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A STUDY OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GROUP OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT ACTIVISTS AS COMPARED WITH THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GROUP OF PEERS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH THE ACTIVIST MOVEMENT

by

Judith Ann Sklar Lewis

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Chairman: Stuart C. Hulslander

The purpose of this investigation was to describe a group of suburban high school activists, identifying the characteristics which appeared to discriminate between them and their non-activist peers and analyzing individual differences among members of both groups.

The two groups were compared in terms of variables of academic ability and achievement, family background, teachers' perceptions of students, self-reported plans and interests, and personality.

T-tests comparing the means of the two groups for continuous data indicated that the activist group was superior to the non-activist group in academic ability and achievement, as well as being more dominant, more tender-minded, more imaginative, more forthright, more trusting, and more reserved.

Chi square analysis performed on discrete data indicated that the activist group was more involved than the non-activist group in honors level courses and extra-curricular activities. No significant differences were

found to exist with regard to parental occupation, family size, birth order, self-reported educational and vocational plans, or teachers' perceptions of personal traits.

Stepwise discriminant analysis showed that the variables most powerful in predicting group membership were dominance, tender-mindedness, achievement in arithmetic applications, and imaginativeness.

Cluster analysis performed in terms of several key variables indicated that the activist group might be subdivided into two general groups: those who are more dominant, and might be drawn to the process of activism, and those characterized more by tender-mindedness and imaginativeness, who might be drawn to the goals of activism. A commonality among almost all members of the activist group was a tendency to share the personality traits typical of creative individuals.

The findings suggested that, rather than being alienated from school or society, the activist students are highly involved, and appear to desire a relationship with the environment that is characterized by creative interaction. Interviews with a sample of the students indicated that the activists are encouraged by their parents to use their own judgment in making decisions and that these students tend to evaluate situations in terms of individual perception, rather than concern with environmental exigencies.

It was suggested that the activist students are characterized by a high degree of "social interest," or a feeling of belonging and a desire to contribute to the improvement of society. Under the assumption that the school's best interests would be served if social interest were maintained, it was hypothesized that this goal could best be met if the school developed an institutional life style characterized by creativity. In this manner, activist students could be enabled to make a positive contribution to the school's well-being.

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Without the wholehearted assistance of the staff and students of Niles North High School, this project could not have been completed. Their honest desire to learn about themselves was matched by their wish to help another human being, and it is hoped that this study will benefit them.

I am most indebted to my husband, Michael, whose encouragement has liberated me, whose assistance has been both practical and spiritual, and whose confidence in me has always exceeded my own.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Background of the Problem

The counseling profession, like the rest of our society, has become increasingly aware of the need to further our understanding of the activist groups and movements which have become prevalent on college campuses throughout the nation. Unfortunately, research aimed toward discovering the nature of the student activist and the factors discriminating between him and his peers has tended to concentrate on the post-secondary level, where activism has already become a way of life.

This is most surprising in light of the fact that the phenomenon of socio-political activism appears to be filtering quickly into the high schools, creating the possibility that the future will see the secondary school as the primary focus of action (School Management, 1968; Boyd, 1969; Pileggi, 1969). This future is rapidly becoming the present, as activist groups increase in numbers and in power. High school educators are finding themselves as unprepared and as lacking in understanding of this phenomenon as were university

administrations a few years ago. Pileggi (1969, p. 566) has noted that "there is a tendency on the part of school administrators...to lump peaceful student dissenters, political activists, radicals, old-fashioned rowdies, drug pushers, muggers, and vandals all in the same pot."

It is important that the counseling profession and education as a whole turn their attention toward providing a more realistic view of high school student activists. Such students often find themselves involved in multiple areas of conflict, particularly when others define them and their roles in terms of the potential "trouble" they can cause. They need counselors and other adults who can contribute to their own understanding of themselves, who can view them with a minimum of bias, and who can help to interpret their unique needs to others. These services can best be provided by professionals with objective knowledge of the activist student's characteristics.

Trends in research done at the college level do seem to indicate that activists have unique characteristics, and that these characteristics are already present before entrance into the university (Katz, 1968). It has also become apparent that students involved in major acts of dissent, such as those at Berkeley and Columbia, have tended to come from the socially and educationally advantaged homes of upper middle class, white suburbia (Block, Haan, and Brewster, 1968; Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker, 1969;

Somers, 1965). Such students also appear to be playing an important role in the present, more widespread strike movement, with black speakers at student rallies often pointing out the convenience of being able to afford the sacrifice of pre-paid tuition.

It is thus both possible and desirable to search within the environment which has nurtured at least one brand of college activists for those patterns which have served to distinguish them. Even within this environment, some variable or set of variables might be associated with the activism of some and the non-activism of others.

A high school student, writing for the newspaper published by her activist group, expressed the feelings of many of her generation in the following way (Greenfield, 1969):

What Can We Say?

The Coalition is for action.
The NEW FREE PRESS is for involvement.
But what can we say when:
There's a war in Viet Nam.
Bobby Seale is behind bars.
Eldridge Cleaver is in exile.
Men are in jail for refusing to kill.
Nixon is in the white house.
Spiro is in the white house.
Shirley Temple is in the U.N.
Julius Hoffman is a judge.
Weathermen smash windows.
Richard Elrod lies paralyzed.
Bobby Kennedy is dead.
Martin Luther King is dead.
Ghettos are burning.
Life Savers are seven cents.
Children are starving.
Schools are prisons.
The Archies make Sugar Sugar number 1.
Smile?

It is important that we try to learn why, when all of the facts presented in this poem are widely known, some students still can smile and some cannot.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this investigation was to study a group of high school activists in one white, suburban high school. One objective was to determine what characteristics tended to discriminate between this group and a group of peers who had not become members of activist organizations or movements. Another was to provide a description of the activist organization and its members, and to analyze individual differences among members of both groups. The trends found in these analyses were used in an attempt to contribute new ways of examining the activist movement and its relationship to the secondary school.

The study measured variables of intelligence and academic achievement, family background, teachers' perceptions of students, self-reported plans and interests, and personality. The two groups were then compared in order to determine the differences between them in terms of each variables. The variables themselves were analyzed in order to determine what groups of variables might be most successful in discriminating between groups, and key variables were used to point up individual differences within the activist and non-activist groups. Finally, a series of interviews was conducted to gain a perception of general trends in the students' attitudes toward themselves and their environment.

The Setting

The students participating in this study attended a high school located in what is often termed the "affluent North Shore" of suburban Chicago. The community consists of comfortable, single-family dwellings, with a scattering of middle-income apartments and condominiums. There are none of the mansions or estates which are prevalent in some of the neighboring suburbs; neither are there the crowded areas found in the city to the south. Shopping is centered around a large, modern shopping center and several clusters of smaller shops. Industry is present, and contributes to an exceptionally good tax base, but it is light and well-manicured.

Ryden (1969), in studying the make-up of the student population, reported that the percentage of students dropping out of school during the year 1968-69 was 2.4, while eighty-two per cent of students graduating in 1969 went on to institutions of higher learning. Ryden found, on surveying occupations of fathers of one graduating class, that seventy-two per cent were in professional occupations, sales occupations, or were proprietors, executives, or managers. Only six per cent were in semi-skilled occupations, general service occupations, or general labor. The remainder worked in skilled trades and technical occupations or were deceased or had unknown occupations. A survey of the educational

level of parents of college-bound students indicated that eighty-six per cent of fathers had at least a high school education, and over half had formal education beyond high school.

The school district itself is composed of three high schools: North, East, and West. All have fine physical facilities and a wide range of student services and support personnel. The school district prides itself on the fine educational background of the faculty in all three schools, as well as on the up-to-date curriculum.

Although the schools attempt to maintain an openness to new ideas in curriculum, services, and methods, there are cross-currents of progressivism and traditionalism which sometimes appear to contradict each other, and even to create confusion in the minds of some students.

An administrator, attempting to explain the increased rebelliousness of some students, stated

> We have, in many ways, provided an education to make him that way. We have asked him to study the facts and evidence and make his own conclusions. In science, we have asked him to experiment, and to inquire and to discover for himself. We have encouraged critical thinking, the challenging of authority, the examination of all points of view.

Although subject matter is approached in a progressive manner, school policies in non-academic matters are essentially conservative, with an insistence on order in classrooms and hallways; an adherence to strict attendance-taking with punishment for unexcused absence or tardiness; a rule calling for the carrying of

student identification at all times and a valid pass when in the hall; a tendency to use traditional disciplinary methods, such as suspension, for infractions of rules; and an assumption that one misbehavior which cannot be tolerated is "insubordination" or defiance of authority.

As is the case with most public schools, many students perceive an arbitrariness in the system, either in the impersonal treatment they receive from some teachers and administrators, or in the need to obey rules with unclarified bases. One social worker, who has counseled with a broad range of students, aired his perception that most students are aware of and resent this arbitrariness. He pointed out that a small group of students reacts by withdrawing from the situation, often through the use of drugs; the largest group chooses to conform apathetically; and some students choose action, either in the form of diffuse acting out or in the form of goal-directed efforts toward change.

This study concerned itself with a group of students who chose the last alternative: activism in search of change. Although the study was limited to the activist students at North High School, the evolution of their movement can best be understood in the context of events occurring throughout this relatively homoegeneous community.

The Local Evolution of High School Activism

North High School saw the beginnings of student activism in the fall of 1968, possibly because a number of students had been radicalized by the events surrounding the Democratic convention the previous summer. In their first tentative attempts to make themselves known, the potential activists limited their activities to passing out leaflets provided by the Students for a Democratic Society or other national groups and borrowing the flaming rhetoric when they began to speak up in classrooms, in assemblies, and in student government.

These endeavors met with mixed reactions, for the school had no precedent for such behavior, and therefore no policy. Leaflets were sometimes confiscated, even from lockers, and sometimes merely looked on with benign distaste. The wearing of an anti-war button sometimes meant a trip to the office and sometimes was ignored. Posters were sometimes torn down and sometimes left in place.

Students were, at this time, primarily concerned with national issues, rather than focusing their attention on the school. The problem became localized, however, when literature calling for strikes and school disruption around election day began to be distributed. Again, this literature was not locally produced, and only a few students actually left school on any of the strike days.

There were, however, a rash of false fire alarms on those days. Although investigation shows that the students who had actually set the alarms had not been politically motivated, the literature, and thus the activists, were blamed for creating an atmosphere which stimulated illegal activity. The whole issue of socio-political activism thus came to the fore.

At North, the principal attempted to provide leadership in the teachers', and his own, groping to understand the concerns of the students involved. In a bulletin to the faculty, he described the ways in which students protest and rebel, including:

> Protests Against Adult Social Values--by wearing long hair and unusual clothing (maybe even leaving our cafeteria a mess)
> Illegal Acts--drinking, shop lifting, vandalism, drugs, sex
> Increasing Disrespect for Authority--to family, school and civil authorities
> Racial Demonstrations--rioting, looting, vandalism
> War Protests--the draft and the Viet Nam War
> Struggles for Power--"participatory democracy" "a part in decisions which concern them"

The fact that protest was included in the same list with illegal acts and a messy cafeteria, as well as the equation of racial demonstrations with rioting, looting, and vandalism, indicated an instinct, shared by most of the faculty, to view dissent negatively. The same bulletin, however, stressed the need to involve students to a greater extent in their own education, to increase communication and personal relationships with individual students, and to provide encouragement for students' attempts to deal with school and social problems.

Reaction at the district level was less positive, with the superintendent stating that "individuals or groups (do not) have the right at any time to take advantage of our captive school audience to push their particular point of view."

The administration at West High School appeared to share this antipathy for student activism. A group of students there began an "underground" newspaper which stressed "repression" in the school, as well as national issues, and included its share of "obscene" language. The administration first placed pressure on the teacher who had been acting as a sponsor for this group, insisting that she censor the newspaper more carefully. When this was not done, the teacher was dismissed as sponsor, and the West Free Press was banned.

The banning of the newspaper did not bring its production to a halt; if anything, circulation increased. The students involved, however, were angered by the move, and even surprised, perhaps because the progressive threads in school district policy had led them to expect a different reaction. This conflict was pointed up by one student, who was prompted to write:

> "You can say anything you want,
> you can write anything you want
> you can do anything you want to do."
>
> That's what they told me.
>
> So I said anything I wanted,
> And I wrote anything I wanted.
>
> I wrote a newspaper,
> I started a club,
> I got people behind me.

THAT'S WHEN IT HAPPENED.

they said, "come here boy."
I said, "Sure, man."
they said, "Listen up."
I said, Sure man.
they said, "Shut up!"
I said, "What?"
they said,

"You can say anything you want,
you can write anything you want,
you can do anything you want to do.

JUST DON'T DO IT HERE. (Leavitt, 1968)

Now, however, the students were doing it here. As controversy began to grow, involved students in all three schools started networks of communication, sharing their problems and their plans. In the midst of this activity, the West Free Press became the New Free Press, with circulation throughout the township, and the Student Coalition was born.

The purposes of the Student Coalition included the following (Niles Township Student Coalition, 1969):

1. Advance and protect the rights of all students.
2. Unite the student body in support of our objectives.
3. Have a definite, decisive voice in school policy.
4. Publish the New Free Press.

Although these students were also united by their interest in broader issues, such as war and racism, the first issue of the New Free Press, and the first project of the newly-formed Coalition, involved a local matter. The non-tenure teacher who had been working closely with the activist students at West had not had her contract renewed for the ensuing year. The Board of Education had presented a list of reasons for this action, including the failure of the

teacher to follow the course curriculum, to discipline students for lapses in attendance, and to maintain good relationships with the administration and faculty. The teacher maintained that her teaching had not changed since the previous school year, when she had received favorable evaluations, and that the only alteration in her behavior which could have led to the failure to renew her contract was her involvement with the activist students.

Whether this was true or not, the students rallied to her cause, believing, in effect, that the attack on her was an attack on them. They organized pickets, signed petitions, canvassed the community and the faculty for support, wore "Rehire Roberta" buttons, and attended school board meetings en masse. Their efforts failed, and the Board's decision stood. In the process of protest, however, the students had learned a great deal about tactics, had solidified a certain amount of resentment against the Board of Education, and had come into their own as an identifiable and highly vocal group.

The Coalition became identified with a two-pronged effort: attempts to increase "student power" within the schools, and involvement with broader societal issues, particularly that of peace.

Within the schools, members of the activist group used essentially verbal attacks. They spoke up whenever a forum was available, proselytizing for "the cause" and attempting to make converts of other students. They

provided strong voices for change within student government and whatever groups or committees might prove effective in bringing about greater freedom for the student body. The New Free Press, growing slicker as it grew richer, remained the primary method for getting across new ideas, with subject matter divided between school and national issues.

The national cause with which the students identified to the greatest extent was that of peace. They participated as a group in every major demonstration, although it was usually as part of the high school contingent of adult- or college-planned activities. In planning for the October 15, 1969, Moratorium on Business as Usual, the students attempted to create their own program. They asked the school district's central administration for permission to be excused from classes on that day and to be allotted space within the schools for a teach-in which they would plan and organize themselves. When this permission was refused, the Coalition used the New Free Press to publicize the Moratorium day, suggesting that students meet for a rally in a nearby park and then participate in the events which would take place at Northwestern University. Hundreds of students did, in fact, miss school on October 15 to participate in these activities, and received unexcused absence citations for the day.

For the November 15 Moratorium, the following month, the Student Coalition chartered a bus which took them to

Washington, D.C., to participate in a rally which drew adults, as well as students, from all parts of the country. The students also participated in numerous peace rallies and marches held in Chicago throughout 1968 and 1969, including demonstrations in support of the defendants in the Conspiracy trial.

One student who was an active member of the group pointed out that, in general, the Coalition members chose relatively safe methods of dissent, using violent rhetoric, but never violent action. Although the students were interested in playing some part in dealing with the problems of racism and poverty, and initial contacts were made with groups such as the Young Lords, only a few of these suburban young people were able to find comfortable places for themselves in the urban movement. When they organized their own picket at a local supermarket in support of the California Grape Boycott, most of the students left when the police arrived, leaving a nucleus of eight who were arrested and subsequently prosecuted.

In general, it did appear that, even though these students were looked upon as the most radical of the radical by their teachers and peers, they maintained an abhorrence of violence, and never quite gave up their respect for private property, their desire for education, or their need for a certain degree of order in their lives. They maintained their drive for change, but consistently showed a preference for working within the system whenever they thought it was possible.

The spring of 1970 saw a change in the nature of the Coalition, at least among those members at North. Although the organization remained a rallying point for participation in the peace movement, and although the New Free Press continued its operation, students seemed increasingly to be turning toward their own school and to be searching for more individual methods of participating in movements toward change.

Thus, the Student Coalition members began to provide a nucleus of students who were active in a number of activities, all of which included other students as well. Many became involved in Student Senate, playing a large part in turning its attention away from proms and pep rallies and toward more substantive issues. A number worked with the Human Relations Committee, which brought to the school a number of films and speakers related to problems of war and peace, civil liberties, the draft, the urban crisis, and the environment. A few were members of a teacher-student group which met outside of school hours, usually on week-ends, to formulate means for bringing about attitudinal changes within the school, and to plan for a "free school" offering non-credit courses of interest to students. Coalition members were clearly visible in most school committees, including now a faculty-student group formulated to implement a policy for due process in the treatment of disciplinary questions.

Amid all of this activity, a recent walk-out of approximately three hundred students at East High School,

in support of three teachers who had been actively working with activist students and who had been dismissed or warned of dismissal, drew little attention from North students. Their neglect of the matter greatly contrasted with the similar incident a year before, when students from the other schools had hurried to support their peers at West and had thus become the primary source of dissent within the schools.

It appears that the Student Coalition served its purpose in its time. It gave a number of students a clear identity, a cause with which to associate themselves, a force to which they could turn for support in their initial attempts to express protest and dissent. In the Coalition, they learned that they were not alone, while they were schooled in tactics, in terminology supporting their beliefs, and in the notion that participation in "the movement" could be self-enhancing.

The organization, when it began, was open to many alternative modes of operation. It could have evolved in a number of ways; it did, in fact, take different courses in the different schools. The turning points appeared, in fact, to be functions, not of the students themselves, but of their environment, and of the actions chosen at crucial points by the administration.

When the administration chose to dismiss a young teacher in 1969, they gave the Student Coalition the impetus it needed to begin large-scale activity. When the <u>West Free Press</u> was banned, it obtained greater

recognition throughout the school district, and an underground newspaper with a larger circulation was created. When the October 15 teach-in was refused, the school district was faced, for the first time, with the problem of mass absence. When three teachers were dismissed in 1970, East High School became the scene of greater unrest than had been seen in the district before.

In all of the schools, students found small groups of teachers with whom they could relate. At the high school level, students still seem to feel the need for some kind of adult guidance. Since many of them are in the throes of conflict at home, as they seek to attain independence, their search for teachers who will listen to them, accept them, and try to communicate with them is intensified. At North, the teachers with whom the activist students identified tended to be less radical and somewhat more conforming than those at East or West, and thus provided a stabilizing influence. When the students identified with teachers who were attacked by the administration and School Board, their anger increased, and they tended to turn toward more extreme action, such as the walk-out.

At North, the activist students apparently still believe that there is some hope for bringing about change without great disruption, perhaps because the administration, although disagreeing with many of their causes, has provided some outlets and some opportunities for discussion. Whether there is real intent to change and

democratize the system or not, there is at least the appearance of cooperation in the number of faculty-student committees which have sprung up. While the atmosphere is not precisely one of trust, it is one of mutually beneficial co-existence.

Although it would be difficult to prove a causal relationship, North High School is different than it was before the Student Coalition came into existence, and many teachers and students attribute the changes to student activism.

The dress code, always providing a crucial rallying point for activists, has been vastly liberalized, so that, as long as a student's body is covered, he is free to dress as he pleases. Another change in school policy has been the right of students to distribute literature freely, to wear symbols of protest, and to express dissent without fear of disciplinary action. The New Free Press, for instance, is distributed openly without censorship or reprisal.

In the cases of both the dress code and the allowances for free speech, it must be remembered that students still can be subjected to more subtle pressures, even when official school policy is open. It must also be recognized that the administration made these changes on legal advice, based on recent court decisions. Of course, many schools throughout the country have failed to make such changes, and the difference could well lie in the knowledge that activist students are very much aware of the law.

The school has also seen changes in the number of opportunities available for the exploration of controversial issues. During the 1969-70 school year, student-planned teach-ins were held during regular school days involving Viet Nam, the urban crisis, and the environment, with others being planned. Many speakers also have been scheduled at various times, with students able to see them if the program coincided with their free time or if teachers chose to attend with an entire class.

Finally, there has been a discernible, if difficult to pinpoint, change in the student body itself. In 1968, a Coalition plea that "radicals, grease, heads, and the 'average' student must unite," was met with shrugs. Coalition members who ran for offices in student government were defeated by overwhelming majorities. There were even occasional outbursts of conflict with students who saw anti-war activity as being unpatriotic.

In 1970, most of this conflict appeared to have been put to rest, and dissident groups of students began to make tentative efforts toward cooperation in the solving of common problems. Activist students, who had now learned how it is to be singled out for attention by teachers, saw themselves as having more in common with poor students, who had long been familiar with this phenomenon. Hundreds of students signed petitions calling for dismissal of class for teach-ins on a par with the procedure regularly used for such events as pep rallies. In the wake of the Kent State incident, petitions for the

lowering of the flag and the holding of a rally were passed around by students who had not before had any identification with socio-political activism. Individual acts of protest appeared to increase, with one administrator saying that "insubordination" had doubled the number of disciplinary referrals he received from teachers and tripled the number of suspensions he was forced to mete out. All of this was perhaps best summed up by one student, who stated, "Protest has now become socially acceptable."

Although dissent and activism now appear to have a broader base, this study concerned itself with those students who attempted to bring about change at an earlier time, the ones who ran the risks of reprisal when all of the pressures were toward conformity. This study concerned itself with the students who began it all, the members of the Student Coalition.

The Coalition as an Activist Group

Defining activism in terms of group membership took into account the fact that activism, in its present form, is essentially a group, rather than an individual, phenomenon. Keniston (1967) pointed out that "the defining characteristic of the 'new' activist is his participation in a student demonstration or group activity that concerns itself with some matter of general political, social, or ethical principle." Keniston and others, such

as Grant (1969), have pointed out the importance of the activist group for the provision of interaction, support, and leadership. Thus, the sample studied here included those students who made the commitment of paying dues, attending meetings, and participating in the group's activities, even though other students might have agreed with the activists' goals and tactics.

The literature appeared to show considerable agreement concerning the definition of student activism.

Block, Haan, and Smith (1968) described activist youth as students who have a degree of disenchantment with the values of American society, but who, unlike the alienated or apathetic youth, participate in attempts to bring about changes in policies and institutions.

Halleck (1968) also differentiated between activist and alienated students, stating that activists reject the status quo and attempt to change it, while alienated students reject the values of society but react by withdrawing from it.

Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker (1969) pointed out that activists and alienated youth reject aspects of society, but that activists become involved in expressing their dissent, while the alienated withdraw from contemporary society.

The staff of School Management (1968) stressed the nature of student activists as wishing to become involved in the decision-making processes and educational policy-making of their schools.

The Student Coalition, with its emphasis on involvement, on the expression of dissent, and on the process of change can clearly be termed activist in nature. Within the activist phenomenon, however, there are vast differences, both in degree and in kind.

