble with the law. . . . My mother, my counselor, and the judge . . . helped me out a lot." Mary Longo related it this way:

> Well, I found out he was smoking dope. We talked about it. I know all boys go through it eventually, I went through it with my two older sons. But this one had it worse than they ever did. . . . He's realized, finally, that he can't smoke dope. There were friends, some friends . . . that had a lot to do with it. He realized he can't hang around with so-and-so. I pick my kids' friends, I always have. I wouldn't let them smoke at home, never. . . . But I would talk to him if I did not like the child. If I found out he was with a certain friend at school, I would say something to him about it. He would know. . . . He has a girlfriend now, that has helped. His other friends would call the house, I would hang up on them. I am sorry, I do pick my kid's friends.

Alton had friends, but he also had some schoolmates with whom he used to be friends but now was not allowed to see because of drug and alcohol use. Alton did not discuss summer camps or institutes in his interview. Although family activities

used to be held when Alton was younger, friends and activities were essentially the only current sources of recreation.

The Lynch/Coles family: Mary Ann Coles. With regard to recreation, Mary Ann Coles was unique. "We go to Chucky Cheese," she declared. This destination was desirable because Mary Ann was a mother herself; she had had an out-of-wedlock baby two years ago, when she was 16. Mary Ann added, "Well, sometimes I go with my friends, [especially] in the summer we'll go . . . to the movies." As a family, in addition to her own son, Mary Ann gathered with relatives. "My whole family . . . [has] about 50 cousins," she stated. "We go to my aunts; they aren't coming to my house . . . that's for sure." Mary Ann had not had summer institute or camp experiences, but she took part in many events and activities with family and friends.

The Robbins family: Bruce Robbins. Bruce Robbins stated, "I like to hunt and fish with my dad and friends." Family trips and activities included trips to college games; "I went to the Michigan [football] game in November," Bruce offered. In addition, he stated, "We [as a family] like to just go up and--we have a resort in Gaylord that we go to--and go skiing sometimes and sledding and just spend time up there, and we travel a lot." Bruce also highlighted going fishing, attending games, and going to the movies with friends. He said, "We [friends] go all over." There was no mention of summer camps or institutes in Bruce's interview; he did, however, recreate with friends and family.

The Swartz family: Martin and Ronald Swartz. The two Swartz boys related stories about family trips and events. As Martin told it, the family traveled to places that also attracted celebrities:

> We [as a family] go out to the beach, play cards together sometimes. We take trips together. On vacation once at Sun Valley, I didn't recognize them [celebrities]. I sat down to eat lunch, and my cousin nudged me to look, over there were Wayne Gretzky and Candice Bergen. Arnold Schwarzenegger was there. . . . Barbra Streisand was limping [because] she had been hurt on the [ski] slopes or something.

The father, John Swartz, stated, "We like to travel, and we always take our vacations together. . . . We cruise every three years or so. . . . We go to shows together; we all like to go to Broadway shows or the equivalent . . . in places like Toronto or Chicago." Martin and Ronald also cited activities with friends as important ways to spend recreational time; as a group, these friends went places together. Martin emphasized this a bit more than Ronald, perhaps because he was a senior and Ronald was a freshman. Both boys had experienced enrichment summer institutes. Martin had taken summer courses at Amherst College, and Ronald had attended the University of Colorado's summer institute. Therefore, both adolescents in the Swartz family had extensive recreational experiences in all three categories: family gatherings/travel, friends' events/activities, and enrichment summer institutes/camps.

The Sweet family: Betty Sweet. Family travel was highlighted in Betty Sweet's interview when she stated, "We're getting ready to go to Florida right now." Friends were the focus of Betty's leisure-time activities. "We go out and party, all that kind of stuff," she declared. "Oh, I love to shop, of course," she added.

> to drink I would've. . . . That just kind of made me mad, and then everyone thought I was a party pooper. . . . I don't want to drink alcohol because my dad died in a drunk-driving accident. . . . My mom drinks, too, but she stopped drinking. I tried to give her the ultimatum that I wasn't gonna stay with her unless she quit, so she quit.

For recreation, Martha exercised "probably about three times a week" at Powerhouse Gym, where she held a membership. Her mother, Dorothy, related that they liked to sit down and talk. Also, they went shopping, apparently to the local mall, to "pick out clothes and stuff." Martha made no mention of family gatherings/travel or of enrichment summer institutes/camps. She seemed to focus on friends instead.

The Williams family: Max Williams. Max Williams had traveled with his family a great deal, most recently on a scuba-diving vacation. "We go sailing on occasion," Max stated, "[but] we haven't done that much lately." He took care of his pets (e.g., an iguana) in his spare time and reportedly enjoyed "sleeping in" on the weekends. "I get pretty run down during the week," Max said, "especially on weeks of away games." Max had a girl friend with whom he enjoyed spending time. He had taken summer recreational classes (e.g., diving) through Delta College. Thus, Max Williams reported participating in recreational activities with family and friends, as well as summer enrichment.

The Withrow family: Laurie Withrow. Laurie Withrow mentioned travel with the family to Chicago to shop, visit art museums, and go sightseeing. In addition, she declared, "We [as a family] usually rent movies or something like that." She added, "For our church, both of my parents teach CCD, so we're involved in the

church as a family." Likewise, activities with friends were at the top of Laurie's list of recreational activities. "I play tennis, and I usually go to the movies with my friends or bowling, things like that," she stated. There was no mention of summer institutes or camps. Thus, Laurie Withrow relied on family and friends for recreational activities and events.

Data analysis: Adolescents' recreational experiences. Adolescents' recreational experiences have been discussed family by family and adolescent by adolescent. The purpose of this section is to analyze the data a bit differently, looking at the group of families and adolescents to compare and contrast adolescents' recreational experiences. Table 4.13 was constructed to reflect such a comparison.

In examining the information in Table 4.13, it is interesting to note the absence of family gatherings/travel for just two adolescents, Alton Slosser and Martha Weide. Also noteworthy is the absence of friends' events/activities for Mary Ann Coles. Finally, it is important to identify who had enrichment summer institutes/camps (Martin and Ronald Swartz, Diane Aller, Jennie Curry, Max Williams, Judy David, and Jane Holden) and who did not (Mary Ann Coles, Jill Underwood, Laurie Withrow, Bruce Robbins, Betty Sweet, Irvin Duke, and Martha Weide). These findings are worth noting here as they will come up again when the research questions are answered.

Table 4.13: Adolescents' recreational experiences.

Adolescent	Overall	Family Gatherings/ Travel	Friends' Events/Activities	Enrichment Summer Institutes/Camps
Diane Aller	A	X	X	X
Mary Ann Coles	C	X		
Jennie Curry	A	X	X	X
Judy David	A	X	X	X
Irvin Duke	B	X	X	
Jane Holden	A	X	X	X
Bruce Robbins	B	X	X	
Alton Slosser	C		X	
Ronald Swartz	A	X	X	X
Martin Swartz	A	X	X	X
Betty Sweet	B	X	X	
Jill Underwood	B	X	X	
Martha Weide	C		X	
Max Williams	A	X	X	X
Laurie Withrow	B	X	X	

Key:

X = Adolescents' reported recreational experiences
A = Three categories (X's)
B = Two categories (X's)
C = One category (X)

Adolescents' Plans for Leaving School

Hollingshead (1949) talked about adolescents' plans for leaving school in much different terms than today. Discussion focused on the percentage of students who were in school (53%) and those who had withdrawn (47%) during Hollingshead's time, around 1941-42. Today, discussion shifts to adolescents' dropping out of high school before they graduate, or graduating from high school with an earned diploma. In the student interviews, leaving school meant earning a high school diploma. Discussion typically ensued regarding high school honors and awards, and, for the older students especially, college plans were discussed in the interview. Much information about future plans was gathered, and the reader will see in the summaries that follow that six adolescents already had aspirations for degrees beyond a bachelor's degree. Colleges already selected included Notre Dame, the University of Pennsylvania, and Middlebury College. At the time of the interviews, no one planned to leave high school without a diploma. However, four students planned to attend a community college after high school graduation. This may have been a way of saying they were uncertain about their college plans. In one case, graduation from high school was very problematic because of the student's current class ranking. In another case, the student had already left high school once to have a baby; based on her transcript since returning, it is likely that she will finish high school.

The Aller family: Diane Aller. Diane Aller was a high school sophomore who will graduate with honors in June 1998. She currently ranked second in her class;

there were 137 students in Diane's class, according to her transcript through three semesters. She will likely attend a four-year college that is yet to be determined; basketball opportunities and geography could influence the college-selection process. "I'd like to stay in the midwestern states . . . to see about playing basketball, so it would probably be a smaller school, like Division II."

The Curry family: Jennie Curry. Jennie Curry planned to graduate from high school in June 1997. According to her transcript, she had a 3.715 GPA (through five semesters) and a class rank of 18 out of 143; the likelihood exists that she will graduate with honors. "I wanted to keep my GPA about 3.75; it's slipping since last semester, and [I want] to graduate with honors," Jennie stated. Jennie planned to attend college at a location yet to be determined. She wanted to become a social worker and seemed focused in her career goal. "I don't know that much about any of the schools around, [and] my dad and I wanted to go and visit [campuses]." She planned on earning a master's degree, as her father and mother had before her.

The David family: Judy David. According to her high school transcript, Judy David ranked third in her class of 139 students through six semesters (end of the junior year). After receiving her high school diploma with honors, Judy planned to begin her studies in August 1996. "I don't know where I'm going yet, either Michigan State or Notre Dame. I think I want to study medicine [or] something in science," she said.

The Duke family: Irvin Duke. After one semester of high school, Irvin Duke's transcript reflected a class ranking of 115 out of 173 students and a 2.1 GPA on a

4.0 scale. "I don't ever have homework [because] all my important classes are in the morning . . . and I get [assignments] done in study hall," he said. He had taken earth science, reading improvement, and crafts among his courses. Irvin planned to graduate from high school in 1999. His plans after high school included attending a trade school or community college. "I heard Delta's [community college] got a really good auto-mechanics [program]," he stated.

The Holden family: Jane Holden. In her interview, Jane Holden reported plans to graduate from high school. She ranked fourth in her class of 131 students, which would qualify her for the Pinetown High School Academic Award, which represents high honors. Jane had applied to and been accepted by Middlebury College, beginning in Fall 1996. Jane stated, "I am going to go to Middlebury College in Vermont [to study] life science . . . for now, [but] I like music [too]." According to her high school transcript, Jane was near the top of her class through seven academic semesters due to a cumulative GPA of 3.923.

The Longo/Slosser family: Alton Slosser. Upon leaving school, Alton Slosser expressed ambitions toward a "college or university education," according to his educational development plan filed in September 1993. More recent evidence pointed to community college or trade school after graduation. Alton ranked near the bottom of his class (126 out of 137 students through five semesters), and his GPA (1.346 cumulative on a 4.0 scale) would prohibit admission to most colleges and universities. When asked what he planned to do after high school, Alton said, "Go

to Delta [Community College], maybe, or the Navy." He might have been considering college, but it seems doubtful his planning was serious.

The Lynch/Coles family: Mary Ann Coles. Mary Ann Coles had already left high school once, just two years ago. She was pregnant, and she dropped out. After returning to high school at another location in an alternative educational setting, Mary Ann left that program and decided to return to Pinetown High School, reversing her earlier decision to drop out. She had plans to graduate from high school and then go on to college "for a couple of years." If she achieves her college goal, she will be the first girl in her family to do so. "You get nowhere without school," declared Mary Ann. College was in her plans after high school.

