

AN INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECTS OF SOCIALIZATION
IN STUDENT HOUSE

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Present Situation

1. Since the industrial revolution the world of child and adult has grown farther and farther apart. The generation gap which separates youth from adult is more than a cliché; it has become a structured way of life. The working relations which once existed within the family and through apprenticeship agreements have disappeared. The day-to-day socialization of youth into adult roles has been replaced with an extended stay in school.
2. Children are compelled by law to remain in school until age 16. Jobs for youth, even after high school graduation are severely limited. Youth are encouraged by the very structure of our education pattern to remain in school until 18 or 21 years of age.
3. Since youth's labor in the wealthy nations of the world is no longer essential to national survival schools serve to focus the energy of the young. This arrangement confines their adult relations primarily to parents and teachers. Peer relations are limited also to the narrow age range prescribed by the school grade plan. Quite literally, we have invented the adolescent.¹

The experiences for maturation structured into our society are primarily cognitive. The range of experiences used in adult life include the cognitive area but go considerably beyond it.

James Coleman in Youth: Transition to Adulthood points to our over-reliance on the cognitive aspect of the socializing experience. The report admits the need for work experiences for youth and the difficulty of establishing such experiences. The Report also calls for a broad range of

working encounters with adults to countermand the limited exposure youth currently have to adults. The clear mandate of the Report is to re-examine the socializing environments of youth and stimulate the invention of new environments.²

B. Selection of Student House

The aim of this paper is to look at a particular socializing environment for junior high school age students called Student House. This particular environment was selected for two reasons: (1) it is a rigorous program of maturation experiences including hours in and out of school, and (2) specifically addresses arenas the Coleman Report calls attention to. The question to which this paper is addressed is - what are the effects of socialization in Student House?

II. RESEARCH METHOD

A. Research Approach

The research method used was an inquiry approach. Participant observation was used as well as formal and informal interviews and a questionnaire.

This method differs from traditional research in that it addresses itself to a question rather than a problem. A set of working hypotheses are developed in the field and verified through observation.³ Data collection categories, hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of research. This is different from research that has as its purpose verification of hypotheses. In traditional research, categories are selected prior to data collection and the hypotheses and concepts are derived from a pre-existing theoretical framework. The problems and hypotheses are formulated first and then tested empirically. The qualitative data on which the report of this paper is based relies on a phenomenological approach. The approach allows "the subjects to speak for themselves."⁴ It also takes into account that individuals are influenced by what they perceive to be real.

Sampling is done not according to a preset design but individuals and questions are chosen to answer research questions which arise in the process of research. For instance, preliminary interviews were conducted with both staff and students of Student House. The purpose of preliminary interviews was to determine activities most influential in introducing youth into the world of adulthood as reported by both staff and students. From this initial round of twenty interviews (fifteen student and five staff) a questionnaire was developed.

Data was collected also by additional formal and informal interviews. About 100 hours were spent in actual observation of the present population of Student House.

Literature surveying is done also as the research is being conducted. It helps the researcher identify and define his own work and findings in light of others' previous work. Most importantly, however, the researcher does not know what he will find before going into the field and avenues of study unfold as his hypotheses and concepts develop. For example, pre-field work reading done for this paper was in education and the socialization process. This reading proved useless to the purpose of this paper. After observations had proceeded for about two weeks, it was evident that materials on Kibbutzym life would be useful. Toward the middle of the work, literature on rites of passage became necessary. Finally, as implications began to be drawn, colleagues directed the researcher to Erik Erikson's Childhood and Society.

B. Data Collection

This method requires continuous collection and analysis of data from observation, interview and questionnaire. The report of this paper, however, relies most heavily on the questionnaire. The questionnaire is the report of what the graduates say happened to them. Interviews and observations helped to provide a context and perspective from which to interpret the grads' reports in the questionnaire.

Since information from the questionnaire was to be shared with the staff of the Student House for their own research purposes, more questions were included than directly related to this study. Questions from the questionnaire in Appendix A which directly relate to this study are 2a, b, c; 3a, b, c; 4; 5; 6; and 7.