When student activism began in the high school, the students identified with college radicalism, with the Students for a Democratic Society providing their initial model. When that organization began to splinter, the Coalition members tended to identify with Revolutionary Youth Movement II, rather than RYM I, the Weathermen, primarily because they feared Weatherman tactics. The Weathermen have, in fact, done their high school recruiting, not among the most politically active students, but among the ones they see as being most oppressed. Now, in S.D.S. alone, five factions can be identified, all of which can be described in terms of economic ideology (Kahn, 1970). This has made it increasingly difficult for high school activists to identify with their older brothers, for they tend to have no economic ideology, but only to have ideals.

The high school movement is different from the college movement, and the students involved tend to resent implications that they are not, in fact, independent.

> I've heard it said that high school radicals are really doing nothing more than aping their college seniors, that high school radicalism is merely a product of an adolescent need to identify with older brother who's almost an

> adult. I disagree with any such analysis that denies the High School Movement the individuality and meaning it deserves...High school radicalism is indigenous to the high schools, and came about in the high schools because of the conditions there. We as high school students want to acquire a relevant education now; later, after finishing school, we want to lead happy, fulfilling lives in a country that has true equality and justice. (Romano, 1970, 11-12)

Student power has been defined as the effort to bring about a change in students' roles, giving them authority to make changes in the school (Birmingham, p. 127). High school activism is, in effect, a student power movement, for what these students appear to desire is a change in their roles, both within the school and in their envisioned future.

Even within this frame of reference, there are vast differences between black, urban activists and their suburban counterparts.

A recent survey showed that, while protest in large schools usually takes the form of an underground newspaper, the boycott is more likely to be used in schools with large minority group enrollment (Newsfront, 1970). This difference in tactics really points up some contrasts which are far more basic.

In suburbia, it is not often that activist students can gain the large-scale backing needed to make a boycott effective. There, the greatest social pressures are toward conformity, and away from protest. In black schools, on the other hand, social pressure in the direction of dissent is becoming stronger, as is attested

to by the fact that Edwards (1970) included the "conforming Negro" in a categorization of the types of students involved in the protest movement.

The use of the newspaper, rather than the boycott, also points up the suburban activist's tendency to intellectualize, rather than to act, to know that he should be angry, rather than to actually feel anger. On the whole, he still seems to feel that he has something to lose, and the gap between him and "the system" is sometimes uncomfortably small.

A black student (Jamal, 1970) could write that the world of the slum child is the "sharp, focused world of reality" and that the school removes him from this reality to "push him up the path that leads into the soothing world of Mother Goose."

To the white, suburban student, the problems of school and community are continuous, and he may feel a different kind of conflict, stemming from the fact that, in reality, his teachers and administrators are not very different from his own parents. Such a student often sees unreality, not just in the way he is educated, but in the way he lives.

> We in the upper middle-class suburbs have grown up in an unreal world, without the natural beauty of the country or the urgency of the city. Suburbia is a vast map of 'normalcy'--more likely banality. The process of growing up in this society is unreal because it does not involve awareness of what one is doing and why...We seem to be merely manipulated by a system (not by other individuals), from point to point with no purpose. Many of us feel powerless. (Marqusee, 1970, 22-23)

In every underground newspaper, in every high school protest, one can see the same ideas reiterated. These students may not possess the rage of the black activist. Instead, they seem to feel a sense of foreboding, even of fear: fear of meaninglessness; fear of leading a programmed life, both in school and afterward; fear of spending a lifetime detached from the real world.

Thus, the suburban high school student activist might best be termed an advocate of student power, with the power he most desires being power over his own existence.

Limitations of the Study

It is clear that, while the Student Coalition members appear to have much in common with other suburban activists, their movement and their goals are different from those seen in other kinds of settings. Even within the category of high school, suburban activism, findings concerning this specific group, which was limited in its size and in its nature, cannot be assumed to provide a basis for generalizations about the entire student movement. Instead, this study attempted to look closely at a specific instance of student activism, and thus to contribute to the search for new approaches to the study of this crucial issue.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A review of literature related to the issue of American student activism revealed that authors representing a wide variety of disciplines have attempted to shed light on this phenomenon and its implications.

Halleck (1968) made a contribution to the analysis of trends in this direction by describing and categorizing the primary hypotheses presented by those attempting to explain the presence of the student movement. The critical hypotheses included: (1) the permissiveness hypothesis, stating that children who are raised permissively are unable to tolerate frustration of their wishes; (2) the non-responsibility hypothesis, pointing to youth as unwilling to assume responsibility for their behavior; (3) the affluence hypothesis, implying that unearned affluence creates restlessness and boredom which in turn leads to a search for new diversions; and (4) the family pathology hypothesis, stating that activist students are acting out unresolved conflicts within their family units. Halleck interpreted the following hypotheses as being more sympathetic to student activism:

(1) the two-armed-camps hypothesis, viewing competition with the Communist world as an untenable basis for education; (2) the war-in-Vietnam hypothesis, pointing out the mixed feelings of students who see the war as immoral, who feel frustrated in their powerlessness to stop it, and who concurrently feel guilt regarding the draft; (3) deterioration-in-the-quality-of-life hypothesis, seeing student unrest as a reaction to destructiveness in the form of over-population, mass production, and facelessness; and (4) political-hopelessness hypothesis, recognizing the society as unamenable to orderly change; and (5) the civil rights hypothesis, stating that the civil rights movement has made students aware of the hypocritical injustices of which the nation is capable at the same time that it has trained them in radical tactics. Finally, Halleck described the neutral hypotheses as being based primarily on changes in society. These involved: (1) the technology hypothesis, seeing radicalism as an adaptation to a world in which prediction of the future is no longer possible; (2) the media hypothesis, pointing out that television exposes hypocrisy and harsh facts of reality when children may not be ready for them; and (3) reliance-on-scientism hypothesis, with habitual belief in science making young people unable to deal with man's irrationality.

Much of the literature in this field, whether in professional or lay journals, did appear to fall into

Halleck's categories, with the writers tending to be clearly sympathetic or hostile to student activists. In most cases, however, their ideas could not be called hypotheses, in that the second step of testing them against some representation of reality was missing. This review attempted to stress those items in the literature which showed some use of data-gathering, rather than merely wool-gathering, whether that process involved quantitative measures or qualitative analyses of specific cases.

Quantitative Studies of Student Activism

Somers (1965) interviewed students on the Berkeley campus of the University of California at the time of the earliest clear signs of student rebellion. He divided respondents into the categories of militants, who supported the goals and tactics of the student movement; moderates, who supported the goals, but not the tactics; and conservatives, who supported neither the goals nor the tactics of demonstrators. In comparing these groups, he found that there was a relationship between academic achievement and support for the demonstrations, with militants tending to have higher grade point averages than conservatives. It was found that students in the social sciences, humanities, and physical sciences accounted for a majority of the militants, while greater percentages of conservatives were majoring in business, engineering, architecture, or agriculture. There was a

tendency for students from professional and semi-professional families to be more predominant among the militants. This was particularly true of students whose mothers were college graduates, and who were brought up in the suburbs. The relationship found regarding occupational and educational status did not, however, hold true for family income. Finally, Somers found that Protestant students were least likely to be militant, and Jews most likely.

Watts and Whittaker (1966) also studied activists at Berkeley, comparing seniors involved in a Free Speech Movement sit-in with a sample of seniors not involved in the movement. They found that the activist students scored higher than the others on measurements of Thinking Introversion, Theoretical Orientation, Estheticism, Autonomy, and Impulse Expression. Family background was found to be different, with twenty-six per cent of activist students coming from families where the fathers had advanced academic degrees, as opposed to eleven per cent of students who were randomly selected. There were also clear differences between free speech advocates and other students in major field of concentration. The social sciences had a larger representation among activists than in the rest of the student body, but only 1.3 per cent of activists were majoring in business or engineering, as opposed to 17.8 per cent of the rest of the student body. The number of students in the humanities or natural sciences were comparable to the ratios for the remainder of

the student population.

The same writers, with Lynch, studied alienated, as well as activist, students, comparing these groups with each other, as well as with a random sample (Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker, 1969). Alienated youth were sampled from non-students who rejected society's values but did not involve themselves in efforts toward change. Activists were defined as students who also rejected much of contemporary society, but who practiced confrontation politics in efforts toward change. It was found that alienated students scored close to the random sample in intelligence, while activist students scored significantly higher. Activist students came from atypical family backgrounds in terms of status of occupation and educational attainments; alienated students' family backgrounds were closer to those of the random sample. Sixty-one per cent of the activist students said that their fathers were interested in national politics, while only thirty-two per cent of the random sample and thirty-one per cent of the alienated group made this statement. Finally, it was found that student activist groups contained a greater proportion of persons professing the Jewish faith or no religion than did the random sample. Twenty-four per cent of the activist students were Jewish, compared to eight per cent of the cross section and four per cent of the alienated group. Both activists and non-activist, alienated students scored higher than other

students on Srole's Scale of Anomie.

Katz (1968) also studied the characteristics of students who participated in the Free Speech Movements, comparing students who had been arrested in a sit-in with a random sample of students who had not participated. The groups were compared in terms of Omnibus Personality Inventory data from both the freshman and the senior years, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, senior-year cumulative grade-point-averages, and Senior Questionnaire data. The writer found that the Free Speech Movement students had already been different from their fellow students upon entrance into the university. On the verbal section of the Scholastic Aptitude Test, the arrested students' mean freshman scores were significantly higher than those of the non-arrested students. On the Omnibus Personality Inventory, differences between groups were about the same for freshman scores as for those obtained during the senior year. It was found that the activist group scored significantly higher than their peers on Social Maturity, Impulse Expression, Estheticism, and Developmental Status. They scored about the same on Schizoid Functioning, and the males scored lower than the non-activists on Masculinity-Femininity. The cumulative college grade-point-averages from freshman year through spring of the senior year were significantly higher for arrested students than they were for non-arrested students.

Flacks (1967), who studied activists and non-activists from a larger number of institutions, also found differences between groups in terms of a number of variables. He found that student protesters tended to be recruited from among students with higher grades, and that they also tended to be more academic than non-activists in aptitudes and interests. The two groups were also different in family backgrounds. The activist students tended to come from high income families where both parents were college-educated and were employed in high status occupations. Although there was a correlation between activism and family income, this correlation did not hold true for Jewish students, who were overrepresented in the movement, as Catholics were under-represented. The activists' families tended to be interested in cultural and intellectual pursuits, in contrast with parents of non-activists, who tended to engage in conventional forms of recreation. Activists' parents were more permissive, and tended to value self-expression and individuality, while non-activists' parents valued self-discipline and respectability. Activists' parents who were questionned said that they hoped that their children would contribute to social betterment, while non-activist parents placed more emphasis on stability and security for their children.

Kerpelman (1969) added a dimension to similar research by grouping students according to both degree of activism and ideology. He studied liberal activists and

conservative activists separately, comparing them with liberal, conservative, and middle non-activists. He found that activists, regardless of political ideology, scored significantly higher than non-activists on the Quick Word Test Intelligence Measure. On the other hand, the survey of Interpersonal Values Recognition Scale showed that middle and right-oriented students were significantly higher than left-oriented students in social acceptance concern, with degree of activism having no main effect. There were no significant differences among groups on the Gordon Personal Profile Emotional Stability Scale.

Westby and Braungart (1966) also studied activists of both the left and the right, including in their samples members of SENSE, a campus peace organization; YAF, a conservative organization of politically concerned college students; and a sample of non-activists composed of students in an introductory sociology class. A questionnaire covering family backgrounds, as well as attitudes toward the war in Vietnam, was given to students in all three groups. The researchers found that members of SENSE came predominantly from upper middle class, high income origins. Members of the Young Americans for Freedom tended to come from low-income backgrounds, with lower middle class or working class parents. They conjectured that people with lower class backgrounds tended to be less secure, and to search for respectability for

themselves through conservatism and conformity. The writers also found that families of SENSE members were predominantly Democrats, while YAF members tended to come from Republican families.

Jansen and Winborn (1968) compared socio-political action leaders with other group leaders in terms of their perceptions of the university environment. Also studied were liberal and conservative leaders within the social-political action groups, and male and female leaders in all groups. The researchers found that social-political leaders differed from others in the community and awareness variables measured by the College and University Environment Scales, as well as in scholarship, scoring significantly higher on all of these factors. Differences between liberals and conservatives were most apparent with regard to the variables of community, awareness, and propriety.

Baird (1970) categorized students as activists, non-activists, or moderate activists through the use of a questionnaire. A number of sophomores were asked whether they had organized a college political group or campaign; worked actively in an off-campus political organization; worked actively in a student movement to change institutional rules, procedures, or policies; initiated or organized a student movement to change institutional rules, procedures, or policies; or participated in one or more demonstrations for some political or social goals.

If a student checked three of these, he was classified as an activist; one or two, a moderate activist; none, a non-activist. The researcher tested for differences among the three groups in interests, achievements, goals, competencies, self-concepts, and personalities. In self-ratings, it was found that student activists thought of themselves as confident, interpersonally capable, sensitive, driving, and talented. In a check list asking for life goals, it was found that social ascendancy and desire for a central role in political affairs were common among activists. Activists scored significantly higher than the other groups on Academic Orientation Scale, but did not have significantly higher high school academic achievement. They came from homes providing many intellectual and experiential resources, but not necessarily having higher incomes. There was no difference among groups in dogmatism, as measured by Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale, but activists scored higher on an Interpersonal Competency Scale. In general, Baird found the activists to be talented in a number of areas, interested in people and positions of leadership, artistic, original, and able to work effectively with others. He found them to be interested in involvement, and not at all alienated.

Keniston (1969) brought together the research of several individuals in discussing moral development and youthful activism. He cited research showing that larger proportions of activists than of college peers had reached post-conventional levels of moral reasoning, with

most non-protesters found to be at the conventional stage in moral development.

Block, Haan, and Brewster (1968) summarized research done in comparing activists with non-activists at the college level. They stated that activist students appeared to be intellectually-oriented, superior students from socially and educationally advantaged homes, and that such students were apparently rebelling against the broader culture, but not against the values of their own parents. The families of activist students were seen to be more advantaged, not only than a cross-section of American families, but than those of other university students.

Most of the works reviewed did appear to be in agreement with one another and with the summary of Block, Haan, and Brewster. There did appear to be identifiable differences between activist and non-activist students, with many of the same trends running through the literature. In some instances, writers also attempted to analyze the presence of the activist phenomenon in various types of institutions.

Astin (1968) examined student activism, taking into account both individual characteristics and institutional variables. He found that activists differed from non-activists in several personality and attitude variables, and that proportions of students participating in demonstrations against the war or racial discrimination

could be predicted for an institution only on the basis of knowledge of the characteristics of its students. Environmental factors were more important with regard to protests against administrative policies, but even in such instances, student characteristics were better predictors.

Scott and El-Assal (1969) hypothesized that the more nearly a university constituted a "multiversity" the higher would be its rate of protest, with "multiversity" taken to involve size, complexity, diversification, heterogeneity, and bureaucracy. The researchers selected 104 state-supported universities of different sizes and from different geographical areas. Taking into account such factors as number of departments granting degrees, ratio of dormitory to non-dormitory students, ratio of out of state or foreign students to state residents, number of graduate students as compared to undergraduates, and so forth, they categorized the universities as complex or simple. They also categorized institutions according to size and to size of the community in which located, as well as according to quality. When they learned the number of demonstrations held at each of the 104 universities during a one-year period, they found that size was the most consistent predictor, with larger institutions tending to have more demonstrations. The next best predictor was complexity, followed by quality and finally by size of the community. This study was not necessarily

in opposition to that of Astin, since certain types of universities might tend to attract activist students.

Peterson (1970) surveyed all of the four-year, degree-granting, regionally-accredited institutions in the United States, asking deans of students to identify the involvement of students in demonstrations or protests concerning a number of issues. He found that, for the 1967-68 school year, there were not great differences between the fifty largest universities and the total sample in protests concerning instructions or other campus issues, but there were great differences in the number of protests related to off-campus issues, such as the war. The same trend was noted with regard to type of institution, with public or independent institutions having greater involvement in non-campus issues than was found among teachers' colleges or technical institutions. Peterson interpreted these data to result from the type of students choosing particular types or sizes of institution, rather than institutional variables themselves. In comparing this survey with a similar study of the 1964-65 school year, the researcher found several differences. He learned that the number of institutions reporting protest of the Vietnam war almost doubled, while civil rights activism had declined significantly. Black student movements had increased, as had activism toward increases in student role in campus governance. Finally, while proportions of activists remained small, the number of

institutions reporting the existence of student activist groups greatly increased.

Peterson's report made clear the changing nature of student activism, even over a short period of time. Flacks (1970) also presented indications of change, noting that recent research has shown that more recent recruits to student activism appear to represent more heterogeneous backgrounds than did earlier activists. Flacks also pointed out that individual students appear to change as they spend a longer time in the movement, with more experienced activists tending to espouse more radical action. This could be of great relevance to high school activists, who will already have had political experience when they reach college age.

In general, the quantitative studies of student activism showed great agreement, both concerning the nature of the student activist and the nature of the institution which attracts him. They did not, however, provide a sense of the fluidity of the movement which was pointed up by Peterson and by Flacks. These currents of change were often more accurately pinpointed by researchers who used non-quantitative methods of arriving at truths concerning this issue. Many used extensive interviews or on-the-spot coverage to give greater depth to studies of specific groups or events. In general, they might be termed impressionistic studies.

Impressionistic Studies of Student Activism

Keniston (1968) used intensive interviewing, studying young people working as full-time staff in the national office of Vietnam Summer in 1967. He saw trends in the backgrounds of these white, middle-class young people which tended to appear in many cases. Most had solved adolescent crises, gone on to success in college, and then faced a second identity crisis when entry into the establishment became imminent. They appeared, in general, to be protesting against society, but not against the values of their parents. Their feelings toward their parents did, however, involve disappointment in the older generation's passivity in the face of societal problems. In analyzing the question of the rise of activism at this point in time, Keniston stressed the rapid social change which has caused great discrepancies between principles and practices; the affluence which makes young people free to concern themselves with society as a whole; and the issue of violence, which has been a factor in the lives of youth who were born near the end of World War II.

Skolnick (1969), as part of a report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, and following months of field research, examined student activism from a broad historical perspective. He pointed out that student movements arise in periods of societal transition when the values inculcated by parents are

incompatible with the values youth will later need for maximum effectiveness. He pointed out that commercial, acquisitive, materialistic and nationalistic values may be seen as irrelevant by modern youth in this society, just as educated youth in developing countries find traditional, religious, and pre-scientific values irrelevant to their needs. Skolnick stated that, in the 1960's, students began by looking into the goals of society and seeing great distinctions between those stated and those apparent in reality. By 1965, students had begun to find that confrontation was the only method through which they could effect change.

A progression toward greater activism was apparent in many of the case studies reported concerning the events on specific college campuses.

Kelman (1970), in discussing events surrounding a student strike at Harvard, pointed out that the Students for a Democratic Society had long been interested in the use of confrontation tactics, but could not really use them with any strength while the majority of students disagreed with this means. He pointed out that many liberal students agreed with the radicals on specific issues, but seemed to have a stake in the orderliness of the university and the use of rationality in the change process. These moderates finally joined in, primarily because of revulsion with university and police reactions. It was only at this time, according to Kelman, that a strike could be successful.

Eichel, Jost, and Luskin (1970) also discussed the events at Harvard during recent years. They pointed out that large numbers of students had a deep-seated discontent, both with the university and with the nation. The issues most important to the Students for a Democratic Society did not necessarily coincide with those most vital to less radical supporters of the strike, but the frustration of the student body made it ready for political action. The authors pointed out that the student body as a whole was no less frustrated after the crisis. They stated that the desire to have a university which would be a positive force in the community and society, as well as a distrust of authority and sympathy for the challengers of authority, makes new confrontations likely.

Turner (1970), in discussing attempts at the Ohio State University to gain freedom to have controversial speakers on campus, also pointed up a trend toward confrontation, this time by emphasizing its inherent tendency to be successful when other methods fail. The writer traced the history of this movement, describing the attempts of professors to put an end to the "gag rule" allowing the university president a virtual veto on speakers. These attempts continued for twelve years, with each liberalization of the policy being followed by backtracking. When this became a student issue, tactics changed to court cases, mass demonstrations, and use of the media to

gain support from outside the academic community. These methods proved effective, and all limitations on outside speakers were rescinded.

The Indiana University Faculty Committee to Investigate the Dow Incident (1970) found that students involved in a demonstration concerning a Dow Chemical Company employment interviewer formed a heterogeneous group, with many of the students not interested in confrontation. They learned, through numerous interviews and hearings and the viewing of films of the incident in question, that the students' desire had been to discuss the morality of napalm with the Dow representative. This heterogeneous group was drawn together as events forced it on them. The opinion of the committee was that the authorities had, in effect, issued a challenge which the students felt forced them to become more militant than they had planned. They blamed this on the prior plans set up by university and police authorities, stating that the plans were those which would be effective for dealing with a riot, and no plans for handling a peaceful demonstration had been made.

Avorn (1968) studied the Columbia University rebellion of that year. He stated that students at Columbia College, the liberal arts undergraduate college of Columbia University, were more involved in the university than were other students, and so more likely to participate in activity directed toward change. He also

pointed out that students had lost faith in their ability to change national policies, and therefore had turned to dissent on the campus as a more viable method of being effective. Moderate students, who had been unable to effect change through other channels, were recruited at a time when they had begun to lose faith in methods short of confrontation.

Grant (1969) also studied the Columbia incident, interviewing students, faculty and administrators; reviewing published documents and statements referring to the strike; and studying the events at first-hand. She stated that, although the specific issues involved in the movement concerned Columbia and its environment, the overall demands showed an interest in playing a part in the formation of university policy and processes. Thus, the author saw this incident as representative of activist movements at other institutions. She stressed the feelings of camaraderie and participation among striking students, pointing out that this mutual support was a necessary factor in gathering the strength needed to defy authority.

Columbia was also analyzed by Kahn (1970), who saw the incidents there as major breakthroughs in student power. He pointed out that Berkeley's Free Speech Movement had died quickly, and that protests following it had been erratic and isolated. Columbia, he stated, proved that radical confrontation was the most potent means for

forcing action. Most of the students' demands were realized, and the whole university structure was being reconsidered.

Cox (1968), as chairman of the fact-finding commission appointed to investigate disturbances at Columbia, reported the results of an investigation which utilized formal testimony, written statements, and informal interviews. The commission found that student disturbances were caused by the ability, social consciousness, political sensitivity, and idealism of students. It was pointed out that students apparently considered confrontation as legitimate a form of political manipulation as other forms of political pressure. Students had had inadequate opportunities to assume responsibility, and made use of power when they discovered they had it. The commission felt that the problems at Columbia were representative of those throughout the country, but only intensified by the urban environment, the administration, and self-selection of high school students.

Although the incidents described here took place at institutions differing greatly from the high school, and among students more mature than their secondary school counterparts, they are relevant to high school student activism. Many of the trends discussed appeared to be common, not only to different universities, but to different settings. One trend which appeared to be prevalent both in the universities described and in the high school was the tendency for activism to gain speed under its own

momentum, with moderate students being swept along in the tide. A second commonality was the tendency for events to create other, unplanned events, with the actions of significant persons, such as administrators or police officials, gaining more importance than the intentions of the activists or demonstrators. Finally, it appeared that, at the college level, as well as in the high school, the presence of a mutually supportive group was an important factor in individual acts of protest.