The Robbins family: Bruce Robbins. A senior, Bruce Robbins had a cumulative GPA of 3.544 (on a 4.0 scale) and a class rank of 27 out of 131, as revealed on his transcript. "I definitely want to graduate with high honors, over 3.5," he said. He expected to graduate from high school in June 1996. His future plans included college, perhaps the University of Michigan. Bruce said, "If I go to Michigan, they are excellent in both areas [medicine and business]."

The Swartz family: Martin and Ronald Swartz. Martin Swartz was a senior who expected to graduate in June 1996 at the top of his class. His transcript showed him 1 of 139 students, with a 3.977 GPA. He had been accepted into the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business. According to high school transcript records, brother Ronald expected to graduate from high school in June 1998. A sophomore, he ranked 1 out of 137 in his class. He shared that Brown

University and Northwestern University were two schools to which he would likely apply. "These [college plans] change . . . [but] Northwestern appeals to me," Ronald said. "I hope to graduate first in my [high school] class." Both boys were making extensive college plans.

The Sweet family: Betty Sweet. Betty Sweet indicated plans to graduate from high school in June 1997. Her transcript indicated a GPA of 3.609 on a 4.0 scale, indicating she could attain honors upon her graduation. "I'm sure I'll get some honors," she explained. Betty planned to apply to and enroll in a four-year college, and she identified Michigan State University as her top choice.

The Underwood/March family: Jill Underwood. Jill Underwood planned to attend college after graduating from high school. Having a cumulative 2.672 GPA on a 4.0 scale through six semesters, Jill may find college a challenge due to some low grades. Her own indecision was revealed in the following thoughts she shared:

> I don't know whether I should go to college in Texas so I can be with my [real] dad right now. I was thinking of starting at Delta [Community College] or SVSU [Saginaw Valley State University]. . . . I want to get my own place [regardless] . . . because I don't get along with my [step] dad. . . . I haven't seen much of my [real] dad in a while, so I was thinking of Texas for college. I miss him.

In summary, Jill Underwood wanted to graduate from high school and go on to attend a community college, at least. This college will probably be in Michigan, but Jill's college plans are mixed with a desire to be with her natural father.

The Weide family: Martha Weide. Martha Weide planned to graduate from high school in June 1997, with honors. Her high school transcript showed a 3.324 GPA on a 4.0 scale; she ranked 49 in her class of 143. Martha planned to enroll in

a four-year program at Central Michigan University; her goal was to become a physical therapist. "I like Michigan State; it is my favorite school," she said. "It would be in my best interest that I go to CMU because they have a PT [physical therapy] program there. . . . I think I will go to Delta for my first year because we don't have a lot of money."

The Williams family: Max Williams. Max Williams planned to graduate in 1999 with honors; at the time of the study, he was earning mostly A's and B's. His high school transcript showed a 3.337 GPA on a 4.0 scale; he ranked 43 in a class of 173. Max planned to study marine biology in college, perhaps at Miami (Florida) University. "I like hands-on stuff, building things," he stated. Regardless of where he attends school, Max expects to pursue an advanced degree.

The Withrow family: Laurie Withrow. Laurie Withrow planned to graduate from Pinetown High School with her class in June 1998. She was planning to attend college afterward. "I'm kind of interested in CMU or Michigan State," she stated. Laurie wanted to study science and math and "things like that . . . kind of like a doctor." Although Laurie expressed interest in graduating from high school with honors, her 2.983 cumulative GPA means she will need to improve her grades

Data analysis: Adolescents' plans for leaving school. Attention has been given to adolescents' plans for leaving school. The family-by-family analysis is now supplemented by a look at the entire group. Table 4.14 shows a compilation of adolescents' plans for leaving school.

All of the adolescents in this study planned on graduating from high school with an earned diploma. One adolescent, Mary Ann Coles, had actually dropped out of high school and returned with plans to fulfill that goal. The three categories developed for Table 4.14 were the result of the data-gathering process. It was clear that many of the adolescents were thinking about college, and for five adolescents that was a four-year degree program. Surprisingly, for six other adolescents, plans were already being made for graduate work due to career goals (e.g., Jennie Curry wanted to become a social worker). It is interesting to see which students had these aspirations; this subject will be revisited in Chapter V.

Table 4.14: Adolescents' plans for leaving school.

Adolescents	Plans for Leaving School
Martin Swartz Ronald Swartz Laurie Withrow Bruce Robbins Jennie Curry Max Williams	Earn an advanced degree
Diane Aller Jane Holden Betty Sweet Martha Weide Judy David	Earn a four-year degree
Mary Ann Coles Alton Slosser Irvin Duke Jill Underwood	Earn a high school diploma and attend community college

Table 4.15: Adolescents' plans for leaving school and recreational experiences.

Adolescents	Plans for Leaving School	Recreational Experiences
Martin Swartz	Earn an advanced degree = A	A
Ronald Swartz		A
Laurie Withrow		B
Bruce Robbins		B
Jennie Curry		A
Max Williams		A
Diane Aller	Earn a four-year degree = B	A
Jane Holden		A
Betty Sweet		B
Martha Weide		C
Judy David		A
Mary Ann Coles	Earn a high school diploma and attend community college = C	C
Alton Slosser		C
Irvin Duke		B
Jill Underwood		B

Key:

1. Plan: A = Earn an advanced degree
   B = Earn a four-year degree
   C = Earn a high school diploma and attend a community college

2. Recreational Experiences: A = Three categories (X's)
   B = Two categories (X's)
   C = One category (X)

Adolescents' High School Experiences

High school experiences include the experiences, accomplishments, and achievements an adolescent has as a high school student. Data gathered on adolescents' high school experiences came from students' interviews, their high school transcripts, and their educational development plans and/or résumés.

Interviews were conducted with 15 adolescents. Students' high school transcripts were photocopied and read. These transcripts revealed information about courses taken, grades earned, and class ranking achieved through a certain number of semesters, ranging from one (first semester, ninth grade) through seven (first semester, twelfth grade). Educational development plans and résumés reflect a high school student's goals and involvement. Depending on the student's initiative and grade in school, these documents may or may not be complete. For example, one senior student developed a two-page résumé highlighting honors/merits, community service, activities, dramatic experience, work experience, and academics; it also included that student's e-mail address. Such an extensive résumé would be unlikely for someone younger (e.g., a ninth grader versus a twelfth grader). The mere existence of a résumé is an important factor, reflecting unique activities and achievements other students might not be able to highlight.

The Aller family: Diane Aller. Diane Aller's third-semester transcript indicated high academic achievement: a cumulative 3.985 GPA on a 4.0 scale, a rank of 2 out of 137 classmates, and credits she had earned in several advanced courses (e.g., honors American literature). "I usually start studying [at] 6:30 to 7:00 p.m., and I go until 10 at night," said Diane. In addition to academics, Diane had been active in extracurricular activities, especially sports. She had earned three athletic letters (basketball, volleyball, and track). Also, she had been active in Science Olympiad, the Student Leadership Task Force, and International Club. During the 1995-96 school year, she became involved in the "buddy" tutoring program and student

council. Diane stated, "Yeah, I am active [in track, basketball, volleyball]. In the spring, I'm also playing A.U. volleyball, and right now I have A.U. basketball [outside school] on weekends." Therefore, Diane Aller was an involved and academically successful student.

The Curry family: Jennie Curry. Through five semesters, Jennie Curry held the rank of 18 out of 143 in her class, according to her transcript; her 3.715 GPA on a 4.0 scale reflected A's in several courses. Among the courses Jennie had completed were algebra I and II, chemistry, and three years of Spanish. An active student, she played sports (e.g., basketball, track) and belonged to several clubs and organizations (e.g., SADD). When asked about her high school, Jennie said, "I like it [high school] a lot. . . . I like it 'cause there's not a lot of people and teachers. . . . You're that one kid [who is special]." Therefore, Jennie Curry was an active, involved adolescent.

The David family: Judy David. Judy David's high school transcript showed her ranking high in status (3 out of 139), with a 3.926 GPA on a 4.0 scale. Her relatively strong academic achievement was earned by taking advanced courses in mathematics, science, history, and English; the academic honors she had received included the Pinetown High School Academic Award and National Honor Society. Judy was active in sports with notable recognition: She earned All-State honors in cross-country twice and was named most valuable player in both track (two years) and cross-country (three years). Judy also belonged to the high school's forensics, international, and environmental clubs. "My dad was always driving me to activities

ever since I was young. I think his pushing me definitely got me involved in more things. . . . I always felt I should be in something," she said. Much like Diane Aller and Jennie Curry, Judy David was an involved, academically successful student.

The Duke family: Irvin Duke. "It's a good school; they teach you a lot of stuff, and I like it," declared ninth grader Irvin Duke. "I'd [rather] go here than anywhere else around here." Irvin's transcript showed a 2.1 GPA (4.0 scale) and a class rank of 115 out of 173 through one semester of high school. As a freshman, Irvin had not been involved in any school activities. When asked about sports and extracurricular activities, he declared, "Nope, not at school." His interests seemed to lie in cars and auto racing, interests he pursued away from school. However, enrolling part time at the skill center in an auto mechanics program was a consideration that Irvin offered as useful in attaining his career goal.

The Holden family: Jane Holden. As reported earlier, Jane Holden ranked 4 out of 131 classmates after the first semester of her senior year. Her cumulative GPA was 3.923 on a 4.0 scale. The classes Jane had taken during high school included advanced classes in English, calculus, physics, Spanish, history, and American literature. Extensive athletic involvement highlighted her high school career. This included special recognition in volleyball, cross-country, and swimming. Community service also had been a focus for Jane, who had served one year on the Board of Education as student representative, two years in the "buddy program" tutoring at-risk fifth graders, and one year on the Student Council as a representative. "I think teachers are really helpful," stated Jane. "You can go and

ask questions." Other high school experiences included volunteering on a millage campaign and serving on the Student Leadership Task Force (1994-95). Other activities in high school included memberships in Jazz Band, writing for the student newspaper, being a Science Olympiad team member, participating in six high school musicals, and running track. Thus, Jane Holden was very involved and highly motivated, both academically and with extracurricular activities.

The Longo/Slosser family: Alton Slosser. Alton Slosser's experiences in high school seemed nondescript when the data were analyzed. For example, his cumulative GPA through five semesters was 1.346, according to his transcript. This is the result of many low grades in relatively easy courses: D+ in a class called "current health," D- in government, D in ninth-grade English, and straight E's during Fall semester 1994 in all of his classes (American literature, algebra fundamentals, nutrition, earth science, and U.S. history). Regardless of the low marks, when asked what he liked to do at school, Alton responded, "Study." When asked what he would change about his high school, his answer was brief: "Nothing, really." When asked how much he had to study, Alton answered, "Basically, I pay attention in class. That's all." By his own admission, Alton played no sports in high school and attended "maybe homecoming [game and dance] . . . that's all." Thus, Alton Slosser lacked involvement in extracurricular activities, and he lacked success in academics.

The Lynch/Coles family: Mary Ann Coles. The reader will recall that Mary Ann Coles had left Pinetown High School to have a baby. After floundering in an

alternative high school in the same city, she returned to re-enroll. Her transcript revealed that her grades improved upon her return; she passed six classes in Fall 1995, for the first time ever. Mary Ann was a special education student, and her transcripts showed courses that reflected special education placement (e.g., "basic ed" English). She ranked 91 out of 137 in her class, due largely to some low marks her ninth-grade year (i.e., E's earned in four of her ninth-grade classes). "I always have homework," she said. "I don't have time to study [because of work]." Mary Ann went to some school events as a spectator, but she did not participate in any extracurricular activities. She was a unique adolescent, one who had made a change in academic commitment, going from a likely dropout to a student who expected to graduate. She appeared to be a responsible mother, too. "I have my son, [and] I want him to have a good life."