STUDENTS CONTACTED BY QUESTIONNAIRE

<u>Class</u>	<u>Grade At Time Of beginning Student House</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Size of Class</u>	<u>Student Interviews Conducted</u>	<u>Questionnaires Sent</u>	<u>Questionnaires Returned</u>
I	9th	73-74	16	2	10	5
II	8th	73-74	27	3	15	2
III	7th	73-74	21	4	19	9
IV	7th	74-75	28	0	13	2
V	7th	75-76	34	3	23	11
VI	7th	76-77	31	3	21	12
VII	7th	78-79	19	0	15	6
N =			176	15	116	47
% =			100		66	41

Questionnaires were sent to all grads of the Student House whose parents are still part of the I.C.A. staff. Grads were distinguished by Classes I through VII. Grads who were in the 9th grade in 1973 attended Student House one year only. The 8th graders of 1973 attended two years. All others spent three years in Student House. The original size of each class is listed and the number of that class to whom questionnaires were sent. The total number of grads is 176. Questionnaires were sent to 116. There were responses from 47. This 47 represents 41% of the grads contacted.

Questionnaires were sent to 99 locations in the United States, four in Canada, and 13 outside the United States. The ones outside the United States included one to Japan, one to Bombay, two to Rio, two to London, two to Philippines, two to Apia and three to Sydney.

Student grads were given a deadline by which to return the questionnaire. Some were discouraged by having delayed their response past the deadline date, others discouraged by the involved participatory nature of the questionnaire. The questionnaires which were received are the basis of this report.

Pulling together data from the questionnaires involved several steps. First, each question was dealt with separately. All answers to question 2a, for example, were grouped together. Next, all no-answers or incomplete answers were set aside. No-answers were simply blank; incomplete answers were ones where students failed to designate the significance of the answer they gave. The remaining answers to a question were then grouped by like responses. A name or title for a category was then assigned to like sets of answers to a single question. The tables at the end of each section of the analysis of data were constructed from these groupings.

The writing of each section reflects observational data collected in field notes as well as formal and informal interviews.

III. BACKGROUND OF STUDENT HOUSE

A. Introduction

The population of Student House is the junior high school age youth of the staff of the Institute of Cultural Affairs. The Institute is a voluntary society of families concerned with the human factor in world development. This concern for human development is carried on in 111 locations in major urban centers and selected rural areas around the world. The rearing of children in this voluntary society demands the assignment and attention of staff. Their task is twofold. First, the staff is faced with the practical matter of freeing adults of child care responsibilities so that the maximum number of adults can be available for work in the programs of the Institute. Second, its child-rearing efforts are experimental and done in the interest of developing significant structures of maturation of children from infancy to young adulthood. This paper examines the socializing experiences of the 12 to 14 year olds.

B. The Context

The design of the program is based on age spans called "phases." Derived from the Hindu concept of the four life phases, Phase I is 0 to 19 years, Phase II is 20 to 39 years, Phase III is 40 to 59 years, and Phase IV is 60 years onward. Phase I is the youthful phase, Phase II the emerging adult, Phase III the established adult, and Phase IV the elder.

Youth programs are designed around a detailed overlay of the first phase of life. (See next page.)

PHASE I JOURNEY			
Stage	Level	Grade	Age
Early Education	Pre-School	Infant School	0 - 2 years
		Mini School	2 - 3 years
		Pre- School	3 - 5 years
Transition	Kinderschool		5 - 6 years
Primary Education	Emerging	1st - 3rd Grade	6 - 8 years
	Generation	4th - 5th Grade	9 - 10 years
Transition	6th Grade "Rite of Passage"		11 years
Middle Education	Student	7th Grade	12 years
	House	8th Grade	13 years
Transition	9th Grade "Deployment"		14 years
Secondary Education	High	10th Grade	15 years
	School	11th Grade	16 years
	Cluster	12th Grade	17 years
Transition	Post High School		18 - 20 years

The Institute language for growing up is "journey." Life is seen as a journey composed of many passages. The transitions in the chart are the passages. The passage which initiates the Student House program is called simply "the 6th grade trip." This is followed by two years intensive corporate living in a community of junior high aged students and a staff of about 10 adults. It ends with a 9th grade year in one of the Institute's locations either in the United States or abroad. This period is referred to as "9th grade deployment." During this year, students understand that they are required to apply all they have learned in Student House. The two years of intense corporate living is put to the test as students find themselves in remote parts of the world, in unfamiliar circumstances, where they are answerable for their performance as young adults.

C. The Curriculum

The curriculum of Student House is based on four areas: work, study, play and travel. Insofar as possible, each area is represented daily in the curriculum of Student House. This curriculum model suggests that these four arenas are needed for an inclusive development program for 12 to 14 year olds.