It was noted that large amounts of literature were centered around the study of events or students at particular institutions, notably Columbia and the University of California at Berkeley. Foster (1970) noted this imbalance, and pointed out that, while it might be due to the dramatic nature of the events at these institutions, it might also be attributed to the number of social scientists who were both talented and connected with these schools. He pointed out that there is difficulty in researching and writing about these particular issues from the vantage point of an outsider not connected with the institution, and that therefore more literature took place in universities that had more people to write about them.

It could be for this reason that the literature concerned solely with the high school movement was very different in form and content from that concerned primarily with analysis of the college situation. The high school activist phenomenon has not attracted great sociological

attention, possibly due to the factors noted by Foster. Educators writing about student activism tended to approach it from a different vantage point, often concerning themselves more with the nature of the institution to be protected than with the nature or role of the activist. Such analyses (Metzner, 1969; School Management, 1968; Gorton, 1970; Boyd, 1969), almost without exception, stressed a recognition that activism would play a great role in the future of American high schools, and an accompanying acknowledgement of the need for changes in the schools that would help make the students' concerns a positive, rather than a destructive, force in education. The literature which appeared to throw most light on high school student activism was that which concentrated on the expression of the students themselves, and which therefore did most to clarify their goals and concerns.

Birmingham (1970), in a book which brought together examples of writing from the high school underground press, stressed the individuality of the high school movement. Himself a recent high school graduate and underground press editor, Birmingham pointed out the gap between high school and college students. He stressed the fact that high school activist groups are not usually affiliated with college groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society, although college activists have attempted at times to provide leadership. High school students, he stated, believe that their movement is more important than

that in the colleges because all youth, rather than just the select group who seek further education, can be included. High school students were seen as looking for new ideas, rather than accepting those of college radicals. The underground press was stressed as an effective vehicle in the search for these new ideas. The writer also envisioned the newspaper as a more powerful vehicle than the demonstration, stating that the written word has more permanence, and that adults, through reading the press, would increase their own understanding of the need to stop what they were doing to inhibit freedom, and thereby to inhibit learning. This student pointed out that one school recently had a demonstration in protest against censorship of the school newspaper. After the demonstration, censorship still existed. The underground press, on the other hand, limits the power of censorship by its very existence.

Divoky (1969) also brought together "expressions of student outrage from the high school free press." Although these excerpts were taken from newspapers published in a wide variety of schools from many parts of the country, the concerns expressed by the students appeared to be similar in all of them. Many of the articles concerned the school experience itself, with students stressing a kind of frustration they felt, a helplessness in the face of a highly structured environment with inadequate opportunities for self-expression. Many of the

student writers stressed the limitations placed on them by dress codes, censorship, autocratic rules, and tight curricula. They seemed to feel a lack of community within the schools, and often wrote of specific instances of adult unwillingness to be open to communication. As far as the wider society was concerned, writers often pointed up their fear of being "inhuman" or "cogs in a machine" and their feeling that their parents and their teachers, with their emphasis on "adjusting," "getting ahead," and "making a place for oneself in the society" had this goal for them. The students stressed a need for feeling over rationality and, above all, a distaste for what they saw as hypocrisy built into the system. In many instances, the newspapers contained numerous references to themselves, giving the impression that, when censorship or disciplinary action came into the picture, the newspapers became ends in themselves, rather than vehicles for bringing about expression or change in other areas.

Libarle and Seligson (1970) also edited a book which included examples of writing from the high school underground press. The editors, in this instance, saw the typical high school as a rigid and bureaucratic institution failing to provide constitutionally guaranteed rights and freedoms to students or to provide models of the democratic system. Although the particular problems involved in predominantly black schools were discussed in one section, the editors stressed the widespread nature of

the student movement, and attempted to include references to rural, suburban, and urban school problems, as well as to the feelings of students in various geographical areas. One section concerned suburban radicals, with the students writing of the boredom and routine automatism they felt in schools which were said to be among the best in the nation. One student wrote of his resentment toward attendance-taking and record-making as perceived attempts by the school authorities to manipulate and maintain power over the student. In the case of the suburban writers, there appeared to be little differentiation in feeling between the school and the community, with both seeming to blend together as symbols of an unfree society. In more general discussions of the role and tactics of student activism, writers stressed their concern with institutionalized racism, with tracking systems which they saw as discriminating against low-income students and against females, with administrative controls over student government, and with disciplinary measures which they saw as unfair, ineffective, or arbitrary.

It was interesting to note that the student writings compiled by Birmingham, Divoky, and Libarle and Seligson tended to stress the same issues as those espoused locally by the New Free Press. A review of issues of this underground newspaper published over the past year indicated that the specific concerns of these students had their counterparts in the more general issues being written about in distant places. Although the New

Free Press often provided the service of publicizing anti-war events, they also stressed school problems. Over the year, students wrote about the following issues to a great extent: (1) Disciplinary policies in the schools, with complaints involving the modes of discipline, such as the suspension or detention, and the spirit behind it, which they often saw as overly authoritarian; (2) student rights, particularly for free expression and meaningful self-government; (3) record-keeping, particularly their resentment of personality ratings completed by teachers with regard to each student; (4) over-emphasis on grades and honor points in the tracking system; and (5) the routine and uninspiring nature of classroom activities. These issues, with slight variation, were the same ones as those seen to concern students in a wide variety of settings.

The Relevance of the Literature

In general, it appeared that the literature reviewed had much to offer as a background for viewing a local group of high school activists.

The quantitative studies, although primarily limited to the college level, indicated that there are differences between activists and non-activists, at least in the case of those students who have been in the vanguard of the movement. These differences involved factors of personality, academic ability, and family background. It was noted that the students involved in the earliest days of the movement

appeared to come from advantaged suburban homes, similar to those involved in this sample. It also appeared that activism was most prevalent in large, public universities, and the students from the school district being studied here tend to include such universities in their plans for higher education.

The impressionistic studies of activism showed common trends among most incidents, particularly with regard to the evolution of activism and the movement of moderates into the activist camp. The incidents reported had much in common with those seen at the high school level, with the increasing radicalization of activists raising important questions concerning the future of such students who have become politicized at an earlier age than did their college age brothers and sisters.

Finally, the reviews of student writing showed a tremendous commonality of concern among students from widely varying schools, as well as marked differences between the issues most relevant to them and the ones most publicized at the university level. The writings of Student Coalition members appeared to be in the mainstream of high school activism, and thus opened the possibility that this local movement could provide a view of the national movement in microcosm.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The purpose of this study was to describe a specific group of high school student activists, to determine what characteristics served to distinguish between them and a group of non-activist fellow students, and to identify individual differences found within the groups with regard to a number of key variables.

The Samples

Activists

For the purpose of this study, activists were defined as those students whose names appeared on a membership list provided the researcher by the executive board of the Student Coalition. The Student Coalition was a high school activist group whose policies included increase in student power, involvement in school policy-making, publication of a dissenting newspaper, desire to bring about change in aspects of school or society, and participation in the peace movement.

Students involved in the study included those Coalition members who attended North High School. The sample included thirty-nine students. Of the thirty-nine, twenty-five were

male and fourteen female. There were fifteen sophomores, eight juniors, and sixteen seniors.

Use of the Student Coalition as the activist sample recognized that the existence of a supportive group is essential to the type of socio-political activism which is now prevalent, and that the organization is somewhat typical of suburban, high school activist groups, although different from college or black, urban groups.

Non-activists

Non-activists were defined as those students who were not members of a high school activist group.

A sample of non-activists, also consisting of thirty-nine students, was drawn from the same high school as that attended by the Coalition members. This was a stratified random sample, with stratification only in terms of sex and grade level. A table of random numbers was used to select the sample from a student list provided by the school.

Although some students included in the non-activist sample might have agreed with the principles of the Student Coalition, they had not made the commitment of paying dues, attending meetings, or participating in the group's activities. None had written articles for the dissenting newspaper or participated in demonstrations in opposition to policies of school or society.

The Variables

The study measured variables related to academic potency, family background, self-reported plans and interests, teachers' perceptions of students, and personality. These variables were used as the basis for a comparison of the two groups; they were also analyzed in order to determine what variables served as the best predictors of group membership.

Academic factors

For the purpose of this study, mental ability was operationally defined as the set of aptitudes and skills measured by the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability, which was taken by all students upon entrance into the high school. This variable was considered valuable as an independent measure to be analyzed in conjunction with other variables related to academic potency.

Achievement level upon entrance into high school was defined as the knowledge and skills measured by the Stanford Achievement Test, which all students completed at the eighth grade level, before beginning high school work. Areas of achievement measured included paragraph meaning, language, spelling, arithmetic concepts, arithmetic computation, arithmetic applications, social studies, and science.

Academic achievement in high school was measured by grade-point-average and by number of honors level courses of

study in which courses were completed.

Grade-point-average was cumulative and included all high school courses completed, with the exceptions of physical education and music.

Participation in honors level courses was measured in terms of subject areas in which students were in the honors track. These were categorized as:

1. No honors courses selected
2. One honors course selected
3. Two or more honors courses selected

It was believed that, in general, this combination of variables would provide a picture of the abilities and achievements related to academic potency.

Family background

Measured variables relating to family background included parents' occupations, family size, and birth order. Since all students involved in the study had mothers who were full-time homemakers if the father was living, data was collected with regard to the occupation of the working parent.

It was believed that, even within a relatively homogeneous community, differences in socio-economic class might appear between the two groups. In order to gain an idea of level of occupation, as well as field, parents' occupations were categorized according to the general classifications provided by the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, 1965 edition. The nine classifications included were

as follows:

1. Professional, technical, and managerial occupations
2. Clerical and sales occupations
3. Service occupations
4. Farming, fishery, forestry, and related occupations
5. Processing occupations
6. Machine trade occupations
7. Bench work occupations
8. Structural work occupations
9. Miscellaneous occupations

It was recognized that this occupational categorization was limited with regard to its ability to shed light on certain characteristics of the students' backgrounds. Parents' occupations were also coded according to Holland's Comprehensive Classifications for Vocational Choices and Occupations. The theory underlying this categorization involves the assumption that there are several personality types which correspond to several types of environment (Holland, 1966). It also assumes that people of a particular personality type will be attracted to vocational environments most in keeping with their life styles. It was believed, then, that this classification might provide useful information about the student's environment by illuminating information relevant to parental life style. The Holland Comprehensive Classification included the following six vocational life styles:

1. Realistic occupations
2. Intellectual occupations
3. Social occupations
4. Conventional occupations
5. Enterprising occupations
6. Artistic occupations

Holland's work enabled the classification of specific reported occupations into one of the six life style categorizations.

Students' self-reported plans and interests

In an open-ended, paper-and-pencil questionnaire (Appendix A), students were asked to report their present non-political activities, their educational plans, and their vocational plans.

Students completing the questionnaire listed the non-political, extra-curricular school activities in which they were presently involved. These were categorized in the following manner:

1. Journalism (yearbook, school newspaper, literary magazine) only
2. Student government only
3. Athletics only
4. Interest clubs only
5. Dramatics or music only
6. School spirit (cheerleading, pep club) only
7. Two or more activities
8. No extra-curricular activities

Students' reported plans for continuing their education beyond high school were categorized as:

1. Four-year college or university
2. Junior college transfer program
3. Technical, business, or vocational program
4. No further education

Students were also asked to report their vocational plans. These, like parental occupations, were coded both according to the Dictionary of Occupational Titles classification and according to the Holland Comprehensive Classifications for Vocational Choices and Occupations. It was believed that the combination of these two methods of classification might help to shed light on the life styles in which students hoped to engage in their non-political lives.

Teachers' perceptions of students

Teachers' perceptions of students were defined relative to the ratings students received from each of their teachers at the close of the previous semester. The mean score of ratings by all teachers was used as the measurement of teachers' perceptions of a particular student in terms of the following characteristics:

1. Motivation
2. Industry
3. Initiative
4. Influence and leadership

5. Concern for others
6. Responsibility
7. Integrity
8. Emotional stability

Teachers rated each student in terms of each characteristic, using a one-to-five scale (Appendix B).

Personality factors

Personality factors were operationally defined as the raw scores received by students on each of the sixteen primary personality factors tested by the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire. These included:

1. Sizothymia, or a tendency to be detached, critical, and cool, versus affectothymia, or a tendency to be warmhearted, easygoing, and participating
2. Less intelligent, or a tendency to be concrete-thinking, versus more intelligent, or a tendency to be more abstract-thinking and bright.
3. Lower ego strength, or a tendency to be affected by feelings, emotionally less stable, and easily upset, versus higher ego strength, or a tendency to be emotionally stable, realistic, calm, and mature.
4. Submissiveness, or a tendency to be humble, mild, accommodating, and conforming, versus dominance, or a tendency to be assertive, independent, aggressive, and stubborn

5. Desurgency, or a tendency to be sober, prudent, serious, and taciturn, versus surgency, or a tendency to be happy-go-lucky, impulsively lively, and enthusiastic
6. Weaker superego strength, or a tendency to be expedient and to evade rules, versus stronger superego strength, or a tendency to be conscientious, persevering, staid, and rulebound
7. Threctia, or a tendency to be shy, restrained, diffident, and timid, versus parmia, or a tendency to be venturesome, socially bold, uninhibited, and spontaneous
8. Harria, or a tendency to be tough-minded, self-reliant, and realistic, versus premsia, or a tendency to be tender-minded, dependent, over-protected, and sensitive
9. Alaxia, or a tendency to be trusting, adaptable, free of jealousy, and easy to get on with, versus protension, or a tendency to be suspicious, self-opinionated, and hard to fool
10. Praxernia, or a tendency to be practical, careful, conventional, and proper, versus autia, or a tendency to be imaginative, careless of practical matters, and wrapped up in inner urgencies
11. Artlessness, or a tendency to be forthright, natural, and sentimental, versus shrewdness, or a tendency to be calculating, worldly, and penetrating

12. Untroubled adequacy, or a tendency to be placid, self-assured, confident, and serene, versus guilt proneness, or a tendency to be apprehensive, worrying, depressive, and troubled
13. Conservatism, or a tendency to respect established ideas, versus experimenting, or a tendency to be critical, liberal, analytical, and free-thinking
14. Group adherence, or a tendency to be a joiner and sound follower, versus self-sufficiency, or a tendency to prefer one's own decisions
15. Low integration, or a tendency toward undisciplined self-conflict and the following of one's own urges, versus high self-concept control, or a tendency to be controlled and socially precise
16. Low ergic tension, or a tendency to be relaxed, tranquil, torpid, and unfrustrated, versus high ergic tension, or a tendency to be tense, frustrated, driven, and overwrought

In addition to the use of raw scores for each of the sixteen personality factors, a weighting of each of several scores was used to derive a score measuring the individual's tendency toward creativity.

Instruments

Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability

The Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability was used to provide a measurement of intelligence. All students had

taken the Gamma form of the test, which yields a deviation IQ, before entering high school. The reported split-half reliability for this form is .92. This test requires only thirty minutes of working time, and is in common use in the public schools to provide a general measure of ability.

Stanford Achievement Test

The Stanford Achievement Test was used to provide a measure of achievement in academic areas before entering high school. The advanced test battery, which was taken by all students at the eighth grade level, is appropriate for use in grades seven, eight, and nine. It provides scores for paragraph meaning, language, spelling, arithmetic concepts, arithmetic computation, arithmetic applications, social studies, and science. The split-half reliability coefficient for the Advanced Battery is reported to range from .84 to .94. The test yields raw scores and grade-equivalent scores.

Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire

The Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire measures sixteen independent dimensions of personality which have been isolated through research on normal and clinical groups. Forms A and B are appropriate for use with people having a high school reading level. Form A was used for this study.

Separate reliability and validity data are provided for each sub-test, with the manual stating that there is low correlation among the factors measured. Scores are reported in raw scores and in stens.

For the purpose of this investigation, the raw score provided for each of the sixteen factors was used as a variable. The weighted raw score derived through the creativity scale was also utilized.

Student questionnaire (Appendix A)

Each student was asked to complete an open-ended questionnaire, providing only that information which was not available through cumulative recores or other instruments. The information provided was used for the derivation of variables related to self-reported plans and interests.

Teacher ratings (Appendix B)

Teachers rated students using the evaluation form published by the National Association of Secondary School Principals. This form requires teachers to rate students on motivation, industry, initiative, influence and leadership, concern for others, responsibility, integrity, and emotional stability. Each teacher rates all of his students on these factors at the close of each semester, using a scale ranging from one, the highest rating, to five, the lowest. Each of the eight variables used the mean score received by the student in his ratings from all teachers at the close of the previous semester.

Procedures for Collection of Data

The investigator first contacted the executive board of the Student Coalition, stating the goals and methods to

be used in the study. The executive board endorsed the investigation, promised to encourage cooperation among individual members, and provided a list of students.

The thirty-nine Coalition members attending North High School were then contacted individually. Each student was told of the general nature of the study, and given the opportunity to ask questions. Each then completed the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire and the Student Questionnaire in privacy.

The sample of non-activists was derived from a list of students which was provided by the school. These students were also contacted individually, and completed the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire and the Student Questionnaire.

Although they were given this option, no student contacted refused to participate in the study.

Information pertaining to family background, intelligence, and achievement were obtained from cumulative records and from personal records maintained by the counselors.

Raw scores were recorded for the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire and the teacher ratings. A deviation IQ, as provided by the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability, was recorded for each student. Scores on the eight sub-tests of the Stanford Achievement Test were recorded in grade-equivalent form.

Information pertaining to family background, educational and vocational plans, and school activities was

categorized and coded.

It was believed that there were, in addition to the above, some student characteristics which might be relevant to the issues of high school student activism, but which did not lend themselves to a quantitative approach. For this reason, interviews were conducted with several students from each group. Although the investigator did not wish to limit the interviews by the use of specific questions, the following general subjects were discussed with each student:

1. Relationships with parents, with particular emphasis on the parents' expressed attitudes toward the student's social and political ideas
2. Aspects of school or society which the student saw as most in need of change
3. Tactics which the student saw as most viable in bringing about these changes
4. Activities outside of school which they saw as being most meaningful to their lives
5. Opinions concerning cultural mores: adherence to the "new morality" or more traditional strictures
6. The student's perceptions of the social structure of the school, particularly intergroup conflict or cooperation
7. In the case of activist students only, their perceptions of the Student Coalition, its meaning for them, and its contribution to the school

The interviews conducted were informal in nature, with notes made only after the close of each session.

Procedures for Analysis of Data

In accordance with the purposes of the study, procedures were used both to analyze general trends within the two groups and to examine individual differences within each group.

Analyses of group characteristics

One of the purposes of this study was to compare the activist and non-activist groups in an effort to determine the degree of difference between them with regard to a number of variables.

Computer Program BMDX70, which calculates T-statistics for testing the differences between means of two groups, was utilized in the analysis of scores obtained by the two groups for the following variables:

1. Deviation I.Q.'s, as measured by the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability
2. Scores received on the eight sub-tests of the Stanford Achievement Test
3. Cumulative grade-point-average
4. Teachers' ratings of personal characteristics
5. Scores received on each of the sixteen sections of the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire

The program provided T-statistics based on pooled and separate

variance estimates, with the choice of appropriate T-statistic based upon the significance level of the F-ratio of variances. Significance level of the T-statistic for each variable was also provided. This analysis provided a means for assessment of the differences between the activist and non-activist groups for each continuous data variable.

The Chi Square statistic was used to test the differences between the two groups for discrete data, including:

1. Parental occupations
2. Family size
3. Birth order
4. Vocational plans
5. Educational plans
6. Non-political extra-curricular activities
7. Honors track courses of study

The CHITAB Program, which computes a chi-square for preconstructed tables, was used to provide an analysis of the differences between the groups with regard to these variables. Output of the program included the chi-square statistic and its level of significance.

The continuous data was also subjected to Computer Program BMD7M, which performs a stepwise discriminant analysis. This method of analysis was utilized in order to determine the power of individual variables or a group of variables to predict membership in the activist or non-activist group. At each step in the analysis, one variable is entered into the expression, thus providing an indication

of the relative strength of each variable in discriminating between the groups. The entry of a variable is based upon its F-value, taking into account its multiple correlation coefficient with the groups after partialling the previously entered variables, and its contribution to the decrease in the ratio of within to total variance if entered. Additionally, the program classifies each observation into one of the two groups at each step, indicating the number of subjects whose group membership can be predicted through the variables entered at that point. The prediction of group membership for each case is also provided after all variables with F-values greater than .01 have been entered.

Individual differences within the groups

It was recognized that differences found between the two groups would not necessarily be applicable to individual members of the groups. For this reason, the Program to Analyze Individual Differences was utilized. This program rearranged individual cases into clusters which tended to be more homogeneous than the groups as a whole in terms of a group of five variables. The clusters, or sub-groups, were derived through a computer search for groups of individuals showing similar profiles after rank ordering of the variables. This program was utilized three times, each time with a different set of key variables.

The cluster program was performed in terms of the five personality variables showing the highest T-values. Since

the groups differed significantly with regard to these five variables, it was considered of interest to determine variations in the patterns within the groups, as well as instances in which members of one group showed particular commonality with members of the other.

The Program to Analyze Individual Differences was also utilized with the variables found to be the most powerful discriminators between the groups through discriminant analysis. These five variables were key factors in predicting group membership, and thus were believed to be important to the understanding of the nature of activist and non-activist groups and individuals.

The clustering technique was also used to examine individual differences with regard to five variables which had been considered of importance in analyzing the nature of the groups but which were not found to be good discriminators between activists and non-activists. It was believed that analysis of individual differences in terms of these factors might help to shed light on trends within the groups, and to provide an indication of whether the lack of difference between the group means involved similarity between the groups or was the result of opposing trends within one or both of the groups.

A categorization was also made of low-achieving activist students and high-achieving non-activist students, based upon grade-point-average. The personality profiles and interests of students thus categorized were examined, in order to gain a perception of general trends in their

similarities to and differences from other members of their groups. These students were identified through use of an arbitrary cut-off point, with each having grade-point-averages above or below the other group's mean.

A similar procedure was used with regard to the creativity factor of the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire, with an examination made of the total profiles of activist students with creativity scores below the eighth sten and non-activist students with creativity scores above this point.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINDINGS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ACTIVIST AND NON-ACTIVIST GROUPS

Data was collected and analyzed concerning variables related to academic factors, family background, self-reported interests and plans, teachers' perceptions of students' personal characteristics, and personality factors. In addition to testing the degree of difference between the activist and non-activist groups with regard to each variable, the analysis included an attempt to determine the degree of power of the variables to predict group membership.

Academic Factors

A number of studies conducted at the college level (Somers, 1965; Flacks, 1967; Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker, 1969) indicated that activists in this age group have particularly high intellectual ability, scoring higher than their contemporaries on measures of intelligence, scholastic aptitude, and achievement. It was not known, however, whether this trend would also be apparent at the secondary level, where the activist movement appears to be unique.

In this study, several variables related to academic potency were analyzed, including sub-test scores on the

Stanford Achievement Test, which is completed by all students at the eighth grade level; I.Q. scores derived through the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability, also completed before high school entrance; cumulative grade-point-average, derived on the basis of grades received in all major high school courses completed; and number of subject fields in which honors track courses were selected and completed.

Scores on the Stanford Achievement Test and the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability, as well as grade-point-average, were analyzed by means of Computer Program BMDX70, which computed T-statistics to test the equality of the means of the two groups on each variable. Output of the program included an F-statistic for determining whether variance was equal for both groups, T-statistics for testing the difference between the means when the variances were equal or unequal, and the significance level for each. Since the F-statistics for each variable analyzed were non-significant, the T-statistic was used to discriminate between the two group means on the basis of pooled variance. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 1.