The Robbins family: Bruce Robbins. According to Bruce Robbins's high school transcript, he had received good to excellent marks. Outside of one C+ grade in trigonometry and another C- in analytic geometry, he had earned A's and B's exclusively in high school. "My grade point is 3.5 or so, depending on the marking period," explained Bruce. "It varies, [with] A's and B's." His transcript revealed completion of advanced classes in English, American history, and chemistry, in addition to physics, biology, and French. Bruce's class rank stood at 27 out of 131 through seven semesters. Among his high school activities, Bruce had participated in athletics, earning varsity letters in three sports. Also, he had participated in the "buddy" program, working with an elementary school child as a

volunteer tutor. He had appeared in numerous high school plays and musicals. He said, "During a musical [practice], I'm here [at school] 16 hours a day." Therefore, Bruce Robbins seemed to be an involved and committed student.

The Swartz family: Martin and Ronald Swartz. Martin Swartz, the older brother, was a senior at the time of the study. His transcript revealed seven semesters of academics at the highest grade levels; he earned straight A's in all of his course work, with the exception of two A- grades in physical education and honors American literature. This translated into a cumulative GPA of 3.98 on a 4.0 scale, and Martin ranked first in his class of 139. "The teachers . . . care. They do a good job explaining the material," he said. "Maybe someone [needs] to give examples for each teacher [on] how to use computers." Among the advanced courses Martin had completed, according to his transcript, were the following: history, physics, calculus, chemistry, and honors American literature. Younger brother Ronald was on a similar achievement path. Through three semesters, he had a cumulative GPA of 4.0 on a 4.0 scale. Among the classes he had completed were chemistry, precalculus, and biology. "Sometimes there are classes you want to take that are not offered, or there's not enough [sections] of them," he explained. "We have a small [high] school. . . . I know all the teachers [and] most of the students. I prefer it that way." He ranked first out of 137 students through three semesters.

Concerning high school activities, Martin had had extensive involvement in sports and extracurriculars. He had participated in basketball and tennis, earning

varsity letters in each sport. He also had belonged to various clubs (e.g., International Club) and had been active in a school millage campaign. Martin had represented his high school at the Calvin College Young People's Citizenship Seminar. He had belonged to the marching, symphonic, and jazz bands, along with the Science Olympiad Team and the Macintosh User Group. Like his brother Martin, Ronald Swartz had been active in sports and extracurriculars. He had a varsity letter in tennis, and he had joined several clubs and organizations (e.g., Student Leadership Task Force). Ronald had been in high school plays (e.g., Damn Yankees) and had been a volunteer math tutor.

Both of these young adolescents ranked at the top of their respective classes in academics. In addition, each of them demonstrated a variety of talents in sports and extracurriculars. Each was preparing for college at out-of-state universities. The sons of a sitting judge who had attended City College of New York, they, too, were following in their father's footsteps, at least in part. As Ronald said, "I am sure [self-motivation] came from [my parents]. I don't remember it, but to my knowledge, I always wanted to [achieve]. I'm sure my brother [Martin] had something to do with it, too . . . getting good grades. . . . I wanted to, too."

The Sweet family: Betty Sweet. Academically, Betty Sweet had compiled a 3.609 GPA on a 4.0 scale through five semesters (midpoint, eleventh-grade year). The classes she had taken so far included chemistry, precalculus, Spanish, and honors American literature. She ranked 29 in her class of 143 students, according to her transcript. Betty had participated in swimming, track, and volleyball. Also, she told of being involved in Student Council, the "buddy" tutoring program, and the pom

pom squad. "I did swimming, volleyball, and basketball in junior high. . . . I really loved swimming, but I had to choose between pom pom and swimming," she said. "I couldn't do both, so I chose pom pom." Therefore, Betty Sweet was a relatively active student who had experienced academic success.

The Underwood/March family: Jill Underwood. Jill Underwood liked Pinetown High School because it was safe. However, she had had an unusual experience with her principal, which she described as follows:

> He [the principal] does it [smokes] all during the day. There is a policy against smoking until 6 p.m., and I have nothing against it. But he goes right out and smokes all day. So I told a cop about it, and he [the principal] got busted. . . . He doesn't do it anymore. . . . They [the police] said they would talk to him, and they must have because he doesn't do it anymore.

Jill's dealings with the principal who smoked failed to mask her varied academic record. Her early report cards were above average: In ninth grade she held a 3.516 GPA (on a 4-point scale). As a senior, though, her cumulative GPA had dipped to 2.672, and she ranked just 88 in her class of 145 students. The reason for the decline in her grades, according to Jill, was work. "I don't study; I don't have time," she said. Her favorite class was accounting; she completed the homework assignments in class. Her least favorite class was world studies; she did not do the homework in that class. "In study hall, I usually don't take anything [in to work on]," she said. "I think if I'm lucky I passed." Last year, Jill had D's in government, American literature, and humanities, and the year before that she had D's in English, biology, and history. The last time she received an A was in the spring semester of her sophomore year--she had three of them. Track and choir were the only

extracurricular activities in which Jill had participated. In summary, Jill Underwood ranked in the middle of her class and was involved in two extracurricular activities.

The Weide family: Martha Weide. During high school, Martha Weide had demonstrated academic success. Her transcript revealed a cumulative GPA of 3.324 on a 4.0 scale through five semesters (midpoint of eleventh grade). Classes she had taken included advanced Spanish, algebra I and II, speech, biology, anatomy, and computer literature. When asked which classes had been her strongest, Martha responded, "Probably Spanish." "In my junior year, I started to care. . . . I thought maybe I can get some scholarships because of my grades, plus I actually like to learn now. I kind of like a challenge," she said. Outside of the classroom, she had participated in cheerleading and pom pom squad. "Sporting events are more fun with a big group of people," she said in reference to going to games as a spectator. Thus, Martha Weide was a skilled student who had been somewhat involved in extracurricular activities outside class.

The Williams family: Max Williams. A strong student, Max Williams reportedly enjoyed high school. "I get all A's and B's," he stated. He especially liked biology and anatomy, along with English. Spanish was his hardest class; his transcript showed a C- semester grade in that class. Max included algebra II and biology in his advanced courses. He played varsity football and participated in two other sports, as well. A rugged youth who had endured three concussions in football, Max liked the physical contact of football and wrestling; he planned to try track in the spring. "There's all kinds of things to do [at Pinetown High School]," Max

stated. Therefore, Max Williams was a strong student academically, along with being a good athlete.

The Withrow family: Laurie Withrow. Laurie Withrow's high school transcript, through three semesters, revealed a cumulative GPA of 2.983 on a 4.0 scale. Her class rank was 45 out of 137. "I like the classes I'm in and stuff like that," declared Laurie. She had one A (physical education) and two A-'s (French I and II) to balance her C's in English 9 and geometry. Laurie had participated in tennis and belonged to the International Club. She shared that she had attended some volleyball matches as a spectator. "The one [best] thing I probably like [is] sports," she said. Therefore, Laurie Withrow had experienced some academic success and had been involved in a few extracurricular activities.

Data analysis: Adolescents' high school experiences. Discussion has centered on the topic of adolescents' high school experiences. In Table 4.16, the class rank and high school experiences are compared and contrasted.

Involvement in extracurricular activities seemed to be related to school class rank. Specifically, the lower-ranked adolescents (e.g., Alton Slosser, Mary Ann Coles, and Irvin Duke) had relatively low extracurricular involvement (low involvement for Coles and Duke; some involvement for Slosser). Also, in every case, the higher-ranked adolescents (e.g., Ronald Swartz, Diane Aller, Jennie Curry, Betty Sweet, Martin Swartz, Judy David, Jane Holden, Max Williams, and Bruce Robbins) had relatively high extracurricular involvement. Conversely, those adolescents with high extracurricular involvement (Ronald Swartz, Jennie Curry,

Table 4.16: Adolescents' high school experiences.

Grade	Adolescent	Overall	Class Rank	Extracurricular Activities
9	Ronald Swartz	A	I	H
	Irvin Duke	C	III	L
10	Diane Aller	A	I	H
	Max Williams	A	I	H
	Laurie Withrow	B	II	S
	Mary Ann Coles	C	III	L
11	Jennie Curry	A	I	H
	Betty Sweet	A	I	H
	Martha Weide	B	II	S
	Alton Slosser	C	IV	S
12	Jill Underwood	B	II	S
	Martin Swartz	A	I	H
	Judy David	A	I	H
	Jane Holden	A	I	H
	Bruce Robbins	A	I	H

Key:

1. Overall: A = I class rank and 4 or more extracurricular activities
   B = II class rank and 2 or 3 extracurricular activities
   C = III or IV class rank and 0 or 1 extracurricular activity

2. Class rank: I = Top quarter (top 25%)
   II = Middle/upper quarter (26-50%)
   III = Lower/middle quarter (51-75%)
   IV = Lower quarter (low 75%)

3. Extracurriculars: H = High involvement (more than 4 activities)
   S = Some involvement (2 or 3 activities)
   L = Low involvement (0 or 1 activity)

Max Williams, Martin Swartz, Betty Sweet, Bruce Robbins, Judy David, Diane Aller, and Jane Holden) were in the top 25% of their respective classes.

The profile established for each adolescent is shown in Table 4.17. The profile compares their high school experiences with their plans for leaving school and their recreational experiences. In general, students with high class rank and extracurricular involvement had college plans and recreational experiences. Those students with diploma and community college plans had lower rank and less extracurricular involvement. Also, those students with fewer recreational experiences had lower rank and less extracurricular involvement, as well.

Adolescents' Jobs

Hollingshead (1949) described high school adolescents' behaviors in terms of five attributes. One of the attributes selected for this study was jobs, taken from Hollingshead's writings about adolescents' "jobs and ideas of jobs." His thoughts included adolescents working part-time jobs, how jobs related to social class, and what adolescents thought about jobs in the present and future tenses. For purposes of this study, jobs were defined as the employment opportunities enjoyed by adolescents.

Data were gathered about adolescents' jobs. Fifteen adolescents were interviewed, their résumés and portfolios were read, and information about adolescents' jobs was gleaned from them. Circumstances seemed to vary with the 15 adolescents who were interviewed. Two of them had never worked, even part time. Five of the adolescents worked regularly, two at fast-food restaurants, one

Table 4.17: Adolescents' high school experiences, plans for leaving school, and recreational experiences.

Adolescent	High School Experiences	Plans for Leaving School	Recreational Experiences
Ronald Swartz	A	A	A
Irvin Duke	C	C	B
Diane Aller	A	B	A
Max Williams	A	A	A
Laurie Withrow	B	A	B
Mary Ann Coles	C	C	C
Jennie Curry	A	A	A
Betty Sweet	A	B	B
Martha Weide	B	B	C
Alton Slosser	C	C	C
Jill Underwood	B	C	B
Martin Swartz	A	A	A
Judy David	A	B	A
Jane Holden	A	B	A
Bruce Robbins	A	A	B

Key:

1. High School Experiences: A = I class rank and 4 or more extracurricular activities
   B = II class rank and 2 or 3 extracurricular activities
   C = III or IV class rank and 0 or 1 extracurricular activity

2. Plans for Leaving School: A = Advanced degree
   B = Earn a four-year degree
   C = Earn a diploma and attend community college

3. Recreational Experiences: A = Three X's
   B = Two X's
   C = One X

with a paper route, and the other two in steady babysitting jobs. The other adolescents sometimes worked, depending on a number of circumstances, including the season of the year (e.g., one student worked at a summer camp).

The Aller family: Diane Aller. Diane Aller had summer employment at a camp; she worked there four weeks every summer. This part-time work was seasonal but dependable. Indeed, her brother worked there, too. Diane described the camp this way:

> In the summer I work at a summer camp. [My brother] does, too. Last year he worked for two weeks, and this year we're going back and we're working four weeks this time. It's at Camp Daggit in Petoskey. . . . I've been going there since I was eight years old. . . . There's a total of 110 campers a week. It's a church camp, but we don't do any church-type things. We go swimming, canoeing, sailing. . . . It's [about] nature, a fun camp to go to.