Each curriculum area has four functions:

Work

1. Establishes contained atmosphere
2. Maintains stability
3. Elicits engagement
4. Demands discipline

Study

1. Initiates intellectual creativity
2. Plans practical action
3. Focuses individual attention
4. Stabilizes interior pace

Play

1. Allows discontinuous fun
2. Strengthens physical skills
3. Exercises personal decision
4. Builds corporate consciousness

Travel

1. Instructs geosocial awareness
2. Provides new experience base
3. Reveals financial self-consciousness
4. Enables focused self-expenditure

The curriculum is an effort to maintain a balance of activities in the life of each student. All curriculum planning is done around these four areas.

D. The Time Design

Each week is divided into two segments. Monday through Thursday evening is week I and Friday morning through Sunday afternoon is week II (weekend). See next page.

WEEKLY TIME DESIGN

	WEEK I				WEEK II		
	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT	SUN
5:30 A.M.	Wake Up					<div>WEEK II ASSIGNMENTS</div> <ul style="list-style-type: none">. Student Business (Venture 21). Teaching Assistant. Special Assignment w/Adult I.C.A. Staff (Work in Printshop, Kitchen, etc. <div>Individual Time</div>	
	DAILY OFFICE						
	School Prep Breakfast - Collegium						
9:00	SCHOOL ATTENDANCE						
3:00							
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">. After School Work. Teaching Assistant in Preschooling or Primary Complex. Study Hall <p>(Students Assigned to One Area After School On Rotating Basis)</p>						
5:00							
	INDIVIDUAL TIME						
6:30							
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">. Dinner. Study. Special Activities						
9:30	Prep for Bed						
10:00	Lights Out						

The day begins with wakeup at 5:30 a.m. Calisthenics are conducted from 5:45 to 6:00 a.m. Students then attend Daily Office, a twenty-minute liturgical service. At breakfast students participate in a conversation on world news events. Breakfast is followed by a daily collegium meeting where students give their attention to planning some part of their corporate life or hear reports of the Institute's work. Collegium is followed by daily team tasks and preparation for school.

After the students are at school, staff sets to work on practical matters such as curriculum planning and problem solving. Staff have a full day of work to keep the student business, Venture 21, supplied with work material and business contracts. Some staff are also responsible for the preschooling complex and primary after school programs.

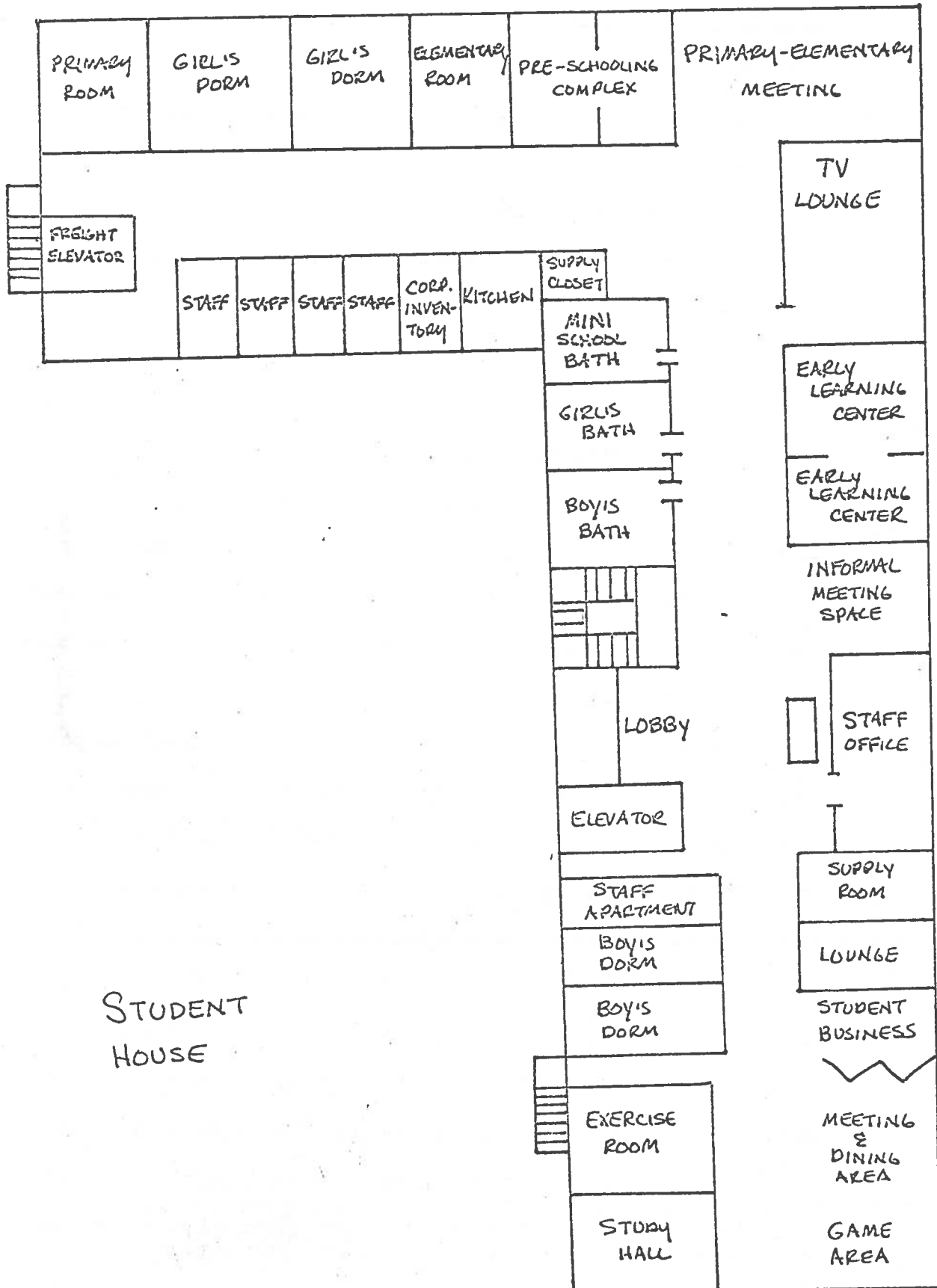
When students return at 3:00 p.m. they are assigned to work in the student business, act as teaching assistant to the younger children, or go to study hall. These assignments are managed on a rotating basis. Every student has one teaching duty, one study hall and three work slots weekly. From 5:00 to 6:30 p.m. is individual break time. Dinner and activities complete the evening. Activities include gymnastics, sewing, cooking, or music. Activities are offered on the basis of student interest and the availability of instructors.