It can be seen that the activist group scored higher than their non-activist peers in most of the variables related to academic ability or achievement. It can also be seen that they were being compared to a group which obtained at least average, and often above average, scores on each of the variables.

TABLE 1

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-STATISTICS OBTAINED ON STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, OTIS TEST, AND GPA

Variable	Activist Mean	S.D.	Non-act. Mean	S.D.	T	Prob.
Paragraph Meaning	11.6846	0.833	9.9000	1.832	5.56	0.00010
Language	10.6077	1.320	9.2282	1.638	4.09	0.00010
Spelling	10.2538	1.892	10.1179	1.566	0.35	0.73352
Arith. Concepts	11.0128	1.872	9.9154	2.010	2.50	0.01506
Arith. Comput.	9.4667	2.205	8.8308	2.372	1.23	0.22582
Arith. Applic.	10.7744	1.629	8.9718	1.849	4.57	0.00010
Social Science	11.5462	0.964	9.9923	1.636	5.11	0.00010
Science	11.0308	0.924	9.1821	1.801	5.70	0.00010
I.Q.	123.1538	8.343	114.5128	8.354	4.57	0.00010
G.P.A.	2.7662	0.838	2.2810	0.634	2.88	0.00510

It had been expected that the activist group might tend to score significantly higher than the other group on variables such as social studies achievement, which could be expected to coincide with their interests. It was found, however, that their superiority also extends to such areas as arithmetic concepts, arithmetic applications, language, and science. Their general ability, as measured by the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability, also appears to be superior to that of the non-activist students. The only

variables for which the means of the two groups do not differ greatly are spelling and arithmetic computation, both of which require considerable attention to detail.

It is particularly interesting to note that the mean grade-point-average for the activist group is significantly higher than that for the non-activist group. Interviews with a sample of activist's had created the impression that, while these students have confidence in their own ability to achieve academically, they have some negative feelings toward the classroom structures, teaching techniques, and grading methods to which they are exposed. In general, they do not have any specific ideas as to what kinds of educational processes they would prefer, often stating that their experiences throughout their school years have failed to give them any notion of what an alternative education might be like. They do, however, express enough misgivings concerning the lack of relevance of the subject matter and the lack of personalization in the classroom environment to create the expectation that their school achievement might fall far below their tested ability or knowledge. In fact, however, it appears that the activist group as a whole tends to be motivated toward scholastic achievement, despite their theoretical support for alternate methods of evaluation and structure.

This factor is also apparent in relation to the number of honors courses selected by activist students. The CHITAB

Computer Program, which provides a chi-square statistic for pre-constructed tables, was used to analyze the differences between the two groups regarding this variable, with the findings shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY TABLE AND CHI SQUARE STATISTIC FOR HONORS LEVEL COURSES OF STUDY SELECTED BY MEMBERS OF EACH GROUP

Group	No Honors Courses	Honors Courses		Total
		One	Two or More	
Activists	12	4	23	39
Non-activists	32	4	3	39
Total	44	8	26	78

Chi Square=24.476 D.F.=2 Significance Level=0.0000

It can be noted that, in most instances, students tend to select honors level courses in at least two subject areas, if they enter the honors track at all. If a student's teacher recommends the honors level for him in a particular course of study, he is free to accept or reject the suggestion. The selection of honors courses thus indicates a degree of motivation, either for additional learning, for smaller classes, or for a higher grade-point-average. Since a grade of A in an honors course earns five points, rather than the usual four, and a grade of B earns four points, rather than the usual three, grade-point-average is affected by the selection of honors level courses. The fact that a majority of activist students--twenty-seven of the total group of thirty-nine--has elected to pursue honors level

courses in at least one subject area provides some indication that they are relatively highly motivated. It also means, of course, that the differences in grade-point-average between the two groups are not quite as great as would appear at first glance, since the activist group mean is inflated by extra honor points received by a majority of the group.

In general, it appears that members of the Student Coalition are superior to the non-activist sample in academic potency, both as shown in tests and as demonstrated by actual scholastic achievement. Despite their often negative feelings toward the school environment, they seem to have maintained an interest in academic achievement, as is demonstrated by their grade-point-averages and election of honors level courses. Although some activist students have expressed conflict in this regard, stating that they are giving in to a grading system of which they disapprove in order to gain college admission, it appears that, in regard to this group, protest is coming from within the mainstream of the academic system, rather than from without.

These generalizations are, of course, not applicable to every member of the activist group. Twelve members of the group have not completed any honors level courses, and some have not demonstrated very high achievement. It appears, however, that the Student Coalition tends to attract students who are capable of superior academic work and who have maintained a degree of motivation to work toward this potential.

Family Background

Interviews conducted with members of both the activist and non-activist groups created an impression of some differing trends in the family backgrounds of members of each.

Non-activist students, when asked about the relationship between themselves and their parents in regard to political issues, gave a variety of responses. A few described both themselves and their parents as relatively conservative, while some stated that such questions were never discussed in their homes. A number of students, however, stated that they held liberal views, particularly concerning the issues of war and racism, and that they often experienced conflict with their parents when these issues were discussed. It is interesting to note that several non-activist students recited almost precisely the same anecdote, stating that they had had serious arguments with their parents immediately following the death of several students at Kent State University, with their parents blaming the students for what had happened and the young people blaming the National Guard.

Among the activist students, no such differences were expressed. Each Coalition member interviewed stated either that both of his parents were liberal or that one parent was apolitical and the more dominant parent was liberal. The only conflict these students reported having with their parents concerned tactics, rather than basic

differences concerning political rights and wrongs. Some of the students expressed concern about the fact that their parents do not act on their liberal beliefs, but have chosen instead to live relatively sheltered suburban lives. Several activist students, particularly females, said that their parents worry about them, fearing that they might be hurt through their political activities, but still express trust in their judgment and support for their activities. All of the students interviewed perceived that the parents of most of the other activists are also liberal, but that the parents of the most active leaders of the Coalition tend to be radical, or at least very politically involved. This does appear to be true of several such students: one set of parents was very active in support of the teacher who had been dismissed a year ago, several were identified by their children as "Old Left" union activists, and one is a well-known advocate of civil liberties.

Similar trends were perceived in terms of issues which might be related to the "youth culture" or generation gap. There was a great deal of variation among non-activists' responses, although most of the students interviewed stated that, even if they and their parents agreed on most social or ethical questions on a theoretical plane, they did sometimes have severe disagreements on issues such as personal grooming and dating. Some of the students in this group stated that they accepted parental authority, as they accepted governmental authority on political matters.

Among the activist group, a particular trend was perceived in each interview. Students tended to disagree with their parents concerning the "new morality" and to find their politically liberal parents more conservative concerning questions of sex, interpersonal relationships, obscenity in language, and personal grooming. Without exception, however, the activist students interviewed stated that their parents trusted their judgment and did not usually impose penalties for actions with which they might disagree. Some of the students did state that it had taken some time for them to "educate" their parents to more liberal viewpoints.

These trends were, of course, merely perceived on the basis of interview data. On those variables of family background which were treated statistically, clear trends in differences between the two groups did not emerge. The Chi Square statistic was used to determine the differences between the actual frequencies in each category and the frequencies which would be expected if the groups were taken from the same population.

This method of analysis was used to determine whether the groups differed significantly with regard to birth order or to the total number of siblings in the family, with the results shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AND CHI SQUARE STATISTICS FOR NUMBER OF SIBLINGS IN FAMILY AND BIRTH ORDER OF SUBJECT IN EACH GROUP

	Number of Siblings Including Subject					
Group	Only Child	2	3	4	5 or more	Total
Activ.	2	17	16	1	3	39
Non-act.	2	12	18	4	3	39
Total	4	29	34	5	6	78

Chi Square=2.780 D.F.=4 Significance Level=0.5953

	Birth Order of Subject					
Group	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th or later	Total
Activ.	2	13	14	7	3	39
Non-act.	3	12	16	8	0	39
Total	5	25	30	15	3	78

Chi Square=3.440 D.F.=4 Significance Level=0.6325

As can be seen from Table 3, there is no significant difference between the groups in family size or birth order. Members of both groups tend to come from families with two or three children, with only two in each group having no siblings. It is interesting to note that few members of either group are firstborn. Most have at least one older sibling. These data may reflect a homogeneity within the group regarding parental age.

Data regarding parents' occupations were also gathered, although it was believed that the group might prove to be quite homogeneous, even in comparison to groups attending select universities. Since all of the students' mothers were housewives if the father was employed, data analyzed concerned the occupation of the working parent. Occupations were categorized according to the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, as follows:

1. Professional, technical, and managerial
2. Clerical and sales
3. Service
4. Farming, fishery, forestry, and related
5. Processing
6. Machine trade
7. Bench work
8. Structural work

The distribution of occupations in accordance with this code is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY TABLE AND CHI SQUARE STATISTIC FOR PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH D.O.T. CLASSIFICATION

Group	Prof. Tech. Mngr.	Cler. Sales	Serv.	Farm.	Proc.	Mach.	Bench	Struc.	Total
Activ.	25	8	3	0	0	3	0	0	39
Non-activ.	20	12	2	0	4	1	0	0	39
Total	45	20	5	0	4	4	0	0	78

Chi Square=6.556 D.F.=4 Significance Level=0.1613

Although a slightly larger number of activists' parents have professional, technical, and managerial occupations, the two groups do not differ significantly. In fact, the occupations are not distributed widely across all fields and levels, but are concentrated in the first two categories, with only a few scattered through the others. This concentration in the professional, technical, managerial, and sales occupations points up the relative homogeneity of the community in terms of socio-economic status, and the ensuing difficulty in differentiating between any two groups in terms of this variable.

Because it was believed that this kind of distribution might occur in a traditional categorization, fathers' occupations were also categorized according to Holland's Comprehensive Classifications for Vocational Choices and Occupations. It was believed that this analysis might be useful, not only in providing a more precise differentiation between the two groups, but in shedding light on the students' home environment by identifying an aspect of parental life style. Holland's Classifications include the following categories:

1. Realistic occupations
2. Intellectual occupations
3. Social occupations
4. Conventional occupations
5. Enterprising occupations
6. Artistic occupations

The distribution of parental occupations according to this categorization is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND CHI SQUARE STATISTIC FOR PARENTS' OCCUPATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH HOLLAND CLASSIFICATION

Group	Realistic	Intellec.	Social	Conv.	Enter.	Art.	Total
Activ.	11	0	4	5	18	1	39
Non-activ.	8	3	3	2	23	0	39
Total	19	3	7	7	41	1	78

Chi Square=6.512 D.F.=5 Significance Level=0.2595

Again, in the Holland Classification, the homogeneity of the community is pointed up. Fathers' occupations are clustered around the business area, particularly in the sales and managerial areas which would be included in the enterprising category. This is true of both groups. It had been thought that more activist students might tend to come from families where the father's occupation was intellectual, social, or artistic in nature. This does not, however, appear to be true. Apparently, if there are differences in parental life style between parents of activists and parents of non-activists, they are not functions of occupation.

In general, it appears that, although subtle differences between activists' and non-activists' families do come to light in discussing the students' perceptions of themselves and their parents, these differences are not present in regard to the variables measured, such as family

size or parental occupation. While many studies at the university level showed differences between activists and non-activists in terms of socio-economic status, it appears that, in this instance, both groups come from the kinds of homes which tend to nurture activists, and other variables must serve to cause activism in some and not in others.

Self-reported Interests and Plans

Students were asked in the Student Questionnaire to respond to questions related to their school activities, their future educational plans, and their vocational aspirations. These data were then analyzed in order to determine whether activists and non-activists differ in these elements of their life styles, as well as in their political activity.

Extra-curricular activities

Students were asked to list the school activities in which they currently participate, with these coded as:

1. Journalism only
2. Student government only
3. Athletics only
4. Interest clubs only
5. Dramatics or music only
6. School spirit only
7. Two or more extracurricular activities
8. No extracurricular activities

The frequency distribution and chi square statistic regarding this variable are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND CHI SQUARE STATISTIC FOR EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Group	Journ.	Stud. Govt.	Athl.	Club.	Drama Music	Sch. Spir.	2 or more	None	Total
Activ.	0	4	2	8	2	0	15	8	39
Non-activ.	0	0	10	4	0	1	9	15	39
Total	0	4	12	12	2	1	24	23	78

Chi Square=17.297 DF=6 Significance level=0.0083

It can be seen that the two groups differ greatly in terms of the school activities in which the members participate. In athletics and school spirit activities, there is more participation by non-activist students than by activists. This might have been expected on the basis of the activist's scorn for "Susie Cheerleader" or the "rah rah" kind of student. In all other areas, however, activist students outnumber non-activists, with fifteen of the thirty-nine activists participating in two or more school activities, as opposed to nine of the non-activist group. A larger number of non-activists than of activists has no involvement at all in non-political school activities. This makes it appear that the Coalition members really are activists, in the sense that they tend to desire involvement in a variety of endeavors. It also points up again, however, the fact that these students, regardless of theory, are still

very much a part of the school environment, and have not given up on the possibility of having a part to play in it. Although participation in activities such as student government can be attributed to "infiltration" or something of the sort, the participation in interest clubs, dramatic endeavors, and other extra-curricular activities can be seen as a separate utilization of energy.

Students were also asked to report the activities in which they engage outside of school. A sprinkling of non-activist students stated that they participate in some kind of church-related, community, or athletic activity, but most members of this group related either that their school work takes up a great deal of their outside time, or that they use their time after school and on week-ends in part-time jobs. In contrast, very few of the activist students have jobs during the school year, although some work during the summer. It appears that most of their leisure-time activity, unlike their school time, revolves around some form of political or social activism, with the one exception to this being participation in hobbies involving art, music, or theater.

Educational and vocational plans

Students' plans for continuing their education beyond high school were coded as follows:

1. Four-year college or university
2. Two-year junior college transfer program
3. One- or two-year vocational or technical program
4. No further education

This variable was also subjected to a chi square analysis, with the results shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND CHI SQUARE STATISTIC FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANS

Group	4-yr.	Jr. Coll.	Tech., Vocat.	None	Total
Activ.	37	1	1	0	39
Non-activ.	30	5	4	0	39
Total	67	6	5	0	78

Chi Square=5.198 D.F.=2 Significance Level=0.0743

Perhaps more noteworthy than the difference between the groups is the overall distribution of educational plans for both groups. The fact that all students plan for further education beyond high school, with most of them considering only four-year institutions, reflects the norm for the school and community, and the usual educational goals set by township families. It can be seen that more non-activist than activist students plan to enter two-year programs of either an academic or a vocational nature. The number planning on attending junior colleges in preparation for transfer to universities could reflect the lower grade-point-average previously noted for the non-activist group. Interestingly enough, however, most of the students who selected vocational programs are females who plan to enter secretarial training, despite the fact that their high school achievement seems adequate for college

entrance. None of the activist females are considering entrance into this kind of program.

In regard to stated occupational plans, both the Dictionary of Occupational Titles and the Holland Classification systems were used. Chi Square analysis based on occupational plans as categorized by the Dictionary of Occupational Titles is shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND CHI SQUARE STATISTIC FOR OCCUPATIONAL PLANS: DOT CLASSIFICATION

Group	Prof.	Cler.	Ser.	Farm.	Proc.	Mach.	Ben.	Strc.	Undec.	Tot.
Act.	31	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	39
Non-act.	29	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	39
Total	60	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	13	78

Chi Square=5.144 D.F.=4 Significance Level=0.2729

As might have been expected on the basis of educational plans, the occupational goals of students in both groups center around the professional, technical, and managerial occupations. Only a few students state an interest in other types of occupations, opening the possibility that level of aspiration is more closely related to family and community background than to socio-political ideas.

It was believed that the Holland system of classification might serve as a superior way of discriminating between the two groups, with the results of this analysis shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND CHI SQUARE STATISTIC FOR OCCUP. PLANS: HOLLAND COMPREHENSIVE CLASSIFICATION

Group	Real.	Intel.	Soc.	Conv.	Enter.	Art.	Undec.	Total
Act.	1	2	13	0	8	8	7	39
Non-act.	3	2	11	6	9	2	6	39
Total	4	4	24	6	17	10	13	78

Chi Square=10.902 D.F.=6 Significance Level=0.0914

The results of this analysis are of particular interest, although the differences between the groups are not overwhelming. It had been expected that the number of activists interested in social occupations might greatly outstrip the number of non-activists concerned with careers in this area. It can be seen, however, that this was the modal response in both groups, making clear the probability that a trend toward interest in aiding society is present in this age group without regard to the extent of individual activism. It was also expected that activists would show less interest than non-activists in the conventional occupations, and this was seen to be true. The extent of activist interest in artistic careers is perhaps complementary to their lack of enthusiasm for the conventional life style. It might be noted that, for both groups, the differences between their occupational plans and their fathers' occupations are great. While the fathers' occupations

tend to center around the realistic or enterprising categories, there is little interest in realistic occupations among students in either group, and those comprising the enterprising category are primarily responses relating, not to the business world, but to the legal profession, which Holland places in the enterprising category.

In general, it appears that, while the two groups are quite different in regard to the school and leisure time activities in which they presently participate, they have more in common concerning their future vocational plans. This does not necessarily mean that activist students are planning to enter the mainstream of the economy after the completion of high school, but might mean instead that all students, including non-activists, are searching for new ways to have impact as adults in society.

Teachers' Perceptions of Students

Scores measuring teachers' perceptions of students were derived through the mean of the ratings each student had received from his teachers at the close of the previous semester. These ratings concerned the characteristics of motivation, industry, initiative, influence and leadership, concern for others, responsibility, integrity, and emotional stability, with a rating of one the most positive and of five the most negative. The mean

scores for each of these variables were analyzed by Computer Program BMDX70 in order to determine the degree to which the groups as a whole are perceived differently by their teachers. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-STATISTICS OBTAINED ON VARIABLES OF TEACHER PERCEPTION

Variable	Activist Mean	S.D.	Non-act. Mean	S.D.	T	Prob.
Motivation	2.6579	0.650	2.8026	0.528	1.07	0.28914
Industry	2.5342	0.604	2.5692	0.443	0.29	0.77492
Initiative	2.9026	0.654	3.1538	0.569	1.80	0.07664
Influence, Ldrship.	2.7816	0.654	2.9590	0.530	1.34	0.18680
Concern for Others	2.5895	0.623	2.7179	0.445	1.04*	0.30477
Responsi-bility	2.7263	0.606	2.7282	0.469	0.02	0.98845
Integrity	2.5579	0.675	2.4949	0.418	0.49*	0.62691

*=T-statistic based on separate variance estimate.

It can be seen that the group means do not differ greatly on any of the variables of teacher perception. The activist students do tend to be perceived slightly more favorably on most of the factors measured, but this could be attributed to chance or to the fact that this group tends to attract students who are relatively successful academically.

A scanning of the responses indicated that teachers almost never used the one or five rating, tending to center responses around the middle of the scale and, in effect, to convert it to a three-point scale. It was also noted that teachers often give one student the same rating on each of the variables, pointing up the difficulty in expecting precise ratings when teachers are asked to rank all of their students at one time.

Although such difficulties were anticipated, these variables were included because it was believed that teachers might have more extreme reactions, in either direction, to activist students. This was believed even more strongly when interviews revealed that activist students tend to have relatively strong reactions to their teachers. It does appear that there might be more extremes in the reactions to students within the activist group, since the larger standard deviations indicate more variance within this group. It is possible either that very favorable and very unfavorable responses by individual teachers tend to cancel each other out, or that teachers rate their students on each factor without regard to the students' political beliefs or activities.

Personality Factors

In discussing social, political, and educational issues with members of the activist and non-activist groups, the researcher perceived subtle differences between the groups in their approach to problems. Several non-activists

indicated an acceptance of authority, whether political, educational, or parental, stating that they accepted the decisions of their elders on important matters. A number of non-activist students, however, seemed to accept authority less than they accepted the inevitability of their own limited roles in affecting their environment. They expressed disagreement with governmental and educational policies, but eschewed activism themselves simply because they felt it could not work. This pessimism on the part of a substantial number of non-activists contrasts with a kind of spirited optimism on the part of the other group, with activists seeming to express a kind of belief in their own social potency.

One example of this difference in approach to questions is the reaction of interviewed members of each group to the use of marijuana. Those members of the non-activist group who expressed positive feelings toward the use of marijuana always expressed misgivings concerning the fear of being caught in an illegal activity. As one student stated, "Marijuana gives a better high than alcohol, but your enjoyment of it is always ruined by the fear of being busted. That's why I usually use alcohol instead." None of the activists responded in this way. Although many of them reported experimentation in this area, and some stated that they no longer use marijuana, their reasoning was always based on consideration of its effects upon them and their work. Not one activist student interviewed even mentioned fear of "being busted," with one stating that he

felt protected from harassment by being white and middle class.

While some of these responses could be attributed to greater or lesser respect for law, they seem more to be a function of fear of being caught, as opposed to failure to consider that possibility. It seems almost as though the activist students, in making decisions concerning their behavior, forget to take into account the potential consequences which can be meted out by the environment. This could be the reason they are willing to take the risks involved in political activism: not that they are willing to take the consequences, but that they do not tend to consider them.

The activist students interviewed gave the impression of having an approach to life that stresses individual effectiveness combined with a feeling of invulnerability. Yet, this very feeling of safety and strength seems to make them more vulnerable than the others. It was noted that a number of these students seem to be going through a stage of intense uncertainty, questioning, and self-examination. The basis of this seems to be that, having entered into activism with a certainty that they could change the world, they now feel that the changes they have succeeded in bringing about within the school are relatively superficial, and changes in the broader society are virtually non-existent. Having found themselves less effective than expected, they are now searching for new ways of meeting their goals. This process caused some

concern on the part of the interviewer for two reasons. Firstly, these students, after a year or more of expressing peaceful dissent, are, for the first time, dealing with the question of violence, which they dismissed out of hand before, and the seeds of extremism are often found in the most reluctant converts to any cause, once conversion has taken place. Secondly, the interviewer received the impression that several of these students might, in this period of searching, be considering extensive involvement in the drug culture as a partial solution. Although these students might have experimented with drugs before, they did not tend to have deep involvement in the problem, usually recognizing that the physical and psychological effects of heavy drug use are incompatible with good politics.

The complex personality components of activist and non-activist students were measured through use of the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire, which served to enhance and explain the general impressions received through interviews of a sample of each group. The results of the T-test performed on the means of the two groups on each of the sixteen factors of personality are shown in Table 11. In each instance, the high score personality trait precedes the low score description. A high score on the first variable, for instance, would indicate a tendency toward affectothymia, rather than sizothymia.