In terms of a career, Diane told the writer she "wanted to work with science." This was consistent with her educational development plan, in which she identified her long-term career goal as physical therapy. Diane identified alternate interesting careers as psychology and teaching. In summary, Diane Aller had consistent part-time employment each summer, and she had identified career goals related to science.

The Curry family: Jennie Curry. When asked about work, Jennie Curry told about tutoring in math for a junior high student. This had been part-time employment based on the student's need. Also, she had received "peer resistance training" to help younger students. "We went to a conference two days in December, and we're putting on skits and teaching fifth graders how to say no to drugs and alcohol," she explained. The career path Jennie had identified at that point was social work, just

like her parents. On her educational development plan filed in September 1993, Jennie had identified her long-term goal as "undecided." This might have been true, but her goal of becoming a social worker was a focus for her in 1996. Jennie was typical of the high school adolescents in this study. She had had some short-term, part-time employment that had given her some experience. Her long-term goal had moved from "undecided" to a specific occupation, which might or might not have been firm in her mind.

The David family: Judy David. Judy David had worked as a babysitter and at a summer camp through community education. That work, both seasonal and based on demand, had provided work opportunities for her. On her résumé, Judy identified "to work as an accountant's assistant" as her career objective, but that had changed. When asked about the career that interested her, Judy said, "I think right now a general practitioner [doctor]." On balance, Judy David had worked part time and had an idea of what career she wanted to attain.

The Duke family: Irvin Duke. Irvin Duke was the adolescent with a passion for working on cars, and he occasionally worked for pay when he was employed by his brother-in-law or uncle. A steadier job for Irvin was his daily paper route. Although it was part-time employment, it occurred every work day in the afternoon, as well as on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays in the early morning hours. In Irvin's portfolio, he listed "auto macanics [sic]" as a vocational program that would be helpful, with "engine rebiding [sic]" as his best abilities and "spelling + math" as areas in which he needed to improve. Irvin identified his career goal to be an "auto

macanic [sic] or electrition [sic]." He seemed to know what career he wanted, held regular employment delivering the newspaper on his paper route, and had occasional employment working on cars with his brother-in-law or uncle.

The Holden family: Jane Holden. Jane Holden had held three part-time jobs. According to her résumé, she had been a newscarrier, had held various babysitting jobs, and had been a vendor at the Palace of Auburn Hills. When asked about work, Jane was quick to discuss the paper route she had "in junior high" and her babysitting experiences. When asked about a career, Jane was open. "I think something to do with the sciences," she stated. "In terms of occupation, I don't really know." Jane was like seven other adolescents in this study. She had had limited part-time work experience (e.g., babysitting), and she knew a general area of study she wanted to pursue.

The Longo/Slosser family: Alton Slosser. When asked about work, Alton Slosser explained, "I work at Taco Bell." When asked about work as an adult, he responded, "I want a job that makes good money." In September 1993, he had identified "architect, accountant, or baseball player" as a long-term career goal. Alton Slosser had steady short-term employment, and he had lofty plans for well-paying employment as an adult.

The Lynch/Coles family: Mary Ann Coles. Mary Ann Coles had had extensive part-time experience working as a babysitter. She said, "Probably when I was about 11 [I] started babysitting." Besides mowing lawns, the other part-time work Mary Ann had had was working as "a waitress on Thursdays [at Bingo]."

Because Mary Ann had a son of her own, her availability to work more was limited. Her long-term goal was to work in rehabilitation (e.g., home health care); this was based on her work in high school at a child development center in a work-experience program.

The Robbins family: Bruce Robbins. Bruce Robbins had steady part-time work at swimming pools. He had taught swimming classes at the high school pool, and he had worked as a lifeguard in the summer at the community pool. When asked about what career he wanted to attain, Bruce explained that he was "keeping [my] options open." He said, "I like both [business and medicine] areas. . . . I feel I would do well in both areas; it would just have to be trial and error to see which one I liked better, and which school I go to, also." Two documents reflected his love for medicine. On his résumé, he had listed "pediatric medicine and general surgery" as career objectives. On his educational development plan, Bruce had listed "medicine" as his long-term career goal. He had a career path in mind, and he had extensive experience in part-time employment as a swimming instructor and lifeguard.

The Swartz family: Martin and Ronald Swartz. When asked about jobs each of the Swartz adolescents gave the same response; neither had *ever* worked for pay. Both boys had experience in two work-related areas through school: community service and job shadowing. Martin's high school community service included projects, and Ronald's community service included belonging to the Student Leadership Task Force. Martin "job shadowed" a stock broker, whereas

Ronald "job shadowed" a doctor. The job-shadowing experiences included spending part of the work day with the person, identifying job responsibilities and routines to better inform the adolescent about the job. When asked about the world of work, Martin indicated he was considering "accounting and management areas." When asked the same question, Ronald said he was "leaning toward entering medicine, specializing in psychiatry." Therefore, although neither youngster had actually worked for pay, both had volunteered their time for service, and both had job shadowed to increase their understanding about interesting professions. Both wanted to enter college, each with a career in mind.

The Sweet family: Betty Sweet. Betty Sweet worked part time as a babysitter. When asked about how regular the work had been, she said, "For the last year and a half, once a week at least." Betty was headed to college, but she reported being undecided about a career goal. On her educational development plan, Betty identified "attorney or teacher" as her long-term career goal, recently leaning more in the direction of teaching. Therefore, although Betty Sweet had experienced regular employment on a part-time basis as a babysitter, she remained somewhat undecided about what career she wanted to obtain.

The Underwood/March family: Jill Underwood. Jill Underwood worked at McDonald's, the second fast-food job she had held in her young life. Before that, she had worked nearly a year at a local pizzeria. Both jobs had been steady; Jill worked 18 to 20 hours a week throughout the year. As an adult, she was looking at one of two career choices. Jill said, "I was looking at either physical therapy or

teaching . . . a math class or something [because] I like math and accounting, working with numbers."

The Weide family: Martha Weide. Like other adolescents in the study, Martha Weide had steady work as a babysitter. This was a regular job that involved most afternoons and some weekends and evenings. When asked about her long-term ambitions, Martha explained, "I think physical therapy. . . . I like working with people and stuff." Previously, on her educational development plan, she had identified service professional as being of interest to her. Specific careers she had mentioned on the plan were "nurse, social worker, dentist." Currently, she seemed more focused on physical therapy.

The Williams family: Max Williams. "I work at . . . a pet shop," Max Williams stated. This was a part-time job that involved a limited number of hours due to his extracurricular school activities. Time permitting, Max expected to work more hours. In regard to a career, he stated, "I would like to be a marine biologist . . . or some sort of an engineer." Max had experience scuba diving: He had taken a class in diving from the local community college and enjoyed trying it on a summer vacation with his family. In summary, Max Williams worked part time in a pet shop and was considering marine biology and engineering as possible careers.

The Withrow family: Laurie Withrow. When asked about employment, Laurie Withrow said, "Well, I don't have, like, a real job . . . but I have, like, some places [I get paid]. . . . There's a lady who used to live behind us, and I mow the lawn and stuff like that I get paid for." That was her only job, and it was part time and

seasonal. As a career, Laurie had indicated in her educational development plan that she wanted to study medicine. With only some part-time work as experience, at that point in her life, Laurie Withrow had a limited knowledge of what the goal to study medicine means.

Data analysis: Adolescents' jobs. Work has been shared regarding adolescents' jobs. Five students worked nearly full time, whereas the majority (Jennie Curry, Max Williams, Jane Holden, Judy David, Diane Aller, Laurie Withrow, Bruce Robbins, and Betty Sweet) worked occasionally. The data are presented in Table 4.18.

Adolescents' jobs ranged from working at fast-food restaurants, to babysitting, to "doing nothing for pay." Although it is interesting to see the variety, it is equally interesting to examine the context in which the jobs were situated. For example, the "work" Ronald and Martin Swartz experienced was one of activity, scholarship, and community service. The absence of a paying job for either was not a reflection of effort; it was more a result of the parents' direction. Was this true for the other adolescents? Perhaps, especially for those who possessed occasional (i.e., "sometimes") work. The telephone rings at, say, Betty Sweet's home; can Betty babysit tonight? Betty's mother, Jeannie, has a chance to tell whether or not the answer is yes. Similar scenarios exist for Robbins, Withrow, Williams, Aller, David, Holden, and Curry. Yet, for those adolescents who had steady work, routines had been established. Permission was less a factor; there may have been less parental involvement.

Table 4.18: Adolescents' jobs.

Adolescent		Type of Job
Jill Underwood	Steady work	Works at McDonald's
Irvin Duke		Paper route and works on cars
Mary Ann Coles		Babysits every weekend and works Bingo every Thursday evening
Alton Slosser		Works at Taco Bell
Martha Weide		Babysits daily after school
Betty Sweet	Works sometimes	Babysits
Bruce Robbins		Lifeguard and swimming instructor
Laurie Withrow		Mows neighbor's lawn
Max Williams		Works in a pet store
Diane Aller		Works at summer camp
Judy David		Babysits
Jane Holden		Babysits
Jennie Curry		Tutors
Ronald Swartz	Never works for pay	
Martin Swartz		

Four adolescent behaviors are now described for the 15 adolescents. Table 4.19 displays each adolescent, and all four behaviors are coded by the letters A, B, or C. The letters represent a set of behaviors defined by the key. The behaviors seem to hold patterns, and these patterns will be useful in the next chapter when the research questions are answered.

Table 4.19: Adolescents' jobs, high school experiences, plans for leaving school, and recreational experiences.

Adolescent	Jobs	High School Experiences	Plans for Leaving School	Recreational Experiences
Diane Aller	B	A	B	A
Mary Ann Coles	A	C	C	C
Jennie Curry	B	A	A	A
Judy David	B	A	B	A
Irvin Duke	A	C	C	B
Jane Holden	B	A	B	A
Bruce Robbins	B	A	A	B
Alton Slosser	A	C	C	C
Martin Swartz	C	A	A	A
Ronald Swartz	C	A	A	A
Betty Sweet	B	A	B	B
Jill Underwood	A	B	C	B
Martha Weide	A	B	B	C
Max Williams	B	A	A	A
Laurie Withrow	B	B	A	B

Key:

1. Jobs: A = Steady work, B = Works sometimes, C = Never works for pay

2. High School Experiences:
   A = I class rank and 4 or more extracurricular activities
   B = II class rank and 2 or 3 extracurricular activities
   C = III or IV class rank and 0 or 1 extracurricular activities

3. Plans for Leaving School:
   A = Advanced degree
   B = Earn a four-year degree
   C = Earn a diploma and attend community college

4. Recreational Experiences:
   A = Three categories (X's)
   B = Two categories (X's)
   C = One category (X)

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, research findings were presented based on interviews with 14 families and 15 adolescents. Families were represented by one or two parents. In addition, student records such as transcripts, educational development plans, and portfolios were read and analyzed. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. The collected data were read, studied, and analyzed; the results were organized into categories.

The researcher's purpose in this study was to describe and explain adolescents' behaviors relative to their families' social class. Concerning adolescents' behaviors, it was found that adolescents' recreational experiences could be discussed based on family gatherings/travel, friends' events/activities, and enrichment summer institutes/camps; 7 of the 15 adolescents shared recreational experiences in all three categories (Table 4.13). Further, it was found that adolescents' plans for leaving school could be named as either earning a high school diploma (and attending a community college), earning a four-year degree (in college), or earning an advanced degree (beyond a four-year degree). Six adolescents planned to earn an advanced degree, five planned a four-year degree, and four planned to graduate from high school and go on to community college (Table 4.14). Adolescents' behaviors in high school were analyzed by studying their class rank and their involvement in extracurricular activities. It was found that nine adolescents ranked in the top 25% of their respective classes, and each of them was highly involved in extracurricular activities. Conversely, two students had low

involvement in extracurricular activities, and both were ranked in the bottom half of their classes (Table 4.16). Finally, adolescents' jobs were studied; it was found that five adolescents had steady work, eight students worked sometimes, and two students, who were brothers, had never worked for pay (Table 4.18). One can see that much was learned about adolescents' behaviors, and this information will be used to answer the research questions in the following chapter.