E. The Faculty

The faculty is made up of adult staff of the Institute. Staff are trained in the imaginal education methods of the Institute. Special professional training or school teaching background is not required for Student House staff. The term of service of a staff member is two to three years. Since the program was only initiated in 1973, two families have been part of the staff for 5 years each. This was to maintain the continuity which was required to build the program.

E. The Facility

The Student House is located on the third floor of the international headquarters of the Institute of Cultural Affairs in Chicago. Students are housed in dormitories. Staff apartments are located near the dorms. Corporate space is set aside for meals, meeting and work. A study hall, two lounges, a kitchen, early learning center, reception area and staff office are also part of the Student House space. The space is arranged practically for the functions carried out at Student House.



IV. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

A. Work Performance

The work life of Student House falls into three categories: routine work, special events work, and the student business, Venture 21.

1. Routine Work

Students are assigned in teams of three to six to carry out day-to-day maintenance work of Student House. The routine work involves tasks like setting, serving and clearing meals; clearing halls and corporate spaces; and care for younger children before and after school hours. There is no janitorial staff to clean the facility. Students do this work for themselves.

The greatest number of students reported the benefits of routine work was learning teamwork. Team leaders described having to manage themselves and others to see that meals were served, halls and bathrooms cleaned. Leadership was both an honor and a difficult position. The honor was being singled out for leadership. The difficulty was living with the hostility that leadership sometimes generated. One had to constantly gauge his own and others emotional states as well as the task to be accomplished. One lived with an increased sense of responsibility; if tasks were uncompleted, staff came to team leaders for an accounting. If the leader could not mobilize the team, he finished it alone. This served as an incentive to find ways and means of getting team cooperation. Students recalled a prevailing theme of teamwork being, "You're not done until the whole task is done." This intensified not only the leader's sense of responsibility, but also team members' responsibility. Students reported knowing teamwork from a practical point of view. Teamwork

has meaning for them because it is based on their experience of repeated efforts to get a job done. Teamwork has both structure and content in their lives. Structure simply means that every student and staff member is part of a team with a necessary task to execute. The content is the life issue of how to act effectively as a unit. They know the problems of motivation, success and defeat. Teamwork is a daily reality for these students. Students affirmed teamwork as an effective way to get a large job done.

The second greatest number of students reported that the regularity of assignment developed a sense of accountability. "The task became a required discipline whether done grudgingly or with spirit." Students reported realizing that "no one would clean up after you." There was also a proper way to do a job, they reported. One student recalled "resetting the table until it was appropriate for a dinner guest taught me there was a standard for doing things."