TABLE 11

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-STATISTICS FOR TRAITS MEASURED BY THE SIXTEEN PERSONALITY FACTOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Variable	Activist Mean	S.D.	Non-act. Mean	S.D.	T	Prob.
Affecto-thymia (outgoing) vs. Sizo-thymia (reserved)	9.8334	3.038	11.4359	2.542	1.38	0.01564
More intel. vs. less intel.	8.6111	2.060	8.1282	1.780	1.09	0.28211
Higher ego strngth. vs. lower ego strngth.	13.3333	4.127	13.9744	3.232	0.75	0.45852
Dominance vs. submissive-ness	17.5278	3.722	12.5897	3.447	5.95	0.00010
Surgency vs. desurg.	16.8056	4.174	17.0256	3.950	0.23	0.81715
Stronger superego vs. wkr. superego	7.6944	3.133	10.5385	2.891	4.09	0.00010
Parmia (venture-some) vs. threctia (shy)	15.4444	5.679	14.2308	5.869	0.91	0.37102
Premsia (tender-minded) vs. harria (tough-minded)	13.5833	3.074	11.3590	4.023	2.67	0.00951

TABLE 11--(CONTINUED)

Protension (suspicious) vs. alaxia (trusting)	10.5833	2.980	9.0769	3.312	2.06	0.04326
Autia (imaginative)vs. praxernia (practicality)	15.2778	3.693	10.6410	3.550	5.54	0.00010
Shrewd vs. forthright	7.6667	2.849	9.8974	1.997	3.90	0.00010
Guilt proneness vs. untroubled adequacy	11.4444	4.178	12.2308	3.149	0.92	0.36242
Radical vs. conservative	12.8333	2.929	10.0769	3.098	4.35	0.00010
Self-sufficncy. vs. group adherence	10.6111	2.811	10.3333	2.832	0.43	0.67418
High self-concept control vs low integration	9.4167	2.980	9.9744	2.861	0.43	0.67418
High ergic tension vs. low ergic tension	14.5833	5.250	13.7436	4.121	0.77	0.44527

Table 11 makes it clear that the activist and non-activist groups as a whole differ greatly in terms of a number of personality variables. It can be noted that the highest T-value is that representing the difference between the two group means in dominance versus submissiveness. It

can be conjectured that the optimism about their own potency on the part of many of the activists is a function of their tendency to dominate, rather than to act in submission to, the environment. This tendency toward dominance is joined by the attainment of a very low mean score in superego strength, in comparison with the other group. The Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire defines superego strength in terms of acting conscientiously, rather than expediently or with disregard of rules. Seen in this light, it might be expected that the activist students would tend toward the lower end of the spectrum in superego strength.

It can be seen that the activists' general inclinations toward dominance and expediency are joined by seemingly contradictory tendencies to be tender-minded, rather than tough-minded, and forthright, or artless, rather than shrewd or worldly. One might guess that this combination of characteristics might involve a desire on the part of the group and many of its individual members to dominate themselves and their environment, not in a competitive manner, but in moving toward goals that their tender-mindedness and naturalness cause them to set. In effect, this implies the use of tough methods to gain tender goals, and goes far to explain the depth of the present conflict being felt by some of the students, whose natural tendency toward dominance has been thwarted, but whose softer tendencies might make them withdraw in the face of the kind of confrontation which they perceive as the logical next step.

The activist students obtained much lower scores than their non-activist peers in practicality, as opposed to imaginativeness. With the questionnaire defining practicality in terms of conventionality and regulation by external realities, this factor tends to support the impression that activist students concern themselves with the environmental consequences of their actions to a lesser degree than do their peers.

Finally, the activist students received higher scores in radicalism than did the non-activist students, who tend as a group to score more in the conservative range. This tendency was expected, as the activists, simply by definition, would not be seen as conservative, or respecting of established ideas.

The overall pattern presented by the mean scores on these variables appears to represent a group which is characterized by a desire to act upon the environment, rather than to be acted upon, and by a tendency to view problems in unconventional ways. Since these characteristics might be expected to have a relationship to creativity, the scale measuring tendencies in this direction through the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire was utilized. This scale is derived through the weighting of several of the factors measured by the questionnaire, including affectothymia, intelligence, dominance, venturesomeness, tendermindedness, imaginativeness, forthrightness, radicalism, and self-sufficiency. This scale, which was derived through a

study of the characteristics of creative writers and scientists, provides a measure of personal tendencies toward creativity, and was utilized for both groups. The results of this process are shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-STATISTICS FOR CREATIVITY

Activist Mean	S.D.	Non-activist Mean	S.D.	T	Probability
99.94286	9.58	84.20512	7.56	7.39	0.00010

It can be seen that the activist group mean for creativity is considerably higher than that obtained by the non-activist group. The Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire reports a mean value for this secondary factor of 82.5, meaning that even the non-activist group scored slightly above the average in terms of creativity. The creativity score of 99.94286 obtained by the activist group falls in the ninth sten, in comparison with the national group upon which the norms are based, while the score of 84.20512 falls in the sixth sten.

Thus, it can be seen that the activist group has great tendencies toward commonality with those noted for creativity, both in comparison with this non-activist group and in comparison with national norms. Interestingly enough, the differences between the groups for this combination of factors are greater than those found in terms of any of the individual factors. This points up the possibility that

traits found to be particularly characteristic of the activist group might, in fact, be functions of an underlying unity, based upon a tendency to view the environment from a creative perspective. Certainly, the tendency to eschew passivity for dominance and practicality for imaginativeness would tend to support this notion. It must, of course, be remembered that what is measured here is not creative ability, but rather personality characteristics in common with those who have exhibited such ability. This factor is important, however, in view of the fact that it implies a possibility that activism might be more a positive movement toward participation and change than a negative movement against persons or society.

Discriminating Power of Variables

It was noted that the group means differed greatly in terms of a number of variables, particularly in terms of academic achievement and the personality factors associated with creativity. It must be assumed that some of these variables are inter-related, making it desirable to further test the power of individual variables or a group of variables to predict membership in the activist or non-activist group.

The continuous data were subjected to Computer Program BMD7M, which performs a stepwise discriminant analysis. At each step in the analysis, one variable is entered into

the expression, based on its F-value, and taking into account its multiple correlation coefficient with the groups after partialling the previously entered variables, and its contribution to the decrease in the ratio of within to total variance if entered. The analysis is stopped when no variable remaining has an F-value greater than .01. The program classifies each observation into one of the two groups at each step, indicating the number of subjects whose group membership can be predicted through the variables entered at that point. In this manner, the relative importance of each variable for discriminating between groups is established.

In this analysis, twenty-five variables were entered into the expressions, with this group of variables being able to predict group membership for all but one of the members of Group I and all but four of the members of Group II. It was noted, however, that entry of the first six variables alone was able to predict membership accurately for all but six of the students. For this reason, Table 13 shows the variables entered, the F values and the accuracy of predictions of group membership derived through the first six steps in the computation.

It can be noted from Table 13 that only the first four variables entered have F values which are significant at the .05 level or better. On the basis of these four alone, group membership could be predicted accurately for all but eight members of the total Groups I and II. With the

variables of science and arithmetic concepts added, group membership could be predicted for all but six subjects, and with twenty-five variables entered, group membership could be predicted for all but five. It can also be seen that, after the first two steps, members of Group I, the activist group, could be identified more easily than members of the other group.

TABLE 13

VARIABLES ENTERED INTO THE EXPRESSION AT THE FIRST SIX STEPS OF STEPWISE DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

Variable	F-Value	Signif. Level	No. of Subj. Incorrectly Classified
Dominance vs. submissiveness	35.5854	.001	Group I: 9 Group II: 6
Autia (imaginative) vs. praxernia (practical)	21.5648	.001	Group I: 6 Group II: 6
Arithmetic Applic.	9.7709	.01	Group I: 4 Group II: 5
Tender-mindedness vs. tough-mindedness	5.5204	.05	Group I: 3 Group II: 5
Science Achievement	3.9051	NS	Group I: 3 Group II: 5
Arithmetic Concepts	2.8082	NS	Group I: 2 Group II: 4
Total predictive value of 25 variables			Group I: 1 Group II: 4

Group I=Activists
Group II=Non-activists

The first four variables entered, which have achieved significant F-values, include dominance versus submissiveness, imaginativeness versus practicality, arithmetic applications achievement, and tender-mindedness versus tough-mindedness, all of which were seen to differentiate well between the group means when the T-statistic was applied. Some variables which also attained high significance levels in the T-test do not attain significance here. For instance, the variable of superego strength, which had a probability level of 0.00010 for its T-value, was not even included in the twenty-five variables entered in the discriminant analysis, apparently because it tends to correlate highly, at least for this sample, with the variables entered in the first several steps.

The output for this program makes it possible to identify the specific subjects whose group membership was not accurately predicted. The profiles of these five subjects were examined more closely, in an attempt to determine what variables outside of the several key discriminators might serve to provide an informal indication of their differences from the other group.

The one activist student who was incorrectly placed in Group II is a female sophomore. Perusal of her profile on the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire indicated that she does share the characteristics which were found to be typical of the activist student group, having high scores in dominance, tender-mindedness, imaginativeness, and radicalism, along with low scores in

shrewdness and superego strength. The difference between her characteristics and those typical for the group as a whole appear to lie in the area of achievement, where her achievement test scores and grade-point-average fall somewhat below the mean, more closely approximating the means for the non-activist group. Although her achievement test scores in the language and social studies areas are close to the mean for activists, her scores for each arithmetic achievement test, as well as for science, fall well below the mean.

Four non-activist students were incorrectly predicted for membership in Group I, including two males and two females. The two males involved have high scores in all areas of achievement, scoring more closely to the activist mean than to the non-activist mean. In each case, the Sixteen Personality Factor profiles are similar to those typical of the activist group. In each instance, however, one key variable is different, with one of these two students having a low score in imaginativeness, and the other a very low score in tender-mindedness. It is interesting to note that each of these students indicates an interest in a business career, which is not found in any member of the activist group. Different patterns were noted for the two females who were incorrectly classified as activists. One has a Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire profile which indicates a high degree of dominance, tender-mindedness, and imaginativeness, but low scores in achievement. The other seems to fall approximately

halfway between the means for the two groups on each of the most important discriminating variables, but shows a very clear tendency toward group dependency, which could be related to her choice of non-activism.

In general, it appears that group membership can be predicted on the basis of a combination of a dominant, imaginative, and tender-minded personality with high achievement scores, particularly in the arithmetic and science areas. This gives the impression that activist students, as a group, may be seeking opportunity for leadership, but hoping for new ways in which to express their dominance and utilize their abilities. The fact that neither radicalism nor low superego strength was found to be among the most predictive variables, despite the tendency of the groups to differ greatly in terms of these variables, might indicate a high correlation between these factors and others which served as better predictors. It might, however, indicate that there are a number of individual non-activist students whose ideas tend toward the unconventional, but who lack some of the more basic personality characteristics or abilities which seem to be associated with an interest in socio-political activism. Such individual differences within the groups are discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

THE FINDINGS: INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE GROUPS

It must be recognized that, although differences between the groups are apparent with regard to a number of variables, these differences represent trends that are not necessarily applicable to each member of a particular group. In order to better gauge individual differences within the activist and non-activist groups in regard to several key variables, the Program to Analyze Individual Differences was utilized. This program rearranges cases into subgroups, or clusters, which tend to be more homogeneous than the group as a whole, not with regard to level of scores, but with regard to profiles of scores. The variables are rank ordered, with the computer searching for groups of individuals showing similar profiles with regard to five variables. The use of score profiles made this program particularly applicable to personality variables, which might be more interesting in terms of their inter-relationship than in terms of their exact values. The program was used three times, each time with a different set of five variables considered to be of greatest interest.

Personality Variables with Highest T-values

The program to analyze individual differences was performed with the five variables entered being those personality factors exhibiting the highest T-values. It was known that these variables were of particular importance in pointing up the nature of the groups as a whole. The fact that the groups showed tendencies in one direction, however, did not imply that all of the individuals within that group shared its characteristics.

The variables entered into this analysis included the following:

1. Dominance versus submissiveness
2. High versus low superego strength
3. Tender-mindedness versus tough-mindedness
4. Shrewdness versus artlessness
5. Radicalism versus conservatism

It was found that several clusters emerged which accounted for a sizable portion of the sample and whose composition was of interest. The composition of these clusters, as well as their mean scores on each of the variables, is shown in Table 14.

It can be seen that the first cluster, including a total of nineteen students, is comprised of sixteen activist students and only three non-activists. The group is characterized by a high degree of dominance, in comparison with the total group mean for that variable, as well as low superego strength and a tendency toward tender-mindedness.

TABLE 14

COMPOSITION AND MEAN SCORES OF CLUSTERS USING VARIABLES WITH HIGH T-VALUES

Total	Activ.	Non-act.	Dom.	Super-ego	Tend.-mind.	Shrewd-ness	Radical-ism
19	16	3	17.89	6.21	13.95	8.53	13.58
13	10	3	17.31	9.46	13.54	5.77	11.38
5	4	1	12.80	9.40	16.00	7.20	12.60
7	0	7	10.14	12.57	15.43	10.86	6.86
Total Group Means			14.96	9.17	12.42	8.82	11.40

Since these characteristics were found to be typical of the trends within the activist group, it is of interest to consider the non-activist students who appear, on the basis of these measures, to be more like activists than they are like their own group. It was found that all three of these students have Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire profiles which are similar in general to those of the activist group, but that all three score much higher than the mean for either group in self-sufficiency. Two of these students had been interviewed, and indicated a degree of support for the activists' causes, but a dislike for joining movements of any sort. It was noted that all three of these students have vocational plans involving some aspect of the enterprising category, and all three have fathers who are in the business field. The three generally show academic ability close to the activist group means, and their total

personality profiles show evidences of commonality with the creative bent found to be prevalent among activists. It appears possible that creativity is what these students have in common with the activist group, but that they have chosen to express this trait in a different manner.

The second cluster, comprising thirteen activists and three non-activists, is characterized by high dominance and a pronounced tendency toward forthrightness, rather than shrewdness. Again, the non-activist students who share these characteristics were examined more closely. In this instance, it was learned that all three score well below the activist mean in most measures of academic achievement, while two of the three have profiles which show them similar to the activist group in many respects but scoring even below the non-activist mean on the variable of imaginativeness.

It can be noted that this cluster scores close to the intergroup mean on the variable of radicalism, although it includes ten Group I members. There apparently is a nucleus of students within the activist group who do not have tendencies toward radicalism to the extent that they share other characteristics of the total group, particularly a high degree of dominance and that combination of other personal traits associated with creativity. It must be noted that, although the groups were found to differ significantly with regard to this variable, neither of the group means is exceptionally low, and there might be a

group of non-activists who share the radicalism, but not the personality characteristics, of the activists. It will be remembered that this variable was not among the best predictors of group membership, as shown through discriminant analysis.

A third cluster, composed of a total of five students, four of whom are female, is of interest because most of its members are activists, but without any great tendency toward dominance. This group is characterized by a definite leaning toward tender-mindedness, as well as exceptionally high creativity scores, which apparently draw them to the activists' ultimate goals. Two of these students had been interviewed, and each expressed strong misgivings concerning activist methods and tactics, but a desire to remain with the activist group because of a strong commitment to work for peace and economic change.

A final cluster provides an interesting contrast to this. This group is composed of seven students, all of whom are female non-activists. This group, like the one previously discussed, is characterized by low dominance and high tender-mindedness. The group as a whole, however, tends toward the conservative, rather than the radical, pole, and toward shrewdness, rather than artlessness. A perusal of these students' personality profiles in total showed that each of them had a creativity score at the sixth sten or lower. Thus, it seems possible that, while there is a nucleus of predominantly male students within the activist group who are not exceptionally radical by nature, there is

also a group of females who are not naturally dominant and who can be differentiated from a number of non-activist females primarily on the basis of their tendencies toward radicalism, artlessness, and creativity.

In general, the clustered groups based on variables having high T-values tended to be dominated either by activist or by non-activist students, supporting the notion that individual activists tend to have over-all personality profiles similar to that for the group as a whole. There does, however, appear to be some basis for the notion that a small group of students is drawn to activism more by basic personality traits than by radicalism, and that another small group, while not necessarily sharing the dominance typical of the activists, has joined because of a combination of radicalism in their ideas, artlessness in their attitudes, and creativity in their emotional make-up.

Personality Variables Entered First in Discriminant Analysis

The five personality variables which were entered earliest in the stepwise discriminant analysis were also subjected to the clustering technique. The variables involved included:

1. Affectothymia versus sizothymia (outgoing versus reserved)
2. Higher ego strength versus lower ego strength
3. Dominance versus submissiveness
4. Tender-mindedness versus tough-mindedness

5. Imaginativeness versus practicality

Several major clusters of students were formed, as is shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

COMPOSITION AND MEAN SCORES OF CLUSTERS USING DISCRIMINATING VARIABLES

Total	Activ.	Non-activ.	Affect.	Ego Strngth.	Dom.	Tend.- Mnded.	Imag.
14	10	4	9.79	14.93	18.29	10.14	12.71
9	6	3	10.67	17.67	14.78	11.22	10.89
14	10	4	9.14	10.86	18.21	14.86	13.36
5	4	1	10.60	9.80	13.20	16.60	18.40
Total Group Means			10.66	13.66	14.96	12.42	12.86

The first cluster is of interest due to the fact that, although it is composed primarily of activist students with a tendency toward dominance, the mean for the cluster falls below that for the combined groups in tender-mindedness. Although this does not mean that each member of the cluster is tough-minded, it does mean that each is considerably less tender-minded than he is dominant. This supports the possibility that, while many members of the activist group combine the characteristics of dominance and tender-mindedness, a considerable group, composed primarily of males, seems to be drawn to activism more by a tendency toward dominance than by tender-mindedness or imaginativeness.

It was interesting to note that all but one of the activists in this cluster scored at the eighth sten or above on the creativity factor, while all of the non-activists in the sub-group scored at the seventh sten or below. Although the entire cluster exhibits dominance to a degree which overrides the other characteristics measured, it appears that the activist students combine this trait with others associated with creativity, while the non-activists do not. This underlying factor might help to explain the fact that, with a number of students sharing the characteristic of assertiveness, some choose to utilize it in a socially active way, while some do not.

The second cluster, composed primarily of non-activist students, is characterized by high ego strength, a tendency toward the tough-minded end of the spectrum, and a tendency toward the practical, rather than the imaginative. It might be expected that this group would include primarily non-activist students. A perusal of the profiles of the three activists included in this cluster indicated that each scores well below the means for their group in most measures of academic potency, indicating the possibility of a small nucleus of followers within the activist group who do not share their peers' achievement or dominance. It was noted, however, that these students do have creativity scores at the eighth and ninth stens.

Another cluster, composed of fourteen students, most of whom are female, is characterized by high dominance, relatively high tender-mindedness and imaginativeness, and low ego strength. It appears possible, particularly in contrasting this with the first cluster, that the female members of the group, although less numerous than the males, inflated the activist group's mean scores in the areas of tender-mindedness and imaginativeness.

This is also seen in the last cluster of this group, composed of five students, four of whom are female. This group is characterized by a high degree of tender-mindedness and imaginativeness, but a low degree of dominance and ego strength. The one non-activist in this group is a female who has a high degree of interest in writing prose and poetry, and who might be expected to share the traits of tender-mindedness and imaginativeness with the members of the activist group.

In general, it again appears that, although many activist students' profiles show a combination of tender-mindedness, imaginativeness, and dominance, the clusters indicate that some seem to be drawn to activism more by their dominance and others more by their tender-mindedness or imaginativeness. Both groups share, however, an overall tendency toward the creative personality.

Personality Traits in Which the Groups Do not Differ Significantly

Several traits in which the groups were not seen to differ greatly, but which had been expected to be key factors, were also subjected to cluster analysis, with the hope that homogeneous sub-groups within the total groups would throw light on their make-up with regard to these factors. The five variables subjected to the Program to Analyze Individual Differences included:

1. Parmia versus threctia (venturesomeness versus shyness
2. Protension versus alaxia (suspiciousness versus trust)
3. Self-sufficiency versus group adherence
4. High self-concept control versus low integration
5. High ergic tension versus low ergic tension

It had been believed that the degree of self-concept control and ergic tension exhibited by student activists might illuminate some factors in their attraction to movement and change, while the variables of venturesomeness and suspiciousness might have some bearing on their relationship to the environment. The degree of self-sufficiency or group adherence exhibited by these students was also considered important, since allegiance to a group which differs from the norms of the broader social group might be a function either of individual independence or of group dependence.

The clusters created through this analysis are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

COMPOSITION AND MEAN SCORES OF CLUSTERS BASED ON VARIABLES WITH LOW T-VALUES

Total	Activ.	Non-activ.	Parmia	Protens.	Self-suff.	Integ.	Ergic tension
9	5	4	19.60	13.50	8.50	9.20	15.10
8	5	3	20.25	9.37	8.87	12.62	7.75
8	6	2	10.87	7.62	10.62	11.00	17.00
6	1	5	16.00	5.17	7.17	11.50	12.55
9	6	3	15.22	10.11	12.22	6.89	18.56
6	2	4	17.67	10.83	9.33	7.67	14.83
Total Group Means			14.81	9.80	10.46	9.70	14.14

It can be seen from the table that four of the clusters, comprising a total of thirteen activists and sixteen non-activists, score below the mean on the third variable, self-sufficiency versus group adherence. It is interesting to note that, in the case of each of these clusters, the mean scores for the variable of venturesomeness are exceptionally high. Those clusters formed around students with low scores in venturesomeness also show low scores in group dependency. This factor is of particular importance, since it had been believed that some students might, in effect, be finding refuge in the activist group. The implication here is that, although ten of the students in this group tend toward group adherence, these same students tend toward venturesomeness in their social attitudes, making it seem

that their group adherence may involve a positive feeling toward group activity, rather than merely a negative feeling toward individual drifting. These students do not appear to be characterized by particularly low dominance or imaginativeness.

Both those groups characterized by low self sufficiency and those characterized by high self sufficiency are divided evenly between a tendency toward trust and a tendency toward suspiciousness. Only two of the six clusters analyzed show tendencies toward low ergic tension, and both of them also share high self-concept control and high group adherence. The difference between them involves their tendencies toward suspiciousness or trust, with the group tending toward trust being composed primarily of non-activist students. All of the groups tending toward low integration are high in ergic tension, as well as in suspiciousness. This pattern cuts across both the activist and the non-activist groups, and does not seem to be related to group dependency.

In general, it appears that students who are characterized by a high degree of tension and suspiciousness are found in both groups. This does not appear to be related to group adherence, which is more highly related to venturesomeness and apparently does not involve a tendency toward blind following, toward lack of individual initiative, or toward lack of ability.

Individual Differences in Achievement

It was believed that differences might exist within the activist and non-activist group on the basis of academic factors. A profile of students based on ranked scores, however, was considered to be less valuable than a categorization of relatively low and relatively high achievers. Grade-point-average was used as a basis for this categorization, since it is often thought to be related to ability, motivation, and achievement. Low achievers within the activist group and high achievers within the non-activist group were examined, after having been identified through an arbitrary cut-off point of having scores above or below the other group's mean.

It was found that ten activist students have grade-point-averages below 2.2 (the non-activist mean), with only one of the ten having achievement test scores above grade level in all areas. It was found that, of these ten students, only three differ from the general trend of personality traits noted to be typical of the group as a whole, being somewhat less dominant, less imaginative, and less tender-minded than most activist group members. The other seven have personality profiles which fit the generalizations made about the group as a whole. Each is characterized by high dominance, tender-mindedness, imaginativeness, and radicalism, as well as by low superego strength. If anything, they tend to have slightly higher scores than the mean for the variables of imaginativeness and radicalism. Interestingly enough, these students also have

vocational and educational plans that coincide with those expressed by the majority of activist students. Of the ten, only two plan on entering less than a four-year institution of higher learning following high school graduation.

This information tends to disprove an earlier assumption that a sub-group of lower-achieving students within the activist group might tend to have entered that group for different reasons than the others, and to have differing personality characteristics.