Data were presented and analyzed regarding families' social class. The basis for the social class discussion was the normative social class model, which is based on four factors. The first factor, outlook, allowed a range of social classes to be established for the 14 families; it was found that four families were lower class, two were middle class, and eight were upper class when using outlook to place the families (Table 4.2). The second factor, cognitive ability, provided a means for social class placement, and four families were lower class, four were middle class, and six were upper class (Table 4.4). The third factor, occupation, in a similar way allowed discussion to take place that assigned a social class to each family; three families were lower class, eight were middle class, and three were upper class (Table 4.7). The fourth and final factor, interaction, gave a set of social class rankings as did the other three factors; five families were lower class, three families were middle class, and six families were upper class (Table 4.10). Because the writer's intention was to talk about families' social class in an overall sense, these four factors were rolled into one; families' social class was based on ALL social class factors. When this was done, three families were found to be lower class, eight were middle class, and

three were upper class (Table 4.12). A rationale was provided for all the rankings, including the overall ranking based on all social class factors.

Now attention is turned to the 16 research questions that were the basis for this study. Chapter V is devoted to answering the research questions; they are based on the families' social class and the adolescents' behaviors. The work of Chapter IV was focused largely on the two large categories, families' social class and adolescents' behaviors. This work becomes the basis for answering the 16 research question in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Introduction

The researcher's purpose in this study was to determine whether there is a relationship between adolescents' behaviors and their families' social class. In Chapter I, the study was introduced. The normative social class model was presented, which is the basis for determining families' social class. The study's problem statement, purpose, and background were presented. Chapter II provided a literature review, and the works of Hollingshead, Banfield, Wright et al., Herrnstein and Murray, and Kahl were examined. Social class was defined, and the normative social class model was developed. Adolescents' behaviors also were defined in Chapter II.

The study's methodology, a qualitative investigation of families' social class and adolescents' behaviors, was explained in Chapter III. Structured interviews of 14 families and 15 adolescents provided information; student records also were examined regarding adolescents' behaviors. The data gathered in the investigation were presented in Chapter IV; the data were analyzed in several ways, which will be

helpful in this chapter. Specifically, Tables 4.1 through 4.19 will be used to answer the research questions.

Chapter V contains a summary of major findings; the 16 research questions that have guided the data-collection process are addressed. Conclusions are drawn regarding the study, and these findings are compared to those made in earlier studies, emphasizing Hollingshead's findings. Findings from works by Okey and others are compared to these findings. Finally, recommendations for further research are offered, along with the writer's reflections.

Summary of the Major Findings

Research Question 1: Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' outlook?

Chapter IV provided the data that were used to answer this and the following questions. Families' outlook was assessed through parental planning and goal setting. Also, outlook was measured by how long parents expected to live and by their own personal attitudes about living. It was determined that, if outlook were the sole criterion, eight families were upper class, two families were middle class, and four families were lower class. (See Table 4.2, Families' Social Class Based on Outlook.)

Adolescents' high school experiences were defined by the accomplishments and achievements adolescents experienced as high school students. Table 4.16 contained information regarding class rank and extracurricular activities. Nine adolescents were ranked in the top quarter, three were in the middle/upper quarter (26%-50%), two were in the lower/middle quarter (51%-75%), and one adolescent

was in the lower quarter (low 75%). In addition, the nine adolescents who were in the top quarter had high involvement in extracurricular activities. The remaining six adolescents either had some or low involvement in extracurricular activities.

To answer this research question, the two sets of information need to be studied together. The information from Tables 4.2 and 4.16 is assembled in Table 5.1 for this purpose.

Table 5.1: Families' social class based on outlook and adolescents' high school experiences.

Social Class Based on Outlook	Family	Adolescents' High School Experiences	
		Class Rank	Extracurriculars
Upper	Williams	I	H
	Holden	I	H
	David	I	H
	Aller	I	H
	Swartz	I	H
	Curry	I	H
	Sweet	I	H
	Lynch/Coles	III	L
Middle	Robbins	I	H
	Withrow	II	S
Lower	Underwood/March	II	S
	Weide	II	S
	Duke	III	L
	Longo/Slosser	IV	S

Key:

1. Class rank: I = Top quarter (top 25%)
   II = Middle/upper quarter (26%-50%)
   III = Lower/middle quarter (51%-75%)
   IV = Lower quarter (low 75%)

2. Extracurriculars: H = High involvement (more than 4 activities)
   S = Some involvement (2 or 3 activities)
   L = Low involvement (0 or 1 activity)

One can conclude that adolescents' high school experiences **were** related to their families' social class based on outlook. Seven of the eight families ranked upper class based on outlook, had adolescents who were ranked in the top quarter of their respective classes, **and** were highly involved in extracurriculars. Except for one student (Bruce Robbins), adolescents with high class rank and high extracurricular involvement came from families ranked in the upper class based on outlook. Conversely, except for Mary Ann Coles, adolescents with lower class rank and lower extracurricular involvement came from families having lower social class ranking based on outlook. Therefore, adolescents' high school experiences were related to their families' social class when it was determined by outlook.

Research Question 2 Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' cognitive ability?

The information about adolescents' high school experiences is now compared to families' social class based on a second factor, cognitive ability. Cognitive ability, also known by the general term, intelligence, was based on Herrnstein and Murray's theories. Three sets of indicators (see Table 3.1, p. 56) shaped the parent interviews; parents shared their own educational experiences--what they did in school, what they accomplished, and what they achieved. The information from parent interviews was used to compile social class rankings based on cognitive ability. Information about adolescents' high school experiences and families' cognitive ability is shown in Table 5.2.

Adolescents' high school experiences appear to be related to their families' cognitive ability. Based on Table 5.2, five students with the highest class rank and high extracurricular involvement came from upper-class families based on cognitive

ability; the other two students with highest class rank/high extracurricular involvement were from middle-class families based on cognitive ability. **No** students with highest class rank/high extracurricular involvement were from the lower class. Furthermore, adolescents from the lower class based on cognitive ability were ranked lower in their respective classes and had only "some" or "low" involvement in extracurricular activities. Lower-class families seemed to have less involved children.

Table 5.2: Families' social class based on cognitive ability and adolescents' high school experiences.

Social Class Based on Cognitive Ability	Family	Adolescents' High School Experiences	
		Class Rank	Extracurriculars
Upper	Williams	I	H
	Swartz	I	H
	Holden	I	H
	David	I	H
	Aller	I	H
	Curry	I	H
Middle	Robbins	I	H
	Sweet	I	H
	Withrow	II	S
	Lynch/Coles	III	L
Lower	Underwood/March	III	L
	Duke	IV	S
	Longo/Slosser	II	S
	Weide	II	S

Key:

1. Class rank: I = Top quarter (top 25%)
   II = Middle/upper quarter (26%-50%)
   III = Lower/middle quarter (51%-75%)
   IV = Lower quarter (low 75%)

2. Extracurriculars: H = High involvement (more than 4 activities)
   S = Some involvement (2 or 3 activities)
   L = Low involvement (0 or 1 activity)

Research Question 3: Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' occupation(s)?

Adolescents' high school experiences are now compared to their families' social class as determined by a third factor, occupation. The five indicators of occupation, discussed earlier (Table 3.1, p. 56), guided the parent interviews. Dialogue about parents' occupations took place, especially highlighting job responsibilities, training, salary, and longevity. Based on the data that were gathered, each family was assigned a social class ranking (upper, middle, or lower class) based on occupation. In Table 5.3, families' social classes based on occupation are compared with adolescents' high school experiences.

Adolescents' high school experiences and families' social class based on occupation seemed to have a relationship; however, that relationship appeared less pronounced than the previous two factors. The relationship was there: Adolescents from upper-class families were ranked highly in their respective school classes and had high extracurricular involvement. In addition, adolescents from lower class families had lower class rankings and only "some" extracurricular involvement. However, there was a greater number of middle-class families when social classes were determined based on occupation. Hence, there was a greater number of highly ranked students who were highly involved in extracurricular activities. This is due to the greater number of middle-class families (and subsequently smaller number of upper-class families as well as lower-class families based on occupation). This means the middle class had a great range within itself, an issue spoken to previously.

Table 5.3: Families' social class based on occupation and adolescents' high school experiences.

Social Class Based on Occupation	Family	Adolescents' High School Experiences	
		Class Rank	Extracurriculars
Upper	Williams	I	H
	Swartz	I	H
	Holden	I	H
Middle	Curry	I	H
	David	I	H
	Aller	I	H
	Robbins	I	H
	Sweet	I	H
	Lynch/Coles	III	L
	Withrow	II	S
	Duke	III	L
Lower	Underwood/March	II	S
	Longo/Slosser	IV	S
	Weide	II	S

Key:

1. Class rank: I = Top quarter (top 25%)
   II = Middle/upper quarter (26%-50%)
   III = Lower/middle quarter (51%-75%)
   IV = Lower quarter (low 75%)

2. Extracurriculars: H = High involvement (more than 4 activities)
   S = Some involvement (2 or 3 activities)
   L = Low involvement (0 or 1 activity)

Research Question 4: Are adolescents' high school experiences related to their families' interaction?

The fourth social class factor, interaction, was determined by three indicators: activities, friendships, and memberships. Parent interviews were conducted, which investigated these factors, and the data were gathered and analyzed to place families in upper, middle, and lower social classes based on the interaction factor.

As with the previous three factors, social class based on interaction was compared with adolescents' high school experiences. Both sets of information are assembled in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Families' social class based on interaction and adolescents' high school experiences.

Social Class Based on Interaction	Family	Adolescents' High School Experiences	
		Class Rank	Extracurriculars
Upper	Williams	I	H
	David	I	H
	Holden	I	H
	Robbins	I	H
	Aller	I	H
	Swartz	I	H
Middle	Curry	I	H
	Withrow	II	S
	Sweet	I	H
Lower	Underwood/March	II	S
	Lynch/Coles	III	L
	Weide	II	S
	Duke	III	L
	Longo/Slosser	IV	S

Key:

1. Class rank: I = Top quarter (top 25%)
   II = Middle/upper quarter (26%-50%)
   III = Lower/middle quarter (51%-75%)
   IV = Lower quarter (low 75%)

2. Extracurriculars: H = High involvement (more than 4 activities)
   S = Some involvement (2 or 3 activities)
   L = Low involvement (0 or 1 activity)

There was a relationship between adolescents' high school experiences and their families' interaction. All six upper-class families (defined by interaction) had adolescents who were ranked in the top 25% of their classes **and** were highly

involved in extracurricular activities. Conversely, the five lower-class families had no adolescents ranked at the top of the class (e.g., the best ranking was II). The students from the lower-class families were relatively uninvolved in extracurricular activities as well (three students had "some" involvement, whereas two students had "low" involvement). As with other factors, lower-class families seemed to have adolescents who did not take part in extracurricular activities.

Research Question 5: Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' outlook?

Adolescents' jobs were the basis for a second set of adolescents' behaviors. The category was taken from Hollingshead (1949). He looked at part-time jobs and what adolescents thought about jobs in the present and future tenses. As reported in Chapter IV, interviews were conducted that placed students in one of three categories: steady work, works sometimes, or never works for pay. Table 5.5 contains information about adolescents' jobs in conjunction with their families' social class ranking as determined by the first factor, outlook.