An unexpected outcome was that students reported past Student House experience as a basis for an initial job history. One after-school position was secured in a day care center based on work a student had done as an instructional aide in the pre-school. After-school jobs seemed easier to acquire if one had some work history to report. Being able to indicate a work history is a sizable advantage to a high-schooler looking for employment. It was also a boost to self-esteem and confidence to see that life experience counted in the adult world.

Students also identified under routine work activities like leading meetings, hosting meals, planning House-wide celebrations,

and special errands. This is shown in the table under the category "Miscellaneous Responses." Benefits students cited for these activities were ease in public speaking and development of elementary planning skills.

Some reported no importance related to work. Only one of the three students who identified no importance indicated hostility about work.

In the category "no response," five students wrote no answer at all.

TABLE 1

What events in the day-to-day work of Student House do you recall and how was it beneficial to you?

Categories of Significance	N Actual Number	% Percentage
Learning Teamwork	15	32%
Sense of Accountability	12	26%
Basis for Job Experience	7	14%
Miscellaneous Responses	5	11%
No Importance	3	6%
No Response	<u>5</u>	<u>11%</u>
	N= 47	100%

2. Special Events Work

Traditionally, Special Events work in the life of the Student House as defined in the questionnaire included serving for the Guardians Meeting, a twice-yearly gathering of Institute Patrons and Consultants, and hosting special guests in the Student House.

The students recalled a wider variety of special events in which they participated, including not only hosting guests and serving meals but also activities they planned like celebrations, musical performances, work projects and practical "apprenticeship activities." The responses redefine the category of "special event" much more broadly than indicated in the questionnaire.

The most frequently mentioned significance of these special events was the experience of being "on show." Students reported learning "how to use finesse" as a part of putting on a musical performance. Being a waiter or waitress at the Guardians meeting required "playing different roles." They expressed that these events "taught us to relate to all different types of people." Knowing that "every eye was on us" gave a stage for putting on appropriate roles and assuming responsibility even in mundane tasks like "setting tables and serving graciously and efficiently." One student said of waiting tables at the Guardians meeting, "I wanted to do a good job." Being "on show" also provided a sense of affirmation. One 18-year-old reported, "we could actually do something pleasing to adults." The fact that their work was vital to a successful weekend meeting, was deeply appreciated and always praiseworthy, gave a sense of maturity and responsibility as well as a new "self-esteem." "It was an honor to be picked to serve the Guardians," said a 16-year-old.

Students are eager for roles which allow them to be accepted in the adult world while they maintain their youth status.

These sort of jobs made you a respectable part of what was going on. Practically, you learned how to serve people and take care of their needs. (age 16)

Students pointed out some additional benefits of being "on show" for adults besides the Guardians Meeting. Students sometimes put together special performances for adults.

These skits helped to bring the youth and adults closer together, partly through laughter and, I think, let them know that we weren't kids. (age 18)

The second arena of significance mentioned was the pride of real accomplishment. Students reported learning how to plan a complex and detailed task, how to organize, coordinate and prepare for the job which must be done with excellence. They also discovered the hidden complexity of preparing and serving a meal for 300 people.

I used to be pretty noisy in the Student House, but I worked at the Guardians Meeting and I learned to be quiet and coordinated. (age 14)

The impact of these experiences is indicated in responses which characterized them as "hard work, but still fun."

The special events I would consider a large category. Once 10 of us locked ourselves all day in the office and worked 24 hours constructing a Student Manual which we presented to the adults. These kinds of fantastic special events are the ones that stay with me always as fond memories of the days back in the Student House. They were very significant. I'm not sure that I could say why. I suppose that they are things which give a youth vitality, or an adventurous quality. You acquire a creative imagination with a zest to move ahead into discovery and inventions. This sounds very fairy-tale-ish but dreaming helps move a person forward. (age 18)

Students learned that active participation is an exercise in initiative and responsibility.

Finally, some students reported the value of special events as being a break in the routine of daily life. Even tedious work was reported as exciting because of its association with a significant event. These events "used up student energy in a helpful way."

One student reported the special events work of no importance. Of the students giving no answers or no recall, five listed special events but did not identify any significance. This may be accounted for in part by failure to grasp the two-part nature of the question.

These special events go beyond teaching the values of self-discipline and duty. They provide students with the opportunity to make their own investment in service. Students understand service as an activity as well as a theory. Service is actively practiced by the students during these transition years to adulthood.

Table 2

What special events did you work on and how were they significant to you?