Eight non-activist students were found to have grade-point-averages at 2.7 or above (the mean for activist students). This group, as might have been expected, is more heterogeneous than the activist group analyzed. As a whole, however, it is interesting to note that only one of the eight has a low score in radicalism. Most of these students have scores on this variable which are close to the activists' mean or fall between the two group means. Similar trends were found with regard to dominance, but in several other key factors, differences were noted. Five of the eight tend toward the tough-minded, rather than the tender-minded, end of the spectrum, and four show high superego strength. Several of the students also have scores which are at or below the non-activist mean in imaginative-ness. In general, while these students do share some characteristics with the activists, they tend to have lower over-all scores on the creativity factor.

Individual Differences in Creativity

Utilization of the Program to Analyze Individual Differences indicated that, while certain traits might be characteristic of the activist group as a whole, individuals within this group possess each of these traits in varying degrees. Despite the differences found in regard to individual factors, however, it appeared that the inter-relationship of traits was such that most of the activist students show commonality with people noted for their creativity. Since the possession of this creative personality profile appeared to be more typical of activist than of non-activist students, it was considered of particular interest to delve further into it, identifying those activist students who did not share their group's creative bent, as well as non-activists who appeared to be more like the activist group in having creative personality types.

The Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire provides standard sten scores in order to place creativity scores in normative perspective. The sten equivalents for raw scores are shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17

STEN EQUIVALENTS FOR RAW SCORES ON 16 PF CREATIVITY SCALE

Sten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Score range	15-62	63-67	68-72	73-77	78-82	83-87	88-92	93-97	98-102	103-150

Since the eighth sten has been used as a cut-off point to differentiate between creative and other personalities (Khan, 1970), the score of ninety-three was used here as a classification point. Activist students having scores below the eighth sten, and non-activist students having scores at the eighth sten or above, were identified.

It was found that, of the activist group, six students had scores below the eighth sten in creativity. Of the six, two had been identified as relatively low achievers. While each of the six showed some differences from the total group with regard to personality factors, the six shared tendencies to be outgoing, rather than reserved. This contrasted with the tendency to be reserved which was found to be common in the creative personality, and which was typical of most activist students. The non-creative activists also shared a tendency to have scores in dominance which fell below the total group mean. It is possible that this rather outgoing group might provide a core of students who are more concerned with the process of involvement than with dominating the environment in an attempt to meet creative goals.

In the non-activist group, six students were found to have creativity scale scores of ninety-three or above. Each of these six had great commonality with the creative personality through their tendencies toward reservedness, desurgency, and imaginativeness. Since they were not notably radical or tender-minded, it is possible that their creativity is of a different nature than that of the activists,

with these students choosing to express this trait in more individualistic terms, rather than in an attempt to affect the entire social order.

Trends in Individual Differences

In general, it appears that, while students within the activist group might differ with regard to specific variables, the inter-relationship of these traits is such that a desire to have a creative interaction with society holds most of them together. Within this over-all unity, individual activists tend to differ in the degree of their commitment to the goals or the process of activism, with some characterized more by the radicalism, tender-mindedness, and imaginativeness needed for the setting of goals, and others more by the dominance and venturesomeness involved in the process of meeting those goals.

CHAPTER VI

A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

The Activist Life Style

The findings presented in Chapters IV and V suggest that the high school student activists involved in this study have unique characteristics which serve to distinguish between them and their peers and to highlight individual differences within the group.

On the basis of analysis of the quantitative data collected, some specific conclusions can be drawn with regard to the nature of the group studied.

1. The activist group as a whole is superior to the non-activist group in academic ability and achievement.
2. The activist group is more involved than the non-activist group in all extracurricular activities, with the exception of athletics.
3. The activist group as a whole tends to be somewhat more reserved than the non-activist group.
4. The activist group as a whole tends to be somewhat more trusting than the non-activist group.
5. The activist group as a whole tends to have lower superego strength than the non-activist group.

6. The activist group as a whole tends to be more tender-minded than the non-activist group.
7. The activist group as a whole tends to be more artless than the non-activist group.
8. The activist group as a whole tends to be more imaginative than the non-activist group.
9. The activist group as a whole tends to be more radical than the non-activist group.
10. The activist group as a whole tends to be more dominant than the non-activist group.
11. Of the variables tested here, those most effective in predicting membership in the activist or non-activist group include dominance, imaginativeness, achievement in arithmetic applications, and tender-mindedness.
12. The combination of reservedness, tender-mindedness, dominance, imaginativeness, forthrightness, and radicalism found to be characteristic of activists makes their over-all personality pattern more similar than that of the non-activists to the creative personality.

These conclusions appear to be in accord with those of researchers studying activism at the post-secondary school level. The activists were found to be superior to their peers in academic potency, thus making it apparent that this general trend, which was noted at the college level by Somers (1965), Flacks (1967), and Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker (1969), is also relevant to the high schools.

The activist students' academic potency is of great interest, not just as a reflection of their ability, but in its indications concerning their relationship to the school. It seems apparent that the most vehement protests against school policy are coming from students who have been notably successful in adapting to the academic environment. Perhaps still more importantly, it is apparent that these students are still interested in maintaining their academic success, as is indicated by the fact that they tend to have higher grade-point-averages than the non-activist group, and to select a far greater number of honors level courses of study. This factor, along with the tendency of these students to be involved in a number of non-political extracurricular activities, implies that these students are not alienated from the school as yet, but, on the contrary, are attempting to have an effect on an institution of which they feel they are a part.

The groups as a whole also appear to be strikingly different with regard to personality factors, as were those studied by Katz (1968), Baird (1970), and Watts and Whittaker (1966). The combination of personality traits found to be typical of the activist group tends to support an impression, gained through interviews with a sample of students, that activists tend to make decisions on the basis of a personal analysis of their own goals and perceptions of effectiveness. It is also complementary to

the impression, gained through the literature of the student underground press, that the high school activists are in search of a more creative way of life and fear having their life styles manipulated by forces outside themselves. It is possible that their low superego strength manifests itself in a turning away from traditional mores, that their dominance is expressed in their need to control their own destinies, and that their imaginativeness, artlessness, and tender-mindedness lead them to search for new realities more acceptable to their sensitivities. This combination of traits, with its underlying tendency toward creativity, illuminates the possibility that this is a group of students who tend to interact with their environment in a unique manner, with their basic propensities being toward affecting that environment, rather than simply adjusting to it. It thus appears likely that their method of approach to socio-political problems is not a separate part of their being, but rather a reflection of their usual manner of coping with the environment.

Although most of the activist students seem to share this creative approach to the environment, there are differences among the group members which have implications for their relationship to their world. Analysis of individual differences among activists and non-activists brought to light certain trends, which might more accurately be termed tentative hypotheses than proven conclusions.

1. Some activists, primarily male, are drawn to activism more by a tendency toward dominance than by a tendency toward radicalism in their ideas.
2. Some activists, primarily female, can be distinguished from some non-activist females by the radicalism of their ideas, rather than by their personalities.
3. Some activists, primarily male, are drawn to activism more by a tendency toward dominance than by a tendency toward tender-mindedness or imaginativeness.
4. Some activists, primarily female, are drawn to activism more by a tendency toward tender-mindedness or imaginativeness than by a tendency toward dominance.
5. The activist group is composed of many leaders and few followers, with those students who are group adherent also being venturesome, dominant, and imaginative.
6. Most activists who are not high academic achievers share the personality characteristics, the creativity, and the interests of the activist group as a whole.
7. Non-activists who are high achievers tend to be radical in their ideas, but heterogeneous in their personality profiles.

8. Those activist students who do not share the high creativity of the others tend to be outgoing, and might be attracted to activism primarily through an interest in involvement.
9. Those non-activist students who are characterized by high creativity might utilize this creativity in more individualistic pursuits.

It is apparent that activist students tend to possess the traits of dominance, imaginativeness, tender-mindedness, and radicalism in varying degrees, although the combination of traits is such that an underlying tendency toward creativity is present in almost all of them. It seems possible that the differing combinations of characteristics might be indicative of different types of attraction to activism, perhaps with some students being essentially activists-by-goal and others activists-by-process. Those students who are characterized more by imaginativeness or tender-mindedness than by dominance might be attracted to activism through its offer of a method of reaching the goal of a school or a society more in keeping with their ideals, while those who are characterized more by dominance might be attracted to the process of evolving greater power over self and environment.

These two modes are not contradictory, but might, instead, suggest a kind of symbiotic relationship which could help the group to achieve a tentative balance between interest in process and concern with outcome. It can be conjectured that, if they were isolated, the goal-oriented

activists might tend to withdraw from the frey and show more interest in the creation of counter-cultures apart from society's mainstream, while the process-oriented activists might tend toward more individualized and diffuse acts of protest. Although the impetus to activity might thus differ from case to case, both the goal-oriented and the process-oriented activists seem to share the tendency to interact creatively with the environment.

Although individual differences do exist, the activist students as a total group seem to have great commonalities. A number of impressions about the group as a whole were gained through observation of and discussions with activist students. While these impressions are not necessarily amenable to statistical analysis, and therefore to support, they do appear to be complementary to the conclusions drawn on the basis of quantitative data.

1. The typical activist does, in fact, come from a unique family background.
    a. Political and social issues are discussed in the home.
    b. At least one parent is liberal, or even a radical or a political activist.
    c. Parents tend to accept differences in values between themselves and their children.
    d. Parents encourage their children to act on their own judgment.
2. Activists not only desire, but expect, to have an influence on their environment.

3. Activists not only desire, but expect, that the environment will be rewarding, rather than punitive.
4. Activists wish to affect the environment in such a way that it will be still more rewarding and less punitive.
5. Most activist students are uncomfortable with aspects of the educational system and society as a whole, but are not truly alienated from either. Instead, they assume that they are part of society, and therefore should have a role in making needed changes.
6. The activist students, although they are creative, have not yet developed the sophistication in ideology needed to formulate a model for an alternate culture; they tend, instead, to have generalized ideals.
7. Many activists are going through a period of conflict, since their ideals and expectations have not been met.
   a. Some are confronting, for the first time, the issue of violence, and are withdrawing from activism due to fear of what they see as the logical next step in confrontation.
   b. Some, perhaps those who are less dominant, might attempt to escape this conflict by withdrawing into the drug culture, with which they have not previously had great involvement.

8. The vanguard of student activists is being replaced by a more heterogeneous group which tends to share the original activists' ideals, but not their personality profiles.

The generalizations concerning family background, although based more upon impressions than on quantitative data, tend to support the notion that, while the variables of family background actually measured did not highlight differences between the groups, there might be more subtle familial influences bearing a relationship to student activism. These impressions bear out the work of Flacks (1967), who found that activists' parents tended to be more permissive and more encouraging of self-expression and individuality than did non-activists' parents. This whole picture of intra-family relationships tends to support Keniston's notion (Keniston, 1970) that, instead of being a result of the generation gap, student activism is actually a function of an unusual "generational solidarity," with young people attempting to carry out ideals inculcated in the home.

It is not surprising that this kind of relationship with parents, along with the positive school experiences which tend to accompany academic accomplishment, might bring these students to expect mutually rewarding relationships with the social environment. It is also not surprising that, when these deeply held expectations are not met, the result can involve a high degree of conflict and a

search for new methods of responding to the environment.

Although activists might be pushed in this manner to consider alternate modes of interacting with society, it seems that their preferred mode is a function of their personal characteristics and experiences. In discussing this group of high school student activists, we are apparently referring to a group of people who share a basic interest in searching for new paths and a strong desire to control their own lives and affect their environments. This does not necessarily mean that they are unresponsive to society, for they seem to feel that they have a stake in it, and in the school which acts as society's agent.

Considered in this manner, the fact that the very people who are attempting to bring new direction to school and society are at the same time involved in it and interested in finding success within its forms, is not really contradictory. It is often noted that a secure position in the environment is a necessary prerequisite to the ability to reach out toward creative interaction, and this seems to be what has occurred here. Many attribute student activism to an alienation based on the difficulty in finding a place for oneself in a society where even the schools are highly complex and impersonal institutions. In fact, however, it seems possible that the students who have turned to activism may be more comfortable in this environment than many of their peers.

In the phenomenon of activism, then, we are faced with a number of adolescents who are sure there will be a place for them in the social, and especially the economic, order. This certainty of a place is not comparable to that which is present in less complex cultures, however, for the assumption that they will have a role to play is not joined by any definite outline of what that role will be. They are faced with a number of alternatives and, at the same time, have been encouraged to develop life styles which are creative, to "think for themselves" and develop new ways of meeting problems. When such a group comes face to face with a society in which rapid change is making way for new values and in which a variety of problems is immediately visible for personalized view, it is not surprising that activism occurs. These students apparently have developed life styles which call for interaction with, rather than adjustment to, the environment; therefore, shortcomings which they perceive in an institution of which they are a part will be dealt with, rather than passively accepted.

Adler (1964) described four methods of meeting life's problems, stating that an individual tends to retain the style he has devised throughout his life, unless he becomes convinced he has made an error in his perception of reality. These four styles included:

1. The ruling type, which involves an attempt to impose one's own solutions upon others without

regard to the well-being of other individuals or of society.

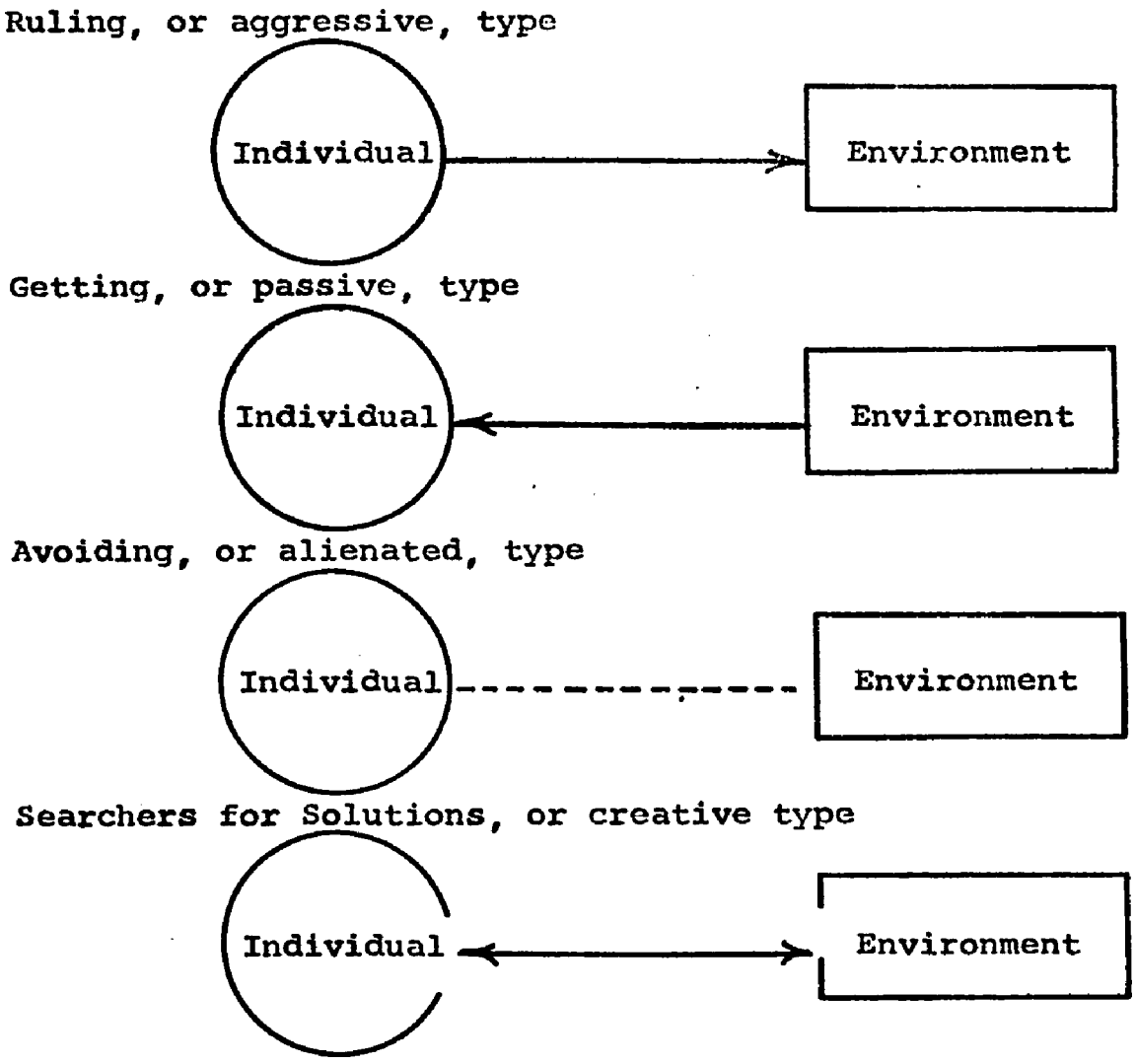
2. The getting type, which leaves the solution of problems to others.
3. The avoiding type, which sidesteps problems, rather than confronting them.
4. The searchers for solutions to problems.

Although one might, at first glance, attempt to place student activists as a group in the first category because of their high degree of dominance, it appears, in fact, that they actually belong in the fourth type: the searchers for solutions to problems. Despite their great interest in affecting the environment, the activist students were also shown to have a high degree of tender-mindedness, of imaginativeness, and of artlessness. These facets of the group's make-up, along with their apparently positive relationships with parents and their attempts to cooperate through involvement in the school milieu, indicate that the "group life style" is one of interaction, rather than of ruling. The activists can be differentiated from the passive, or apolitical, student, who might tend to be placed in the "getting type" and from the truly alienated student, who has placed himself in the "avoiding" pattern by withdrawing from societal problems. While students who are politically active in a more traditional manner (the Young Republican, the Young Democrat, the student council president) might share the category of

searchers for solutions to problems, they can be distinguished from the activists by the extent to which they accept traditional methods, rather than attempting to solve problems in wholly creative ways. The four styles of meeting life's problems can be illustrated graphically, as is shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

Four Styles of Meeting Life's Problems



It can be seen that the ruling life style is shown with arrows pointing to, but not from, the environment, indicating that this style involves acting upon the environment without receiving signals back in return. In the passive life style, in contrast, the individual is acted upon by the environment, but does not attempt to send signals in return. The alienated pattern is shown with the relationship between the individual and the environment being a tenuous one, with little interaction. Finally, the creative life style involves a mutual acting upon, with signals being sent both to and from the individual, who is open to new ideas and who, in return, sends new ideas to the environment which he perceives as also open.

It will be noted that only the aggressive and the creative types send messages out to the environment. According to Adler's analysis, only these two types are characterized by activity, and only the last, the searcher for solutions, is also characterized by social interest.

The concept of social interest might be particularly helpful in providing an understanding of the student activist. According to Adler (1964), the potential for social interest is present in all human beings, but becomes more highly developed in those who have developed a sense of belonging in the social milieu. Those whose life styles are characterized by social interest attempt to master the environment for the benefit, not just of existing society, but of an ideal society which they strive

to develop. If we view student activists as young people who feel that they have a social role to play and who wish to interact with the environment in a creative manner, we can then assume that they have a relatively high degree of social interest, encompassing society in the abstract to as great an extent as the immediate, concrete social group. We might picture the concerns of individuals with more or less socially interested life styles as shown in Figure 2.

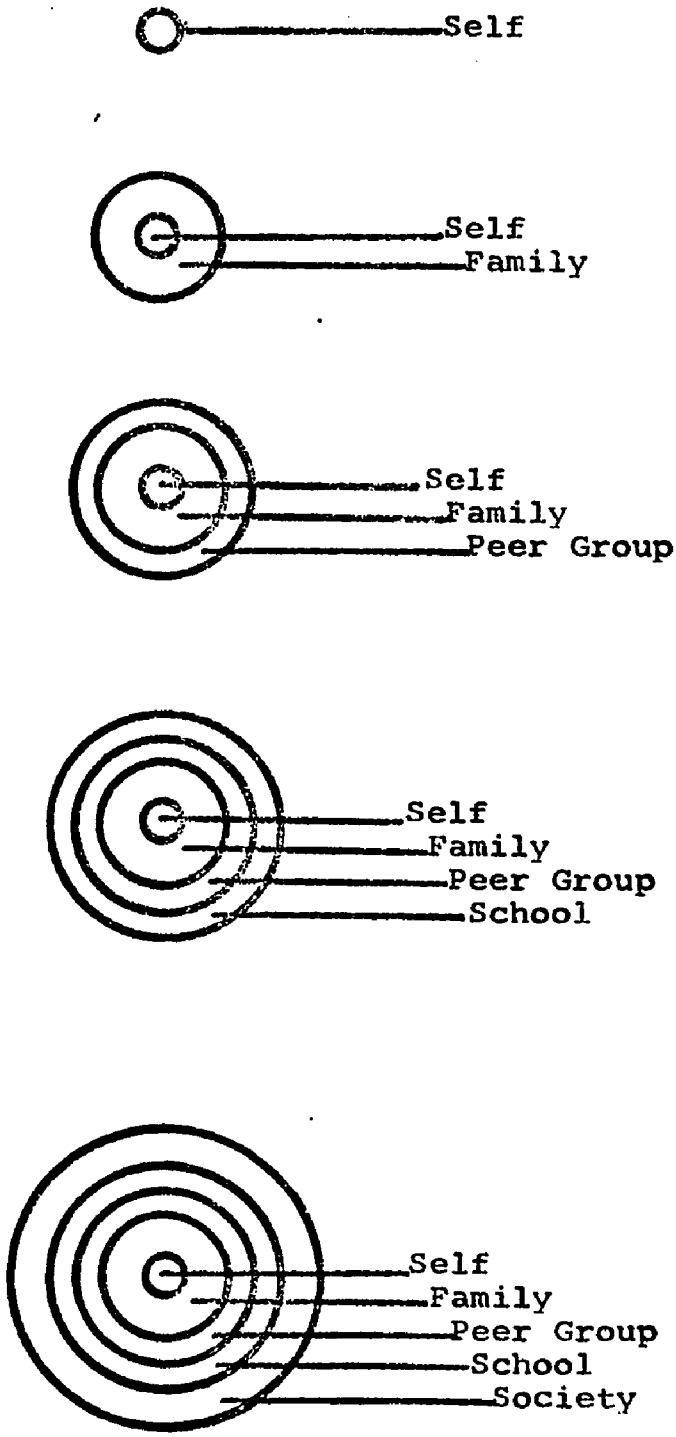
It can be seen that the individual with social interest desires to interact with the environment in terms of the totality of society, as well as with regard to his immediate social group. On the other hand, students whose social interest has been retarded may stop at the level of self, of primary group, of peer group, of school, or at whatever point they no longer feel a sense of belonging.

In dealing, then, with the question of the school's relationship to the student activist, we can proceed on the basis of several assumptions, including:

1. Student activists possess a life style characterized by a high degree of social interest.
2. Their life style will be adjusted only if they perceive that they have been mistaken in their expectations of reality.
3. It is in the best interests of the school as an institution if its students are characterized by a high degree of social interest. Only if

FIGURE 2

Gradations of Students' Social Interest



this is so will the students attempt to contribute to the school's well-being.

The Activist vis-a-vis the School

The question with which the school as an institution is faced is, By what actions can we best insure that activists maintain a high degree of social interest, and thus remain constructive, rather than destructive, forces in the school? The school and its leaders have open to them a number of alternative methods of dealing with student activism and, on the basis of what we know about the activist life style, some tentative hypotheses concerning the possible effects of each can be derived.