There seemed to be a relationship between adolescents' jobs and their families' social class based on outlook. With only one exception, adolescents from the upper class worked sometimes or not at all; Mary Ann Coles was the only adolescent from an upper-class family (determined by outlook) who had steady work. Conversely, from the four lower-class families, each student had steady work. The reader may recall what some of this steady work entailed: One student had a paper route and worked on cars, one worked at McDonald's and another worked at Taco Bell, and still another babysat daily after school for one of the teachers. It appears to be a lower-class expectation for the adolescent child to work for pay.

Table 5.5: Families' social class based on outlook and adolescents' jobs.

Social Class Based on Outlook	Family	Adolescents' Jobs
Upper	Williams	Works sometimes
	Holden	Works sometimes
	David	Works sometimes
	Aller	Works sometimes
	Swartz	Never works for pay
	Curry	Works sometimes
	Sweet	Works sometimes
	Lynch/Coles	Steady work
Middle	Robbins	Works sometimes
	Withrow	Works sometimes
Lower	Underwood/March	Steady work
	Weide	Steady work
	Duke	Steady work
	Longo/Slosser	Steady work

Research Question 6: Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' cognitive ability?

In Chapter IV it was found that five adolescents had steady work, eight students worked sometimes, and two students who were brothers never worked for pay. Also, it was determined that, based on cognitive ability, six families were upper class, four were middle class, and four were lower class. These two sets of information are connected in Table 5.6.

There seemed to be a relationship between adolescents' jobs and families' social class based on cognitive ability. Like the previous question, this one had similar characteristics. Specifically, all upper-class adolescents worked sometimes, if at all, and all lower-class adolescents had steady work. The middle class had diversity, with one adolescent working steadily and three working sometimes. Thus, working for pay was important, even expected, for the lower-class adolescent.

Table 5.6: Families' social class based on cognitive ability and adolescents' jobs.

Social Class Based on Cognitive Ability	Family	Adolescents' Jobs
Upper	Williams	Works sometimes
	Swartz	Never works for pay
	Holden	Works sometimes
	David	Works sometimes
	Aller	Works sometimes
	Curry	Works sometimes
Middle	Robbins	Works sometimes
	Sweet	Works sometimes
	Withrow	Works sometimes
	Lynch/Coles	Steady work
Lower	Underwood/March	Steady work
	Duke	Steady work
	Longo/Slosser	Steady work
	Weide	Steady work

Research Question 7: Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' occupation(s)?

The data were presented in Chapter IV to formulate upper-, middle-, and lower-class families based on occupation. It was determined that three families were upper class, eight middle class, and three lower class when the focus was on the social class factor, occupation. In Table 5.7, families' social class based on occupation is connected with adolescents' jobs.

The relationship between adolescents' jobs and families' social class determined by occupation was similar to that found in the previous two research questions. In general, the adolescents from upper-class families worked sometimes, if at all; adolescents from lower-class families had steady work. The primary difference with the factor, occupation, was the wider range of middle-class families. With eight middle-class families, the range between and among the families was

greater. It is reasonable to conclude that adolescents' jobs would range accordingly within the middle class, from the six who worked sometimes to the two who had steady work.

Table 5.7: Families' social class based on occupation and adolescents' jobs.

Social Class Based on Occupation	Family	Adolescents' Jobs
Upper	Williams Swartz Holden	Works sometimes Never works for pay Works sometimes
Middle	Curry David Aller Robbins Sweet Lynch/Coles Withrow Duke	Works sometimes Works sometimes Works sometimes Works sometimes Works sometimes Steady work Works sometimes Steady work
Lower	Underwood/March Longo/Slosser Weide	Steady work Steady work Steady work

Research Question 8: Are adolescents' jobs related to their families' interaction?

Families' social class based on the fourth factor, interaction, was described and presented in Chapter IV. The upper class was determined by six families (David, Holden, Robbins, Williams, Aller, and Swartz), and the middle class (Curry, Withrow, and Sweet) and the lower class (Lynch/Coles, Underwood/March, Weide, Duke, and Longo/Slosser) were defined by the remaining eight families. Table 5.8 connects the information about families' social class defined by interaction with adolescents' jobs.

The relationship between families' social class based on interaction and adolescents' jobs seemed consistent; there was a relationship showing that adolescents who had steady work came from lower-class families based on interaction. Also, adolescents from upper-class families based on interaction worked sometimes, if at all. Perhaps working was not necessary in these families, given the other activities in which adolescents were engaged.

Table 5.8: Families' social class based on interaction and adolescents' jobs.

Social Class Based on Interaction	Family	Adolescents' Jobs
Upper	Williams	Works sometimes
	David	Works sometimes
	Holden	Works sometimes
	Robbins	Works sometimes
	Aller	Works sometimes
	Swartz	Never works for pay
Middle	Curry	Works sometimes
	Withrow	Works sometimes
	Sweet	Works sometimes
Lower	Underwood/March	Steady work
	Lynch/Coles	Steady work
	Weide	Steady work
	Duke	Steady work
	Longo/Slosser	Steady work

Research Question 9: Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' outlook?

Adolescents' recreational experiences were defined as leisure activities enjoyed by adolescents outside the educational system. The data analysis synthesized leisure activities into three categories: family gatherings/travel, friends'

events/activities, and enrichment summer institutes/camps. This information was assembled alongside families' social class rankings based on outlook in Table 5.9.

A relationship was found between families' social class established by the factor, outlook, and adolescents' recreational experiences. For the eight families designated upper class, 21 indicators were found out of 24 possible (about 87%). For the two families in outlook's middle class, there were only four indicators out of six possible (about 67%), and for the four families ranked lower class, there were just six indicators out of 12 possible (about 50%). Based on this analysis, it would appear that more recreational activities for adolescents were found in upper-class families, based on outlook.

Table 5.9: Families' social class based on outlook and adolescents' recreational experiences.

Social Class Based on Outlook	Family	Adolescents' Recreational Experiences		
		Family Gather-ings/Travel	Friends' Events/ Activities	Enrichment Summer Institutes/Camps
Upper (21/24)	Williams	X	X	X
	Holden	X	X	X
	David	X	X	X
	Aller	X	X	X
	Swartz	X	X	X
	Curry	X	X	X
	Sweet	X	X	
	Lynch/Coles	X		
Middle (4/6)	Robbins	X	X	
	Withrow	X	X	
Lower (6/12)	Underwood/March	X	X	
	Weide		X	
	Duke	X	X	
	Longo/Slosser		X	

Research Question 10: Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' cognitive ability?

Table 5.10 combines adolescents' recreational experiences with their families' social class as determined by cognitive ability. There was a relationship between adolescents' behavior and their families' social class as defined by cognitive ability. For the six upper-class families, there were 18 indicators out of 18 possibilities (100%). For the four middle-class families, the number dropped to 7 indicators out of 12 possible (about 58%). Finally, for the four families in the lower class, the figure dropped to six indicators out of 12 possible (about 50%). It appears that upper-class families, as defined by cognitive ability, had adolescents who were much more active in recreation that those from middle- and lower-class families.

Table 5.10: Families' social class based on cognitive ability and adolescents' recreational experiences.

Social Class Based on Cognitive Ability	Family	Adolescents' Recreational Experiences		
		Family Gather-ings/Travel	Friends' Events/ Activities	Enrichment Summer Institutes/Camps
Upper (18/18)	Williams	X	X	X
	Swartz	X	X	X
	Holden	X	X	X
	David	X	X	X
	Aller	X	X	X
	Curry	X	X	X
Middle (7/12)	Robbins	X	X	
	Sweet	X	X	
	Withrow	X	X	
	Lynch/Coles	X		
Lower (6/12)	Underwood/March	X	X	
	Duke	X	X	
	Longo/Slosser		X	
	Weide		X	

Research Question 11: Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' occupation(s)?

The two sets of information--adolescents' recreational experiences and families' occupations--are placed together in Table 5.11. There was a relationship between adolescents' recreational experiences and the social class factor, occupation. The upper class based on occupation had all nine adolescent recreational categories filled (100%). Contrasted with the middle class (18/24, 75%) and the lower class (4/9, about 44%), the families' social class determined by occupation stood out when reviewing adolescents' recreational experiences.

Table 5.11: Families' social class based on occupation and adolescents' recreational experiences.

Social Class Based on Occupation	Family	Adolescents' Recreational Experiences		
		Family Gatherings/Travel	Friends' Events/ Activities	Enrichment Summer Institutes/Camps
Upper (9/9)	Williams	X	X	X
	Swartz	X	X	X
	Holden	X	X	X
Middle (18/24)	Curry	X	X	X
	David	X	X	X
	Aller	X	X	X
	Robbins	X	X	
	Sweet	X	X	
	Lynch/Coles	X		
	Withrow	X	X	
	Duke	X	X	
Lower (4/9)	Underwood/March	X	X	
	Longo/Slosser		X	
	Weide		X	

Research Question 12: Are adolescents' recreational experiences related to their families' interaction?

The families' social class determined by interaction was coupled with adolescents' recreational experiences in Table 5.12 in order to address this research question. The table shows another strong relationship between adolescents' recreational experiences and a social class factor. This time the factor is interaction, and the upper class was filled with 17 indicators of adolescents' recreational experiences in the upper class out of 18 possibilities (about 94%). This is a favorable comparison to the middle class (about 78%) and a large contrast to the lower class (about 46%). Clearly, the recreational experiences of adolescents from upper social class families based on interaction were greater than those of adolescents from the middle and lower social classes.

Table 5.12: Families' social class based on interaction and adolescents' recreational experiences.

Social Class Based on Interaction	Family	Adolescents' Recreational Experiences		
		Family Gatherings/Travel	Friends' Events/ Activities	Enrichment Summer Institutes/Camps
Upper (17/18)	Williams	X	X	X
	David	X	X	X
	Holden	X	X	X
	Robbins	X	X	
	Aller	X	X	X
	Swartz	X	X	X
Middle (7/9)	Curry	X	X	X
	Withrow	X	X	
	Sweet	X	X	
Lower (7/15)	Underwood/March	X	X	
	Lynch/Coles	X		
	Weide		X	
	Duke	X	X	
	Longo/Slosser		X	

Research Question 13: Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' outlook?

Adolescents' plans for leaving school were categorized. As reported in Chapter IV, adolescents' plans fit one of three descriptions: high school diploma/ attend community college, four-year degree, or advanced degree beyond the bachelor's degree. By the first description, high school diploma/attend community college, the adolescent was saying that he or she planned on high school and perhaps a year of community college, perhaps two years of community college at the most. That adolescent was looking at high school graduation and little else. The second category, four-year degree, captured the student who planned on attending college; the student had a goal of graduating from college, most of the time with a definite career in mind. The third category, earn an advanced degree, was useful for the student who planned on training for a career in which four years of college would not complete professional training.

In Table 5.13 the information about adolescents' plans for leaving school is connected with the families' social class ranking based on the factor, outlook. As with the previous research questions, this table provides the means for answering the question regarding adolescents' plans for leaving school and outlook.

Based on the information in Table 5.13, there appeared to be a relationship between adolescents' plans for leaving school and their families' social class based on outlook. Of the eight upper-class families, seven of them had adolescents with plans for attending four years of college. In three instances, advanced degrees were planned. Advanced degrees were planned for both students from middle-class

families; from the four lower-class families, one student was planning for four years of college. Therefore, a relationship may exist between adolescents' plans for leaving school and outlook; more adolescents from middle and upper social classes seem to plan on college.

Table 5.13: Families' social class based on outlook and adolescents' plans for leaving school.