Categories of Significance	N	%
Being "on show"	24	51%
Pride of Accomplishment	12	26%
Break in Routine	4	8%
No Importance	1	2%
No Answer or Recall	<u>6</u>	<u>13%</u>
	N= 47	100%

3. Student Business, Venture 21

The Student House maintains a student business called Venture 21. It arranges for jobs which can best be done by teams of energetic young people. The jobs are of two types, clean-up and delivery. The clean-up work is cleaning large facilities after activities such as a movie or circus or dog show. The major delivery job is distributing advertising circulars door-to-door. These jobs are done in small team units of two to five students. The jobs are large and require sustained effort to complete.

Students ranked equally important learning the responsibilities and consequences of a job with the power of teamwork and persistence.

Students identified three aspects of responsibility and consequences of holding a job. They identified learning commitments of holding a job, seeing tangible benefits of their labor, and developing empathy for people in menial positions.

A significant part of early work experience is learning the expectations of holding a job. Beyond this, some students learned about more complex aspects of working relationships.

I worked on a crew that used to clean up after concerts, shows, etc... This was important in learning to deal with responsibilities and consequences of holding a paid job -- in terms of time and obligation. Furthermore, I began to learn about ways in which motivation and collegiality can interrelate with the experience of working with people. (age 20)

Doing a job was more than simply getting something finished. A job for which one was paid required some standards. In the case of advertising delivery work, students run in teams around city blocks to cover their assigned territory. Students time their running and try to improve it. The sooner teams deliver their

materials, the sooner they all go home. Accuracy in landing material on the porch of a home is necessary. Talk in the van between runs was often of how to streamline operations for faster delivery. One student said of a delivery job:

The importance was that we did the job right. It gave us responsibility so whenever something went wrong it was up to us to improve it and correct it.
(age 14)

Consequences of work were also identified in terms of benefits. Payment for work was made in the form of contributions to the Student House and not wages. Funds received for work were held commonly. Money for the work went to the development of the Student House rather than to individual workers. One student described the delivery job and its benefits:

Even though I hated the job at first, we actually tangibly saw "the fruits of our labor." Conditions improved, celebrations were better, and we got dorms built. That was work incentive. It wasn't like the money was paying for gas bills and you never saw a cent. (age 16)

Another student saw both the collective and individual benefits of the business.

It let you know you were earning your own pay. All those extra celebrations, movies, the microwave oven came out of that money. It was also money that paid for my trip to Africa last year. (age 15)

Still others felt that while the work experience was valuable, not receiving individual pay detracted from the full value of the experience.

I was one of the first 10 or so people to get a job. This was a big boost in the Student House because we felt more independent. It made me feel like a responsible person, but giving up all my money made me feel somewhat insignificant. I questioned whether I should work only to get no financial reward at all.
(age 20)

In an effort to protect youth from exploitation in the adult world of work, jobs for students are limited. Jobs for youth under 16 must be nonhazardous. Children may be employed as performers or to deliver newspapers, but there are few options in between. Jobs which can be done by a large number of young students are usually menial. Students reported being influenced by type job.

Many jobs which people take to make a living are dirty work and not very satisfying. Yet the fact that they were the only jobs we could do to get money grounded the fact that these jobs are sustenance, even if degrading. (age 18)

A second area of importance mentioned by students was learning the power of teamwork and persistence. Teamwork was essential in tasks like cleaning a theater or ballroom. Students worked in teams assigned to a specific area. Each small unit is an integral part of an overall scheme to complete a task. Each student is aware of the whole plan and what his or her job is within it. He is also aware that if he finishes before others are done he is expected to help others finish. If, on the other hand, he is delayed in completing his work, others will assist him. Though it means more work in the long run, students generally prefer to finish early than to be helped by another team. Students recalled that completing all the work events required endurance. One student who cleaned up after a nurses convention said:

You needed coordination between yourself and five other people and you had to stick to it until the job was done. (age 14)

Another aspect of endurance was increased physical stamina. This was a result of delivering advertising three days a week and once on the weekend. Work had its amusing aspects as well:

The Dog Show was a blast. It was a twice a year job which made it special. It gave you an idea of what it meant to work in a very lowly situation, but at the same time we saw a funny side to things. Sometimes between clean-up we compared dogs and owners.
(age 16)

A third perceived significance of the student business was that it provided a basis for a job history.

I worked at United Press International recording sports scores from Illinois high schools. This job (UPI) has led up to my present employment in the university sports office. (age 18)

Students also develop some first-hand knowledge with the language and operations of the business world.