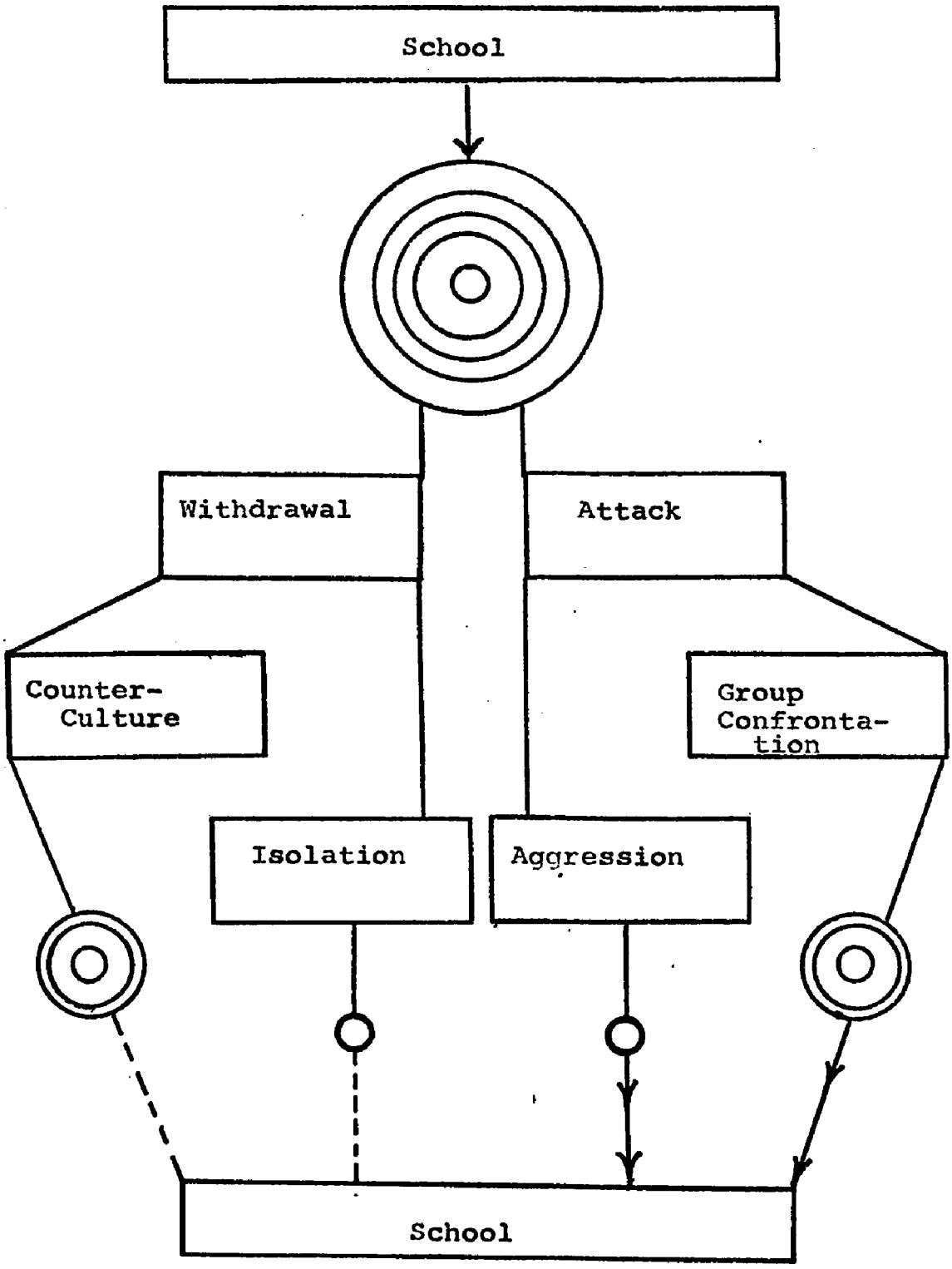
The authoritarian position

One alternative which cannot be overlooked is the possibility of increasing adult authority in the school, involving, in effect, an attempt to force students to accept a more passive, or "taking," style of interaction with the environment. The course which such an action might take is shown in Figure 3.

Given the antipathy of activists to being controlled by forces outside themselves, it seems unlikely that they would be able to accept a passive role. If the possibility of creative interaction has been eliminated, the individual

FIGURE 3

Results of Authoritarian Position by the School



is forced to adjust his life style, admitting that his perception of a rewarding reality was faulty. The only two alternatives open to him would be attack or withdrawal.

It can be seen in Figure 3 that either alternative, withdrawal or attack, leads to a lessening of social interest, for in neither case does the individual maintain a feeling of belonging in the school milieu. The individual would be forced into either an alienated or an aggressive mode of interaction with the environment, either of which could have a negative impact upon the school. In the case of the aggressive mode, the school would be subjected to a destructive influence. In the choice of the alienated mode, the school would be deprived of the constructive influence which activists might have provided.

It seems likely that the process-oriented activists, who are characterized by a high degree of dominance, would be more likely to choose the mode of attack, while the goal-oriented activists, who share the traits of tender-mindedness and imaginativeness, would be more likely to tend toward withdrawal. This withdrawal could take the form of individual "dropping out" into isolation, with or without the use of drugs, or of group withdrawal into a "counter culture" which attempts to sidestep the system altogether in working toward a realization of ideals.

If the group perceives that the school has performed a repressive act in its attempt to passify the activists, it is probable that the more assertive members of the

group will be enabled to bring all of the activists into a more cohesive unit, with the result that the group as a whole will choose the mode of attack, rather than that of withdrawal. When a specific issue is developed, even those activists who are essentially goal-oriented will be more likely to become convinced that attack is the appropriate tactic. When this kind of activity develops, it is also apparent that a number of essentially non-activist students will become involved through sympathy with the activist cause. The school might then be faced with a group confrontation involving a large number of students.

This kind of process is apparently what occurred at East High School, when the firing of radical teachers was perceived by the students as a repressive act. Not only the activist students, but a number of others, were mobilized in a walk-out which was essentially an attack on the school's authority structure. To a less dramatic degree, a similar pattern was followed in the school district as a whole when students were refused the opportunity to have a teach-in program during the October 15 Moratorium Day. In this instance, activist students were able to mobilize support from hundreds of less active students, who were now willing to participate in an outside rally in defiance of the school's attendance rules. This is also what seems to have taken place in some instances of university unrest, when liberal students felt compelled to

stand side by side with more radical youth after administrative or police repression had occurred (Kelman, 1970).

The effects of administrative attempts to curb student activism through an increase in authority can be predicted on the basis of the following tentative hypotheses:

h_1. If the school takes an authoritarian position, the social interest of activist students will decrease.

h_2. Goal-oriented activists will tend to withdraw into an avoiding, or alienated, style of interaction with the environment.

h_3. Process-oriented activists will tend to adjust their life-styles in the direction of a ruling, or aggressive, style of interaction with the environment.

h_4. The activist group as a whole will choose the alternative of aggression, in the form of group confrontation.

h_5. Previously non-activist students will join the group confrontation.

If these hypotheses should, in fact, be true, it is apparent that the choice of an authoritarian or repressive action by the school is not appropriate for the purposes of maintaining students' social interest or of insuring that the activists' contribution to the school will be

constructive, rather than destructive.

Bringing activists into an unchanged system

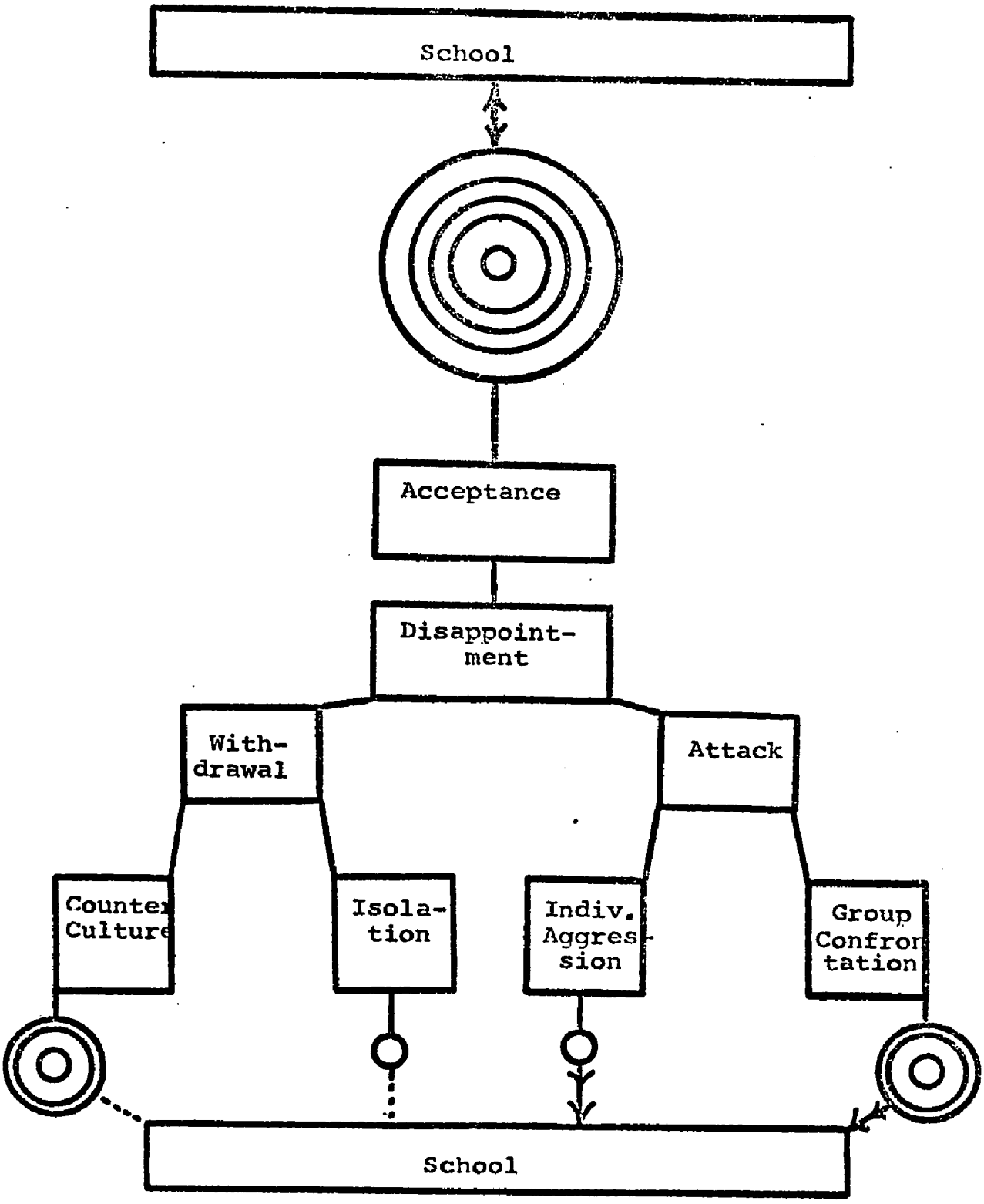
Another alternative open to the school is to attempt to bring activists into the system by opening lines of communication, allowing token representation of students on school committees, and making superficial changes in the school environment. The course which such a process might take is shown in Figure 4.

In this model, the school, while attempting to provide the semblance of an interactive style of adaptation, is not really open to basic change. Although the administration and faculty make an attempt to listen to students' concerns, and even to have a number of student representatives on policy-making committees, final decisions are in the hands of the adult members of the school population, and there are strict limitations on student power. This is, then, an attempt to maintain the status quo by allowing students a degree of participation in selected matters, thus bringing them, in effect, into the establishment.

It is probable that activist students will accept the opportunity to communicate with adults and to work cooperatively on school committees in the hope that they will be able to create a basis for bringing about change. As a temporary measure, this serves to disperse the energy of the activists as they become individually involved in various aspects of the school and are subjected to many more

FIGURE 4

Results of Attempt to Bring Activists into the System



traditional ideas in the course of their activity. Their allegiance is then transferred from the activist group and its goals to a variety of groups and ideas, with the result that the group is no longer a unified disruptive force.

This seems to be what has occurred at North High School, where Coalition members have become involved in Student Senate, in faculty-student committees, and in the planning of a number of separate programs.

While these trends appear to be healthy, it is possible that this method of dealing with student activism might, in the long run, be more dangerous than that of repression. If the school attempts to maintain the appearance of being open to change by making specific alterations in policy, but does not accompany this by more basic attitudinal changes among the staff, the result can only be disappointment among those students who believed that they were being allowed the opportunity for creative interaction.

It appears that this is just beginning to take place at North, where a number of activist students are going through a period of conflict as they realize that their expectations might have been unrealistic, and that the appearance of change in the school outweighs the real change. It can be hypothesized that upon entering this period of frustration, the activist students are likely to choose one of two alternatives: withdrawal or attack.

While it is still likely that goal-oriented activists would tend to withdraw and process-oriented students to attack, it is not probable that the more dominant students would be able to mobilize support for a political type of confrontation. Instead of being faced with an issue, which is always present in instances of repression, they would be faced with increasing ennui, as students attempted to withdraw from their conflict. A larger number of students might choose individual withdrawal, and those who choose aggressive interaction will be doing so upon a base of frustration which might tend to increase the violence of their behavior. Working within the system to bring about change would still be possible, but the activist students would now tend to leave this to a more heterogeneous group which would be newer to the activist movement and therefore less likely to have built up a fund of impatience. Considered in terms of tentative hypotheses:

h_6. If the school attempts to bring activists into the system while remaining closed to basic change, the social interest of activist students will decrease.

h_7. Goal-oriented activists will tend to withdraw into an avoiding, or alienated, style of interaction with the environment.

h_8. Process-oriented activists will tend to turn to diffuse aggression.

h_9. Activism will be turned over to a larger and more heterogeneous group.

Both the goal-oriented and the process-oriented activists will thus have decreased their social interest and entered into unfavorable relationships with the school.

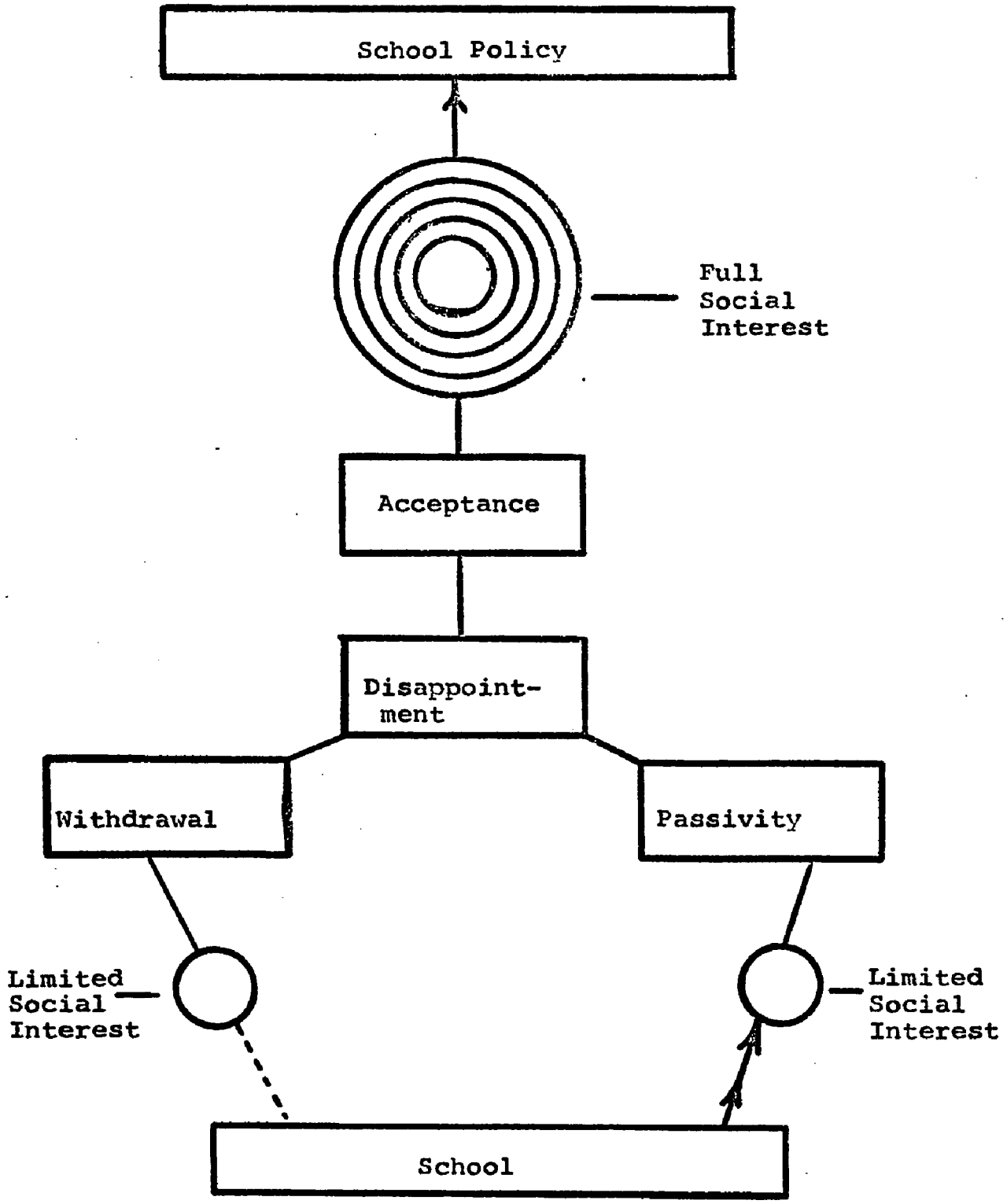
Surrender of school management to activists

Another alternative, which is often considered but seldom attempted on any great scale in the secondary school, would be for the adult faculty to leave large segments of school policy in the hands of students. According to this model, students would be allowed the opportunity to plan and implement basic curricular and administrative changes without adult interference. Certain aspects of school management would still be in the hands of adults, but these areas could be differentiated through negotiations. The administration would, in effect, have capitulated to student demands for power. A possible process which might follow such an action is shown in Figure 5.

While this method of approach opens the school to change and allows students the opportunity for creative responsibility, it serves at the same time to isolate students from the adult segment of the social environment. It also forces students into a "ruling" interaction with the environment by placing them in a position where they are affecting that environment but not being affected by it. Both of these aspects of the approach are in opposition

FIGURE 5

Result of Allowing Students full Control over Policy



to the development of social interest, since they limit the interactive potential between the individual and his society.

Although activist students desire a degree of responsibility, they also seem able to cooperate with adults, as is shown by their relationships with their parents and their success in traditional aspects of the school climate. There is no reason to believe that activists are able to administer programs on their own, or even that they want to. Particularly since the other side of the coin of high imaginativeness is low practicality, the students would probably encounter great difficulty in isolation from experienced adults.

This process might bring into being unusually drastic changes in life style, since doubt concerning expectations of environment would now be joined by doubt concerning expectations of self. Goal-oriented activists might actually withdraw into passivity after having experienced the difficulty involved in the search for methods of reaching ideals. Process-oriented activists, more dominant in personality, would probably be unable to accept a passive form of interaction, and so might withdraw into an alienated pattern.

In either instance, the school would be deprived of a source of creative leadership, and the goal of maintaining social interest would not have been met. The tentative hypotheses based upon this analysis would include:

h_{10}. If the school allows students full control over aspects of school management in isolation from adults, the social interest of activist students will decrease.

h_{11}. Goal-oriented activists will tend to withdraw into a "taking," or passive, style of interaction with the environment.

h_{12}. Process-oriented activists will tend to turn toward an "avoiding," or alienated style of interacting with the environment.

If these hypotheses should represent reality, it is apparent that neither activists nor the school would benefit by the withdrawal of adults from aspects of the school's life.

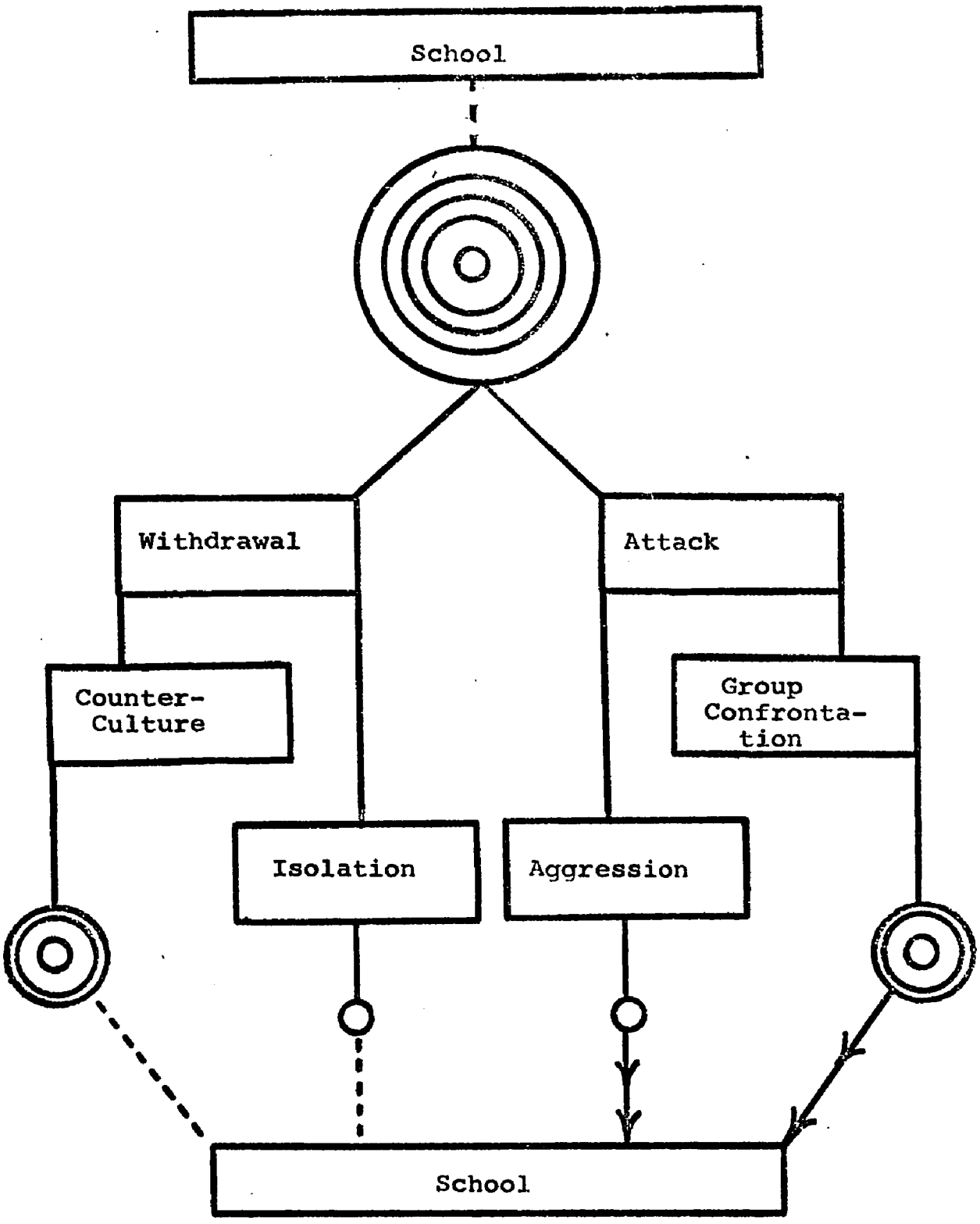
Isolation of the activists

Some administrators have considered the possibility of ignoring the problem of student activism, and, in effect, isolating the activists as a group from the mainstream of the school. Again, the activists would be faced with alternative responses, as shown in Figure 6.