Social Class	Family	Adolescents' Plans for Leaving School
Upper	Williams	Advanced degree
	Holden	Four-year degree
	David	Four-year degree
	Aller	Four-year degree
	Swartz	Advanced degree
	Curry	Advanced degree
	Sweet	Four-year degree
	Lynch/Coles	High school diploma/community college
Middle	Robbins	Advanced degree
	Withrow	Advanced degree
Lower	Underwood/March	High school diploma/community college
	Weide	Four-year degree
	Duke	High school diploma/community college
	Longo/Slosser	High school diploma/community college

Research Question 14: Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' cognitive ability?

Table 5.14 contains information regarding adolescents' plans for leaving school and the second social class factor, cognitive ability. There were six upper-class families based on cognitive ability alone, and there were four middle-class and four lower-class families. These families were aligned with the three categories for

leaving school: high school diploma/attend community college, four-year degree, and advanced degree.

Table 5.14: Families' social class based on cognitive ability and adolescents' plans for leaving school.

Social Class	Family	Adolescents' Plans for Leaving School
Upper	Williams	Advanced degree
	Swartz	Advanced degree
	Holden	Four-year degree
	David	Four-year degree
	Aller	Four-year degree
	Curry	Advanced degree
Middle	Robbins	Advanced degree
	Sweet	Four-year degree
	Withrow	Advanced degree
	Lynch/Coles	High school diploma/community college
Lower	Underwood/March	High school diploma/community college
	Duke	High school diploma/community college
	Longo/Slosser	High school diploma/community college
	Weide	Four-year degree

The data showed a relationship between adolescents' plans for leaving school and cognitive ability. The upper-class families all had adolescents who were college bound, and the middle-class families did the same with one exception. The lower class indicated a similar finding as it did in the previous question; three students planned to settle on a high school diploma along with some school work at the local community college; the other student was planning on college. This seems to indicate a stronger relationship--that students who are college bound are likely to come from families with higher cognitive ability. Conversely, the data suggested that

students who are not going to college may be more likely to come from families with lower cognitive ability.

Research Question 15: Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' occupation(s)?

Attention is now given to the third social class factor, occupation. Recall that the number of middle-class families swelled to eight in this category, and there was a corresponding reduction in families in the upper and lower classes. Table 5.15 contains information regarding adolescents' plans for leaving school and the third social class factor, occupation.

Table 5.15: Families' social class based on occupation and adolescents' plans for leaving school.

Social Class	Family	Adolescents' Plans for Leaving School
Upper	Williams	Advanced degree
	Holden	Four-year degree
	Swartz	Advanced degree
Middle	Curry	Advanced degree
	David	Four-year degree
	Aller	Four-year degree
	Robbins	Advanced degree
	Sweet	Four-year degree
	Lynch/Coles	High school diploma/community college
	Withrow	Advanced degree
	Duke	High school diploma/community college
Lower	Underwood/March	High school diploma/community college
	Longo/Slosser	High school diploma/community college
	Weide	Four-year degree

There was a relationship between adolescents' leaving school and occupation. The upper-class families had adolescents who planned on attending college; the lower-class families had students who planned on a high school

diploma/community college or college. The eight adolescents from middle-class families showed diversity, with six planning on college and two planning on a high school diploma/attending community college. Consistent with the other social class factors, occupation seemed to describe social classes such that middle- and upper-class families were likely to have adolescents planning on a four-year or advanced college degree, and this goal was not as likely to be shared among lower-class families in the occupation category.

Research Question 16 Are adolescents' plans for leaving school related to their families' interaction?

The fourth social class factor, interaction, is coupled with adolescents' plans for leaving school in Table 5.16. This configuration placed the adolescents' planning on either a four-year degree or an advanced degree in middle- or upper-class families.

Table 5.16: Families' social class based on interaction and adolescents' plans for leaving school.

Social Class	Family	Adolescents' Plans for Leaving School
Upper	Williams	Advanced degree
	David	Four-year degree
	Holden	Four-year degree
	Robbins	Advanced degree
	Aller	Four-year degree
	Swartz	Advanced degree
Middle	Curry	Advanced degree
	Withrow	Advanced degree
	Sweet	Four-year degree
Lower	Underwood/March	High school diploma/community college
	Lynch/Coles	High school diploma/community college
	Weide	Four-year degree
	Duke	High school diploma/community college
	Longo/Slosser	High school diploma/community college

Furthermore, the three adolescents who planned on only a high school diploma/attending community college were found in lower-class families. Recall that occupation showed two middle-class adolescents looking only at high school diploma/community college, cognitive ability had one middle-class adolescent looking at high school diploma/community college, and outlook had one upper-class adolescent planning on only a high school diploma/community college. Interaction, however, placed the four adolescents planning on a high school diploma/ community college in families who were situated in the lower social class.

Conclusions

The researcher drew six conclusions from the study. They are as follows:

1. Adolescents' high school experiences were related to their families' social class ranking as determined by any of these social class factors: outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, or interaction. In general, regardless of factor, upper- and middle-class families had adolescents who were more highly ranked in their respective high school classes and were more involved in extracurricular activities.

2. Adolescents' jobs were related to their families' social class ranking as determined by outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, or interaction. Regardless of which factor described social class, lower-class families were more likely to have adolescent children who had steady work. Also, upper-class families were more likely to have adolescent children who worked sometimes, if at all, for pay.

3. Adolescents' recreational experiences were related to their families' social class ranking as determined by outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, or

interaction. Upper-class adolescents had a higher percentage of recreational experiences with family, friends, and enrichment programs.

4. Adolescents' plans for leaving school were related to their families' social class ranking as determined by outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, or interaction. Upper- and middle-class families' adolescent children were likely to plan for college to earn either a four-year degree or an advanced degree.

5. Small family differences tended to be related to large differences in adolescents' behaviors. Families may have lived, worked, and existed in the same community, but small differences in the families' outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, or interaction were reflected in large differences in adolescents' behaviors.

6. Social class is a complex concept. The normative social class model was developed for this study and is a tool that can be used to determine social class. Based on the factors of outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction, social class **can** be defined.

Theory of Expected Adolescent Behavior

The researcher's purpose in this study was to describe and explain adolescents' behaviors related to their families' social class. The findings indicated that adolescents' behaviors were functionally related to their families' social class. Patterns and categories evolved that enabled the researcher to develop a theory, which he named the Expected Adolescent Behavior Theory. That theory is portrayed in Figure 5.1.

Families' Social Class <==========> Adolescents' Behaviors

U - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - EAB

M - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - EAB

L - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - EAB

Key: EAB = Expected adolescent behaviors.

Figure 5.1: The Expected Adolescent Behavior Theory.

According to the Expected Adolescent Behavior Theory, there is a set of behaviors that may be expected from adolescents, based on their families' social class. In other words, depending on their families' social class, adolescents can be expected to exhibit a particular set of behaviors identified in this study. These behaviors are observable and predictable. They fall within the four adolescent behaviors examined in this study: jobs, high school experiences, plans for leaving school, and recreational experiences.

Jobs. Adolescents from upper-class families may work sometimes, if at all; the possibility exists that these adolescents may not work at all for pay. Middle-class adolescents are likely to work sometimes, whereas those from lower-class families are likely to have steady work. A commitment to work is greater among lower-class adolescents; the expected behavior of these adolescents is to work. In contrast, for upper- and middle-class adolescents, there is less expectation to work.

High school experiences. Adolescents from upper-class families are likely to be highly involved in extracurricular activities at school, and they are likely to be

ranked in the upper quarter of their class academically. Adolescents from middle-class families are likely to be involved in extracurricular activities, as well, but their involvement may be less than that of their upper-class counterparts. They are likely to be ranked in the upper half of their class academically. Adolescents from lower-class families are likely to have low involvement in extracurricular activities, and they are likely to be ranked in the lower half of their class at school. Upper-class adolescents have a greater number of extracurricular associations and enjoy higher grades than either middle- or lower-class adolescents. Upper-class adolescents are expected to be ranked high academically and are expected to earn A's in their courses. Expectations shift for middle- and lower-class adolescents: Middle-class adolescents earn A's, B's, and some C's, whereas lower-class adolescents earn mostly C's, occasional A's and B's, but also occasional D's and E's. Lower-class adolescents also can be expected to be special education students.

Plans for leaving school. Upper-class families tend to produce adolescents who plan to attend college after graduating from high school. Many of these children plan to earn advanced degrees. Middle-class families have children with nearly the same plan: to attend college after high school and perhaps to attain an advanced degree. In contrast, lower-class families produce children who have a different goal: to finish high school and to attend community college.

Recreational experiences. Adolescents from upper-class families have recreational experiences involving family, friends, and summer camps/institutes. Adolescents from middle-class families have similar experiences, but to a lesser

extent. That is, an upper-class adolescent may have all three experiences, whereas a middle-class adolescent may have experiences in only two areas (i.e., family and friends only). Adolescents from lower-class families have even fewer recreational experiences, likely in only one or two of the areas (i.e., friends only).

Some adolescents may deviate from the Expected Adolescent Behavior Theory. The possibility exists that a lower-class adolescent may behave as if he or she is from the middle or upper class. An explanation of this deviation follows. The model displayed in Figure 5.2 reflects deviations in the Expected Adolescent Behavior Theory.

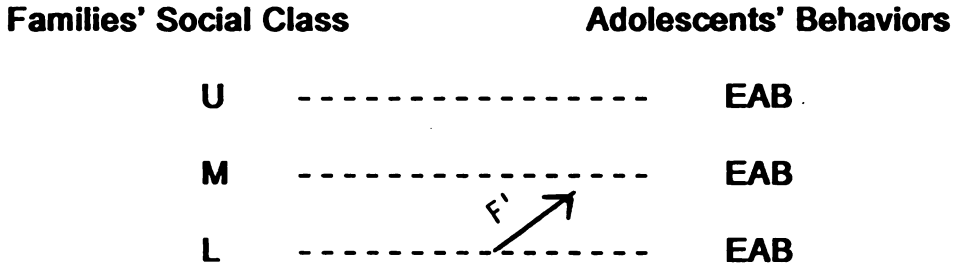

Figure 5.2: Deviations from the Expected Adolescent Behavior Theory.

A force, denoted F', that causes a change in one or more expected adolescent behaviors may enter into the environment. The force may be external or internal, voluntary or involuntary. For example, in the completed study, the adolescent named Martha Weide was from a lower-class family. Her mother worked in a bar, was a high school dropout, and expected her daughters to be just like her.

One daughter had turned out just like her, but Martha seemed quite different. Her high school experiences were more like those of students from the middle class; her 3.324 GPA earned her a ranking in the upper half of her class. Also, she participated in some extracurricular activities at school, unlike adolescents from lower-class families. A force (F') had entered into the Weide family environment that created a different set of high school behaviors. Martha stated it as follows:

> In my junior year, I started to care. I realized that if I didn't want to live like we do right now (not an insult to my mother), then I had better start to care. I thought maybe I can get some scholarships because of my grades. Plus, I actually like to learn now. I kind of like a challenge.

Indeed! Martha's F' was an internal change caused by a perception she had about her future. She changed her high school experiences as a means of changing her future. She meant no offense to her mother, but she did not want to become like her. Martha's F' was voluntary; she was not *told* she had to change. This voluntary decision created a force in the Weide family environment that caused Martha to deviate from the expected adolescent behaviors. Her mother stated, "I don't know where she gets it from, because my other daughter is just like me, it's unreal." Mrs. Weide did not understand where Martha got "it" from because F', the "it," was an internal and voluntary force that was foreign to Mrs. Weide. F' was new to the Weide family environment.

To gain a better understanding about F', a deeper analysis of the data is necessary. Studying occupation and outlook helps provide such an analysis. Occupation and outlook were considered earlier (see pp. 59-77 and 91-106, especially); these two factors have revealed some interesting social class concepts.