I enjoyed our advertising business and learned a little about marketing. (age 15)

Some students recalled the importance of the business being that it added variety to the Student House program. They recalled getting up at odd hours of the night for cleaning jobs. "Leaving for work when the adults in the building were going to bed was adventurous."

Table 3

What was the importance of "for pay" jobs for you?

Categories of Significance	N	%
Responsibilities and Consequences of a Job	16	34%
Power of Teamwork and Persistence	16	34%
Basis of Job Experience	5	11%
Variety to Student House Program	3	6%
No Importance	3	6%
No Response	4	9%
	N = 47	100%

B. Social Relationships

Students in the Student House experienced the realignment of several social relationships. Students take up residence in Student House at age 12. Their parents may live in the same building, in another North American city, or on another continent. The Student House staff assumes the day-to-day responsibility for the program of the youth. Students live an intensely corporate life. They go to school together, work together after school, live together in dormitories and have meals as a total group morning and evening. Their schedule includes a variety of work experiences with adults and younger children in the building where their program is located. Their move into Student House realigns relations with parents, peers, teachers and introduces significant other adult relations in their lives.

1. Student Relations with Staff

Students identified two types of roles played by staff. They were an authoritarian-disciplinarian role or disciplinarian-protector role.

Of the 47% responding that staff played an authoritarian-disciplinarian role, they recalled the situation of youth at the time Student House was initiated. The 7th, 8th and 9th graders who made up the first three classes of the Student House came from widely differing living situations. Some had been living for one or two years with guardian families in religious houses (combined office and residence of Institute families). They had a great deal of freedom and independence. For 7th graders, Student House experience was the first time to live away from parents. Some 64 students were

brought together to begin the new youth program. The traditional rebelliousness of this age group combined with resentment of having life plans to be "on ones own" interrupted abruptly were influential factors students linked to the opening of Student House.

I think both staff and students are responsible for the rebelliousness. The staff from the start had taken students who had been living in houses for two years, doing pretty much what they damned well pleased. At that time, there was no model on how to engage youth in the life of the Order. These students were put together with a strict discipline laid down. Your whole life was laid out by day, month and year. It wasn't quite as dramatic as that. The first night we were all getting ready for bed (of course a group like this is bound to be excited and antsy to be living in dorms), a pillow fight began. We began racing from one bunk to another. Staff had announced, "lights out and in bed." Of course we didn't listen to this. The staff intervened. It lead to "if you do this - this will happen." Our rebellion got stronger. I admit, we didn't know much about how to deal with adults. (age 18)

The authoritarian-disciplinarian role is particularly self-reinforcing, as one student describes.

They (the staff) were sort of enemy because that is the way I had been taught to relate to them by the other students. (age 16)

Rebelliousness, however was not the sole tactic with which students negotiated the formation of their program. Perhaps it was the most dramatic and memorable, but they recalled other ways. One student said in an interview:

Some of us didn't want to study New Castle by Malachi Martin. We knew better than to say that to the staff, so we got on the softball team at school. We had to stay late at school so we missed the study. (age 18)

The authoritarian-disciplinarian relation was supported by the introduction of swatting as a disciplinary practice. Relations between staff and students were abrasive, one student said. Another student described the relationship this way.

It was hard to realize that the role of the staff wasn't to "hassle you." They were the ones who were supposed to make sure that things came off. Their insistence is understandable now. We used to play "games" with them, really trying to be malicious. I think the first year was the hardest because nobody really understood the purpose of Student House. I think we knew down inside that they were concerned for us, but back then it was a status thing to rebel. (age 18)

Students and staff alike point to a shift in staff student relations after the first three years of the program. They account for the change in three ways. First, the number of students was dramatically reduced by half. Second, while the ninth grade program remained part of Student House program they were deployed to other locations than Chicago for the ninth grade year. Third, the program had become more suited to the needs and interests of junior high aged students. The tough negotiation of the early days seemed to have paid off for staff and student alike. The payoff came in terms of what one staff member called "reciprocal seriousness." There was little lessening of the disciplinary stand on the part of the staff.

These students see themselves as colleagues in a mission. This age group is very serious. We (staff) laugh at our own concerns. We never burden the students with them. We also don't take their concerns too seriously. We find that liberals don't last too long in staff positions. (former director)

Students shared the perception of "reciprocal seriousness."

Team events were meaningful not only for us but for the staff as well. We became more of a team when we worked together. It was important to remember that you were responsible for staff as well as to them. (age 14)

Another student expressed pleasant surprise at the productive output of the staff.