When the activists are placed in isolation, they are denied the alternative of creative interaction with the school environment. Operationally, this method of approach is not unlike that of repression, since the activists are equally stymied in their attempts to reach out to the environment. When the individual's life style calls for

FIGURE 6

Result of Isolation of Activists



interaction, he is prevented from acting upon his expectations whether agents of the environment act purposefully to limit his activities or isolate him and thereby remove the environment from reach.

Since the activist is now denied the option of creative interaction, and since passivity is ordinarily his least likely action, he is faced with the choice of withdrawal or attack. While some of the goal-oriented activists might choose to withdraw, it is likely that the group as a whole will, at some point, choose to attack, if for no other reason than to make some kind of contact with the environment. The intensity of that attack might depend, to a great extent, upon the duration of the waiting period preceding it, and the subsequent backlog of frustration that has built up. It can be hypothesized that:

h_{13}. If the school attempts to ignore the activists, the activists' social interest will decrease.

h_{14}. Goal-oriented activists will tend to withdraw into an alienated style of interaction.

h_{15}. Process-oriented activists will tend to choose an aggressive style of interaction.

h_{16}. The group as a whole will choose the mode of attack in order to make contact with the environment.

Again, the social interest of the activist group will have decreased, and the patterns of alienation or aggression

will have replaced that of creative interaction.

The institutional life style

Attempts to deal with student activism through authoritarianism, through the making of superficial changes, through surrender of control to students, or through ignoring the problem were all hypothesized to lead to a lessening of social interest and an elimination of the creative style of interaction. This appears to be true primarily because a creative approach to the environment assumes that environment to be amenable to change, and calls for a two-way pattern of interaction. The usual methods of dealing with activism are therefore limited, since these methods themselves do not involve the use of the open, creative style. Authoritarianism or repression can be categorized as the "ruling" style. The attempt to bring students into the establishment without the intention to change can also be termed a "ruling" technique, since it involves an effort at manipulation. The tactic of withdrawing from aspects of school management in order to allow students to take them over involves a "taking," or passive style, while that of ignoring the question of activism implies that the school has taken an "avoiding," or alienated path.

If an institution can be thought of as having a life style, then it must be assumed that the only way to insure the maintenance of creativity and social interest among

students is to evolve an institutional style of meeting problems which can also be characterized as creative. The form that interaction between the individual and the institution might take is shown in Figure 7.

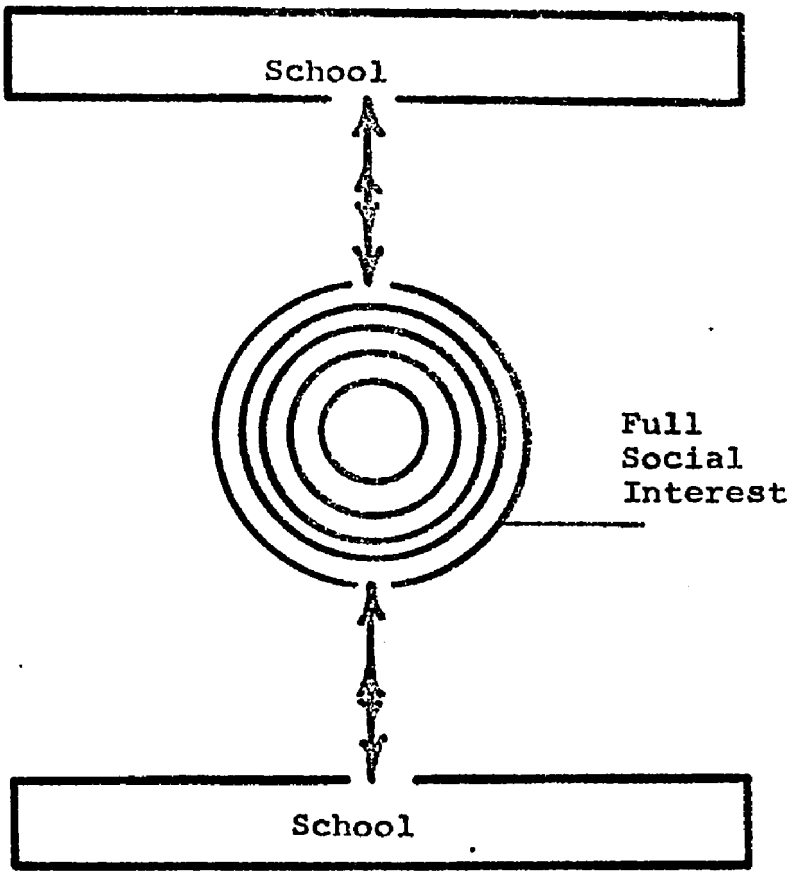
It can be seen that, in Figure 7, both the individual and the school are shown as open. Interaction between them goes in both directions, implying that the individual and the school are able to affect each other. The individual is enabled to maintain a feeling of belonging in the institution, and is therefore able to maintain a high degree of social interest. It can be hypothesized that:

h_{17}. If the school develops a creative life style, activists' social interest will be maintained.

If the individual with a creative life style is seen as one who attempts to master the environment in the pursuit of an ideal community, the creative institution must also be seen as one which is in a constant state of searching for ways to come closer to the ideal of perfection. It then becomes important that the school not place limitations on creativity. New ideas, regardless of their source, would have to be considered, and every individual who is part of the institution would have to be seen as a potential contributor to the scholastic drive toward perfection. Although this change in life style would entail, in most public schools, basic changes in attitude

FIGURE 7

Creative Interaction between **Individual** and Institution



and expectation, a beginning could be made by instituting the following specific practices:

1. Place the burden of proof on the status quo. If a new method of dealing with any problem is suggested, that method should be instituted on a trial basis unless the previously used method is shown to be superior. This would be a basic change from the usual change process, which calls for extensive study of a new idea before it is instituted. Under this approach, present methods would be evaluated even more stringently than potential methods.

2. Decrease the distance between adults and students, by:
   a. Gradually eliminating the system of rigid evaluation of students' work
   b. Providing in-service training for teachers in the techniques of joint planning and group problem-solving
   c. Bringing teachers and students into all policy-making sessions, not as representatives of their peers, but in order to allow them the opportunity to share their ideas as people
   d. Providing on-going small group sessions for exchange of ideas between teachers and students
   e. Eliminating the faculty meeting in favor of the issue-oriented open forum

Although there may be a number of ways in which the distance between faculty and students may be bridged, it is important that a beginning be made. Only in this way can

the school be assured that the creative potential of each member of the institution can have the opportunity to develop.

3. Encourage the free flow of ideas which might assist the school in its striving toward perfection, by:
   a. Instituting an "ombuds-committee" with a rotating membership, with the power to hear comments concerning perceived shortcomings in the school, refer to appropriate sources if needed, and report back to the originator.
   b. Providing lounge area, open to all members of the institution, expressly for the purpose of free time discussion.
   c. Promoting the "free school" concept, which would allow groups of individuals to create credit or non-credit courses in subject areas of interest to a large or small number of people.
   d. Providing released time for institutes and open workshops devoted to the selection and solution of school problems.
   e. Providing a system through which individuals or groups of individuals can reach large or small segments of the school population for special events such as lectures or films.
   f. Eliminating all censorship of speech or press.

4. Allow the privacy needed for individual contemplation by:
   a. Allowing free, unsupervised time for both teachers and students.
   b. Providing unsupervised study areas for individuals and small groups.
   c. Providing individual office space for each teacher.
5. Increase the interaction between school and community, by:
   a. Opening the doors to free access by members of the community.
   b. Allowing unlimited opportunity for teachers and students to explore the community.
   c. Allowing released time for students to work as volunteers in community projects.
6. Recognize that, even when the school attains perfection, someone will still object.

There are, undoubtedly, a number of more innovative methods to be followed as the school strives toward the perfect community. The purpose here, however, is merely to lay the groundwork for those changes which serve as prerequisites for the beginnings of a creative institutional life style. The ultimate test of the activists' potential contribution for good or evil must lie in the provision of free access to an open environment, where what was seen as their creative life style is matched by the expectations of the institution.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purposes of this study were to describe a specific group of suburban high school activists, to determine what variables tended to discriminate between them and a group of their non-activist peers, and to examine aspects of the individual differences to be found among students within the groups. These findings were used as the basis for a reconceptualization of the nature and role of the student activist.

The thirty-nine student activists studied belonged to the Student Coalition, a local organization whose policies include increase in student power, involvement in school policy-making, publication of a dissenting newspaper, and participation in broader movements toward peace and social change. This group was compared with a sample of thirty-nine non-activist students attending the same high school and stratified only according to sex and grade level.

The groups were studied in terms of a number of variables, including academic factors, as measured by the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability, the Stanford Achievement Test, cumulative grade-point-average, and number of honors courses completed; family background, including family size, birth order, and parental

occupations; self-reported plans and interests, involving extra-curricular activities and future educational and vocational plans; teachers' perceptions of students, as measured by ratings given at the close of the previous semester; and personality variables, as measured by the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire.

In order to determine the degree to which the means of the groups as a whole differed with regard to continuous data variables, use was made of Computer Program BMDX70, which computed T-statistics to test the equality of the group means for scores on the Stanford Achievement Test, the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability, and the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire. This method of analysis was also used to test the differences between activist and non-activist means in terms of cumulative grade-point-average and teachers' perceptions of personality traits.

The CHITAB Computer Program was used to provide chi-square statistics for coded data, including number of honors level courses of study, involvement in extracurricular activities, and future educational and vocational plans. This method was also used to determine the degree of difference between the groups with regard to variables of family background, such as number of siblings, birth order, and parental occupations.

In order to test the power of individual variables or a group of variables to predict membership in the activist or non-activist group, a stepwise discriminant analysis

was performed, utilizing Computer Program BMD7M. The output of this program served to measure the relative importance of each variable for discriminating between groups and to demonstrate the degree to which group membership could be predicted on the basis of a combination of variables.

Since it was recognized that generalizations concerning group trends were not necessarily applicable to individual students, the Program to Analyze Individual Differences was also utilized. This program rearranged cases into subgroups, or clusters, which tended to be more homogeneous than the total groups with regard to a combination of several key variables.

Finally, a series of interviews was conducted with a sample of students from each group, in an attempt to gain general impressions concerning the feelings of the students toward themselves, their families, their school, and their society.

The results of these analyses helped to illuminate many aspects of the activist student's make-up.

Summary of the Findings

The activist group as a whole was found to be superior to the non-activist group, not only in ability, as measured by the Otis Quick-scoring Test of Mental Ability, but in most aspects of academic achievement. The activist group means are higher than those of the non-activist group on most sub-tests of the Stanford

Achievement Test, as well as in grade-point-average, and honors level courses are selected much more frequently by activists than by non-activists. Although activists express misgivings about the grading system and other aspects of the school environment, they appear to have maintained a relatively high degree of motivation.

Family background

There is little difference between the activist and non-activist groups in the frequency with which their parents are engaged in particular types of occupations. Among both groups, parental occupations are clustered around the realistic or enterprising vocational life styles, most often at the professional, technical, or managerial level. The community appears to be relatively homogeneous in socio-economic make-up.

Although the families of activists and non-activists were not seen to differ either in parental occupation or in number of siblings, interviews did serve to create the impression that relationships within the family constellations of the two groups might be somewhat different. The activist students tend to perceive their parents as liberal, as supportive of their children's activism, and as relatively broad-minded concerning generational differences. Non-activist students who perceive themselves as liberal, either politically or socially, seem to have a greater tendency to express feelings of conflict between themselves and their parents.

Self-reported interests and plans

Activist students appear to be much more involved than non-activists in all types of extra-curricular activities, with the exception of athletics, again reinforcing the notion that these students have not withdrawn from the more traditional aspects of the school environment. They appear, in general, to be activist in a broad sense of the word, desiring to participate in a variety of endeavors. They do, however, tend to be less involved than the non-activists in part-time employment, despite the fact that there seem to be no differences between the groups in economic need.

With regard to educational and vocational plans for the future, the groups are similar. In general, the students involved in the study appear to have high aspirations, with a majority planning on four-year college educations and entrance into professional, technical, or managerial fields. Use of the Holland Comprehensive Classification indicated that students in both groups, unlike their parents, show great interest in social occupations, opening the possibility that many students, regardless of degree of political activism, are interested in having some kind of impact upon society.

Teachers' perceptions of students

It had been believed that teachers might have more extreme reactions to activists than to other students. The

analysis showed, however, that there is no great difference between groups with regard to teachers' perceptions of their motivation, industry, initiative, influence and leadership, concern for others, responsibility, or integrity. The activist group does tend to have received slightly more positive scores on most of the variables measured, but this could be due to chance or to the fact that they tend to be more successful academically.

Personality factors

On the basis of the data analyzed, it appears that activists as a group tend to be more dominant, more tender-minded, more imaginative, and more radical than the non-activist group. The activist students are also characterized by lower superego strength and by a tendency to be artless, rather than shrewd. Less extreme tendencies to be reserved, rather than outgoing, and trusting, rather than suspicious, were also noted. Through a weighting of scores obtained on several factors measured by the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire, an overall score for creativity was derived, with the activists found to have much greater commonalities with the creative personality than did the non-activists.

Predictive power of the variables

The variables which serve as best predictors of group membership include the personality factors of dominance,

tender-mindedness, and imaginativeness, as well as the factor of achievement in arithmetic applications. When combined with two other achievement variables, science and arithmetic concepts, this set of variables is able to predict group membership accurately for all but four of the non-activists and two of the activists.

Individual differences within the groups

Cluster analysis performed around the five variables having the highest T-values resulted in the creation of several large clusters, each of which was dominated either by activists or non-activists, thus supporting the notion that individual activists tend to have personality profiles resembling those for the group as a whole. It was found, however, that a cluster including thirteen primarily male activists scored close to the intergroup mean on the variable of radicalism, although obtaining high scores in dominance and tender-mindedness. Two other groups, primarily composed of females, are characterized by low dominance and high tender-mindedness, with the group dominated by activists tending toward radicalism and artlessness, and the group dominated by non-activists tending toward conservatism and shrewdness. These results open the possibility that some activists, particularly males, might be attracted to activism more as a function of their personalities than of their ideas, while a group of females might be differentiated from a group of non-activist females more by their beliefs than by their dominant personalities.

A second cluster analysis, based upon the five variables found to be most predictive of group membership, indicated similar trends. A group of male activists, although dominant, was found to have a tendency toward tough-mindedness. Two clusters dominated by female activists were characterized by high tender-mindedness and imaginativeness, and differed only in degree of dominance. It thus appears that, although many activist students are both dominant and tender-minded, there is a sub-group which tends more toward dominance, and another which has more notable tendencies in the direction of tender-mindedness and imaginativeness.

Analysis of individual differences on the basis of variables not found to discriminate well between the groups indicated that, while several clusters comprising both activists and non-activists show a high degree of group adherence, these same students show notable tendencies toward venturesomeness. A study of the personality profiles of the individuals involved indicated that they are also dominant and imaginative. This is of particular interest, since it had been believed that a sub-group of group-dependent followers might exist within the activist organization.

Closer study of the activist students showing a tendency toward low academic achievement indicated that most of these students have personality profiles and educational-vocational plans which coincide with the trends noted for the group as a whole. A group of high-achieving non-activists was seen to be similar to the activist group

in radicalism and dominance, with differences between their scores and the mean scores for activists being noted primarily in the areas of tender-mindedness, super-ego strength, and imaginativeness.

Activist students who did not obtain very high scores on the creativity scale of the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire were seen to have great tendencies to be outgoing, thus supporting the notion that they might be attracted to activism primarily through their desire for involvement. Non-activist students who did obtain high scores in creativity were seen to tend toward the reserved end of the spectrum, indicating that they might use their creativity in more individualized pursuits.

This analysis of individual differences indicated that students might be attracted to activism for different reasons, with some particularly interested in the goals of socio-political activity and others in the process itself. It seems, however, that the group might be greater than the sum of its parts, developing a life style which balances interest in process and concern for goals.

Utilization of the Findings

Analysis of the data led to the tentative conclusion that the activist group as a whole is characterized by a life style calling for creative interaction with the environment and distinguished by a high degree of social interest. Under the assumption that it is in the best interests of the school as an institution to maintain a

high degree of social interest among its students, it was hypothesized that attempts to control student activism through authoritarianism, through bringing the activists into an essentially unchanged establishment, through allowing free rein to the students, or through isolating the activist group would be unsuccessful, leading to a decrease in social interest and to interactive styles of passivity, alienation, or aggression. It was hypothesized that the social interest of students would be maintained if the school attempted to develop an institutional life style characterized by creativity, making a beginning in this direction by placing the burden of proof on the status quo and taking steps to encourage the free flow of ideas from both students and faculty members.

Recommendations

Many avenues of further research are suggested by this study, particularly in terms of the impressions derived through interviews or through analysis of individual differences.

At the outset of this study, for instance, it was believed that the factor of gender was not an appropriate means for categorization of human beings in a study of this nature. It does appear, however, that there might be rather basic personality differences based on sex role differentiations. It might be useful to consider research done solely within an activist group, with male and female members considered as separate sub-groups

and compared in terms of a number of variables. This type of analysis might be of assistance in providing information concerning the influence of each sex in affecting the total group means with regard to a number of factors.

A similar study might be in order with regard to high or low achieving student activists. Although activism tends to have its greatest attraction among academically adept students, there is a nucleus of lower-achieving students in the movement as well. Activism also appears to have great attraction among students with creative personalities, and a study of those with high or low creativity scale scores might open doors to new understandings of the activist group as a whole.

Another possible method for within-group analysis of student activism might involve categorizing the students by personality type and then attempting to differentiate between the subsequent sub-groups by analyzing a new set of variables. It was hypothesized here, for instance, that some students might be attracted to activism through concern for its goals, while others might be more process-oriented. A differentiation and comparison of these sub-groups, while complex in nature, might tend to throw more light on the variety of motives which make activism attractive to individuals.

There are also numerous unexplored variables which might help to distinguish between activist and non-activist

One set of such variables, which was not adequately studied here, involves the family background of activist and non-activist students. The groups studied here were not seen to differ in terms of the aspects of family background which were formally measured. Interviews did indicate, however, that there might be more subtle differences in family background which should be examined in a future study.

One such aspect involves the political sentiments of activists' parents, who seemed to tend toward liberality, if not radicalism, in their political beliefs. Activist students interviewed also tended to give the impression that their parents are less authoritarian than non-activists' parents, tending to encourage their children to act upon their own values. It is possible that the psycho-social atmosphere of the home might have a great deal to do with creating the existence of personality characteristics which make a student activist-prone, or with differentiating between activist-prone students who do or do not develop an interest in political activity. One possibility for further study might involve the holding of more structured interviews with students concerning their perceptions of their relationships with their parents and analyzing the responses through quantitative measures. Another potential project might involve testing the personality structures of the parents of activist and non-activist students in order to determine whether there are key variables of personality

which tend to distinguish between the parents of activists and non-activists, as well as between the student groups themselves.

It is still believed that, in addition to differing in terms of personality and child-raising beliefs, the parents of activists as a whole might differ from the parents of non-activists in terms of socio-economic status. This study was limited to a particular type of community, in the hope that characteristics of a specific brand of student activists might be ascertained. A researcher might, however, obtain meaningful results by conducting a similar study in a more heterogeneous community, attempting both to learn the degree to which socio-economic status is linked to activism, and to correlate socio-economic status with other variables of personality and academic ability within the activist group.

This study also recognized that the white, suburban high school activist movement is, in effect, a different movement from that now seen among black, urban students. A separate study, perhaps on the order of the one reported here, should be conducted in an urban school in order to note trends which appear to characterize the students involved. Subsequent studies might attempt to compare the findings concerning activism in urban and suburban environments. Such studies might tend to highlight, not only the differences between the two activist movements, but the implications involved for urban and suburban secondary school environments.

It is in the secondary school environment itself that the findings reported here take on meaning. This study has presented tentative hypotheses concerning the possible results of various methods of dealing with the student activist group. Although many of them can be tested by researchers who could analyze the attitudinal changes which have occurred on the basis of events involving the student movement, real responsibility is left to those in the secondary schools, who can attempt to deal creatively with the issue and then measure the results in terms of their own goals for the students and the institution.

Implications of the Study

The results of this study could have considerable relevance to the relationship between student activists and the secondary school. The activists studied here appear to be neither aggressive powers bent on destroying the school nor tender flower children immersed in their own sensitivity, neither blind followers of the college rebelliousness they see around them nor pied pipers who can mobilize the entire school into an army of revolutionaries. Instead, they appear to be a group of students who have achieved success in the academic milieu, who appear interested in maintaining that success, and whose personality characteristics and experiences have led them to believe that they should have a role in affecting their environment in ways that they see as creative.

It appears that, although these students are not now alienated from the school or society, they might have the potential to develop alienated or aggressive life styles. Whether they maintain their social interest and their desire for creative interaction with their environment might, in large degree, depend upon the extent to which the school enters into an institutional life style which encourages creativity among all members of the scholastic community.

The implications of this study, then, depend upon the cooperative efforts of all who have a stake in the well-being of the school. Administrators will, of course, be called upon to provide the leadership needed in examining the life style of the school and educating its members to the attitudinal needs of the students and the institution. Teachers will need to examine the degree to which they can help to provide open and creative relationships between themselves and their students. Counselors will, perhaps, play a key role in the effort of the school to develop its own creativity, working with both staff and students to assist them in their attempts to maintain the kinds of relationships needed for the utilization of talent, as well as the actualization of creative potential.

APPENDIX A

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please list the school activities or clubs in which you currently participate.

2. List the out-of-school activities or clubs in which you currently participate.

3. What are your educational plans following high school graduation?

_____Attend four-year college or university

_____Attend junior college with expectation of transferring to four-year college or university

_____Attend two-year or one-year vocational or technical program

_____No further education

_____Other _____

4. What are your tentative vocational goals? (Please state your first choice of occupation.)

APPENDIX B

PERSONALITY CARDS COMPLETED BY TEACHERS

Student Name_____ Subject_____

PERSONALITY RECORD (CONFIDENTIAL)

Motivation
_____1. Highly motivated
_____2. Effectively motivated
_____3. Usually purposeful
_____4. Vacillating
_____5. Purposeless

Industry
_____1. Seeks additional work
_____2. Prepares work regularly
_____3. Needs occasional prodding
_____4. Needs constant pressure
_____5. Seldom works even under pressure

Initiative
_____1. Actively creative
_____2. Consistently self-reliant
_____3. Frequently initiates
_____4. Seldom initiates
_____5. Merely conforms

Influence and leadership
_____1. Judgment respected
_____2. Contributes in important affairs
_____3. Contributes sometimes in minor affairs
_____4. Co-operative but retiring
_____5. Negative

Concern for others
_____1. Deeply and actively concerned
_____2. Generally concerned
_____3. Somewhat socially concerned
_____4. Self-centered
_____5. Indifferent

Responsibility
_____1. Assumes much responsibility
_____2. Conscientious
_____3. Usually dependable
_____4. Somewhat dependable
_____5. Unreliable

Integrity
_____1. Consistently trustworthy
_____2. Reliable, dependable
_____3. Generally honest
_____4. Questionable at times
_____5. Not dependable

Emotional stability
_____1. Exceptionally stable
_____2. Well balanced
_____3. Usually well balanced
_____4. Excitable to hyperemotional
_____5. Unresponsive to apathetic

Signature_____

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