A relatively large number of families (eight) were placed in the middle class when determined by occupation; only two families from the same group were middle class by outlook. If occupation and outlook are studied together, adolescents' behaviors are seen in a way that helps us learn about F'.

Three upper-class families (Williams, Swartz, and Holden) were considered upper class by both occupation and outlook. Similarly, three lower-class families (Underwood/March, Longo/Slosser, and Weide) were lower class for both factors. However, of the remaining eight middle-class families determined by occupation, six families were **not** middle class when determined by outlook, and five of these families were upper class when determined by outlook. To carry the analysis further, an examination of these five families is in order. The following data were extracted from Tables 5.1 and 5.3:

	Class Rank	**Extracurricular Activities**
David	I	H
Curry	I	H
Aller	I	H
Sweet	I	H
Lynch/Coles	III	L

Listed are David, Curry, Aller, Sweet, and Lynch/Coles because they are the five families having upper-class outlook and middle-class occupation. Four of the five families had adolescents with high class rank (I) and high extracurricular involvement. A similar analysis for the other adolescent behaviors follows.

As reported in Tables 5.5 and 5.7, adolescents' jobs for the five families were as follows:

	Adolescents' Jobs
David	Works sometimes
Curry	Works sometimes
Aller	Works sometimes
Sweet	Works sometimes
Lynch/Coles	Steady work

Four of the five families were similar on this dimension; only the Lynch/Coles adolescent had steady work.

Reviewing Tables 5.9 and 5.11 provided the following recreational-experiences data for the same families:

	Adolescents' Recreational Experiences		
	Family	Friends	Enrichment
David	X	X	X
Curry	X	X	X
Aller	X	X	X
Sweet	X	X	
Lynch/Coles	X		

As with the preceding behaviors, the Lynch/Coles family differed most from the other four. This time, the Sweet family differed from the David, Curry, and Aller families, as well, because that family, like Lynch/Coles, did not report enrichment experiences.

Finally, data taken from Tables 5.13 and 5.15 regarding the adolescents' plans for leaving school, the fourth behavior studied, are displayed on the following page. Only the Lynch/Coles adolescent did not plan on at least four years of college.

Adolescents' Plans for Leaving School

David	Four-year degree
Curry	Advanced degree
Aller	Four-year degree
Sweet	Four-year degree
Lynch/Coles	HS diploma/community college

Thus, with regard to the four adolescent behaviors, the Lynch/Coles family differed from the other four families in each analysis. One reason for this difference may be that Mary Ann Coles had dropped out of school to have a baby and then returned. The baby certainly limited her behaviors. The baby's existence is an example of F', a force that had altered her adolescent behaviors. Studied in comparison with lower-class families, Mary Ann fit closely. The F' seemed to alter her expected adolescent behaviors more like a lower-class adolescent than a middle-class one.

The David, Curry, Aller, and Sweet families had similar adolescent behaviors. As pointed out above, their children had top grades and were highly involved in extracurricular activities. Adolescents from these four families worked "sometimes" and planned on at least four years of college. They had had recreational activities involving family, friends, and, in three cases, enrichment activities. Taken collectively, these are expected adolescent behaviors, much like those found in upper-class families. The David, Curry, Aller, and Sweet families were rated middle class overall (see Table 4.12), yet their adolescents' behaviors were similar to those from upper-class families. Thus, another F' was revealed; this time, the force

appeared to be related to the families' outlook. An upper-class outlook seems to be related to adolescents who behave more like those from upper-class families.

According to the preceding analysis, it appears that middle-class families' **upper**-class outlook leads to a set of adolescent behaviors that seem to match those of adolescents from upper-class families. Being a novice researcher, this writer is not suggesting that families' outlook **causes** adolescents' behaviors. These are certainly a limited number of cases; the study was based on 14 families and 15 adolescents. What is significant is that the analysis, along with the discussion about Martha Weide preceding it, seems to explain the deviations found within this study. The explanation seems plausible for instances in which the case does not conform to the Expected Adolescent Behavior Theory.

The logic makes sense. A force, F', creates a change in one or more expected adolescent behaviors. A plausible explanation for the behaviors of Davis, Curry, Aller, and Sweet could be that the parents' outlook created a change in parent or student expectations, which resulted in a different set of adolescent behaviors. Outlook-to-expectations-to-behaviors is a plausible path created by F', the parents' outlook. For Lynch/Coles, Mary Ann's baby created a change in parent and student expectations, leading to a different set of behaviors. For Weide, Martha's internal change (a change in her own outlook, perhaps) created a change in her expectations, producing a different set of behaviors.

The theory explains deviations that may happen with other adolescents from other families, as well. F' could be external. For example, a disability could bring

about high school experiences that are deviant for the family's social class. Further, such a disability would be involuntary.

The F' concept is a way to think about deviations in expected adolescent behaviors. It makes sense to account for situations in which families' social class and expected adolescent behaviors do not match. In the completed study, these variations were rare. That may be bad news or good news, depending on one's position. If one is an educator, wanting to "make a difference," the truth is, the difference may happen less frequently than one would care to realize--bad news. If one is a middle-class parent who wants his or her child to attend Michigan State University, that likely will happen--good news. Regardless, the whole set of adolescent behaviors is usually predictable.

The institution of school is a potential source for F'. In schools, F' may enter the family to create a tension between families' social class and expected adolescent behaviors. The result may be a deviation in expected adolescent behaviors. A lower-class adolescent may experience success at school in operating computers, for example. This success would be F', an external force from the school. The F' would create an environment for the adolescent to consider college education after high school, a middle-class behavior. The lower-class adolescent would experience a tension: the consideration of taking on middle-class behavior (attending college). The school may amplify the influence of F'; the counselor may provide information about college availability and tuition assistance, which increases the tension. As a result, the conditions for a deviation in expected adolescent behavior intensify.

Major Findings Compared to Those From Previous Research

One motivation for this study was to update the works of Hollingshead and others, whose work was described earlier. Hollingshead's primary research occurred in 1941 and 1942, more than 50 years ago. He found that families' social class shaped the adolescents' behaviors. This theory was supported by Warner (1964), Marshall (1965), Jencks (1972), Lightfoot (1978), and Okey (1990), as reported in Chapter II.

The conclusions from this study are consistent with those of previous research. Social class was found to shape four specific behaviors exhibited by adolescents. The factors that determined the social class rankings were found to have a relationship with each set of adolescent behaviors. For example, it was reported in Chapter II that Hollingshead found students from higher social classes were more involved in extracurricular activities, earned better grades, and were better prepared for college than their counterparts from lower social classes. These findings are similar to those from this study, in which adolescents' high school experiences were found to be related to social class factors: outlook, cognitive ability, occupation, and interaction. Another example is that provided by Marshall (1965), who stated, "Adolescents' behaviors largely do reflect their parents' behaviors, thereby reflecting the families' social class" (p. 44). The findings from this study support Marshall's logic. Okey (1990) described a family culture that is established by the family's social class. Nothing in this study contradicted Okey's

notion; numerous examples in the parent interviews demonstrated what Okey called "culture." Clearly, the parents' expectations shaped the adolescents' behaviors.

A difference found in this study concerned dropouts. Hollingshead (1949) reported a large percentage of students who were going to leave school without graduating. This study did not reveal any dropouts. In fact, Mary Ann Coles had quit school to have a baby, only to return. Even the weakest students--Irvin Duke, Mary Ann Coles, and Alton Slosser--planned to finish high school with a diploma and attend community college. This is a big difference from what Hollingshead reported in Elmtown's Youth.

Recommendations

In this study the researcher examined adolescents' behaviors relative to their families' social class. Sixteen research questions were answered, leading to six conclusions that added to the research about social class and adolescents' behaviors. In this qualitative investigation, much information was collected through interviews, which leads one to consider possibilities for further research and investigation. Among the areas for consideration are the following:

1. A quantitative investigation of adolescents' behaviors and families' social class would be useful. This could be done through a written questionnaire along the same lines of reasoning employed herein: The normative social class model could be used, with the same four factors and indicators. Comparisons could be made between the quantitative findings and those from this study.

2. A case study investigation of adolescents such as Martha Weide and Mary Ann Coles might prove insightful. These two students, more than the others, broke the mold. It was Martha's mother who made the comment about Martha being so different (and so skilled). How that happened would be useful to study. Likewise, Mary Ann Coles had dropped out of school but returned. The circumstances predicting this might be disclosed through a more in-depth study. Okey made significant discoveries when he studied dropouts; hence, a better understanding of why students made those choices results. A case study of Mary Ann or Martha could yield similar benefits.

3. A study of adolescents' behaviors and families' social class could be replicated, whereby the educational institution is the unit of analysis. For educators, understanding how the educational system influences adolescents' behaviors is of constant interest. Suggesting that the educational system be the unit of analysis opens up areas that might be of particular interest (e.g., course offerings/tracking systems).

Reflections

Having the time and opportunity to focus on adolescents' behaviors and families' social class has been wonderful. I take away from the study more than I brought to it. In the beginning, my social class understanding was typical, perhaps; to me, social class meant income.

Social class is much more than that. The normative social class model taught me that, and I hope others will grow in their understanding, too. Social class is very

complex, yet it is truly quite simple in one aspect: Social class **can** be described in objective, understandable terms. While we think of ourselves as primarily "middle class," we are not always middle class at all. One family stands out as an example: The Lynch/Coles family was **lower** class when judged by interaction, **middle** class when judged by occupation and cognitive ability, and **upper** class when judged by outlook. The Lynch/Coles family was middle class, but the family was also upper class if one studied their outlook, and lower class if their interaction was the criterion. Other families may be like that one, where the family's social class varies by the factor being used.

APPENDIX

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

December 1, 1995

TO: Craig Douglas
P.O. Box 281
Oscoda, MI 48750

RE: IRB#: 95-584
TITLE: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SUBJECT CLASS AND ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOR IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL
REVISION REQUESTED: N/A
CATEGORY: 1-A,1-C
APPROVAL DATE: 11/30/95

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project and any revisions listed above.

RENEWAL: UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to continue a project beyond one year must use the green renewal form (enclosed with the original approval letter or when a project is renewed) to seek updated certification. There is a maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB # and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/ CHANGES: Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly: (1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or (2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us at (517)355-2180 or FAX (517)432-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:bed

cc: Philip A. Cusick

OFFICE OF
RESEARCH
AND
GRADUATE
STUDIES

University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS)

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MSU is an affirmative action, equal opportunity institution

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To Whom It May Concern, *CONSENT FORM*

The purpose for this study is to learn more about how adolescents behave. I will be asking you about your ideas about outlook, schooling, friends, and jobs. I will be asking your adolescent son and/or daughter about high school, working, recreational activities, and whether or not a diploma and/or college is in their future. During the next stage of the research, I may review school records, talk with others, and gather as much information as I can so that I form ideas. I want to understand how adolescents spend their time, what they care about, and how they behave both in and out of school.

The interviews will take about one hour. If we want to talk longer and you are amenable, we'll need to set up additional time. The time altogether should be less than two-and-one-half hours for all interviews.

What you say will be confidential. Your name will NOT be reported in the study. Pseudonyms will be assigned to all participants.

You do NOT have to participate in the study. You can withdraw from the research at any time, and your participation is voluntary. You may refuse to answer any question(s) without penalty. If you want a copy of the final report, a copy will be furnished by request. Your signature indicates you understand why this study is being done. At any time you have questions about the research, or wish to talk a supervisor, please call MSU, 457 Erickson Hall, at 517-355-4539, and speak with Dr. Philip Cusick. He is my advisor.

Sincerely,

Craig Douglas, Student
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

_____ parent name (please print)

_____ parent signature

_____ student name (please print)

_____ student signature

UCRIHS APPROVAL FOR THIS project EXPIRES:

NOV 30 1996

and must be renewed within

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

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