They really helped a great deal at the circus and dog show -- much more than I had expected. (age 14)

The sense of partnership necessarily had limits. Adults are in charge of Student House.

The staff enforced the structures and tried to journey every student individually...each staff played a certain role. Some played the role of mother, concerned about the state of the bath-rooms, your clothes and your sheets. Others were the inescapable wrath of God. You knew if you missed an assignment or didn't sweep up your trash pile, the next knock (on the door) would be staff there checking up on you. (age 16)

Students who perceived the staff in a disciplinarian-protector role were sensitive to role differentiation. The women on the staff were "the ones you could go and talk to." They were concerned about students' clothes, school supplies, and the cleanliness of the facility. The role of disciplinarian usually fell to the male staff members.

Table 4

Role	N	%
Authoritarian Role	23	49%
Disciplinarian-Protector Role	22	47
No Response	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	N = 47	100%

2. Students Relations with Parents

Students generally tended to define the role their parents played by contrasting them to the Student House staff. There were two ways in which the parental role was defined. First, parents were seen as advisors in the struggle students had with the staff and structures of Student House. Second, parents were seen as providing family identity and maintaining individual concerns not provided by the staff.

Students who saw their parents as advisors believed they had a strong relation with parents. Parents helped them work through their relations to the staff and structures of Student House.

Fortunately my parents lived in the same building I did. I saw them maybe three times a week. This strengthened my relation with them. My parents provided me with the incentive to keep going when I felt I was being treated unfairly. (age 18)

A number of other students experienced family as both advisor and intercessor.

My mother traveled a lot, but she talked things out with me when I was angry. When the staff didn't listen to me my mother talked to them. It was good then but now I probably need the experience with talking to adults. (age 15)

Generally students felt their parents were concerned to help them through their growing up period.

My parents were very supportive! They were located in Chicago. They were supportive when they felt I needed it. At other times, they forced me to deal with situations on my own. This helped greatly in forcing me to learn to live in the situation I'd been given. In 8th grade, I had made the decision to be independent. That didn't mean only in places I like or enjoy. They helped me by allowing me to deal with struggles with their support. (age 20)

Parents provided a conscious link with the family itself. Many parents made conscious efforts to maintain the family as a unit.

My parents were overseas for the part of 7th grade when I was in Student House and all of the 8th grade. I have always been close to my parents. We wrote letters back and forth, not a whole lot, but enough and then they made sure our relatives took good care of my brother and sister and me over holidays. They were concerned about our function as a whole family and so, for instance, when my brother graduated from high school and my parents couldn't be there for it, they sent money for my sister and I to go because they felt it was a family occasion that was worth it. (age 16)

Parents also seemed to offer encouragement, affection and concern not offered by the staff.

It was important for me to have my parents provide the love that the staff did not. They were also the people who pushed me with piano, art, and Girl Scouts. The staff were not concerned with such things. (age 18)

Because parents did not have the major responsibility for the day-to-day growing up tasks they could act in an advisory capacity.

We were very close. They were open and loving while I was going through much difficulty in Student House, including a tremendous hostility towards the staff. They were never condescending as the staff appeared to be but open to discussion and loving regardless. (age 20)

Students also commented on the development that Student House provided because students were separated from parents.

My parents were in Phoenix for most of my Student House years. Since I always have been very close to them, they were a great help, especially when I had a problem. Especially in 7th grade, I called them about once a week on the WATS. But one of the best things about Student House was that it let me grow away from them. We get along now better than ever because of it. (age 15)

Students believe that long distances and time separations forced parents into a new relationship with children as well as forcing their own maturation.

During my Junior High School years my parents were located in Malaysia and Cincinnati, Ohio. I kept in touch with my parents through letters and telephone calls. When they were in Malaysia, I didn't see them but when they were located in Cincinnati, I went there for Christmas, spring vacation, etc. My parents also came to my 8th grade graduation. These events helped me toward having my parents relate to me more like a young lady instead of their little girl. (age 14)

An important sub-theme which emerged was that alternate patterns of parenting developed through peers and other adults. Some students reported that they took most of their problems to peers since they understood concerns first hand. A second group of students mentioned the importance of a guardian. (The term guardian used in this context is an adult or a family who was asked to oversee a student whose parents were not located in the building where students were. It is an informal, non-legal arrangement made between families.) Both peer and guardian relationships provided rich sources of parenting beyond the family context.

Table 5

Describe the role your parents played during your junior high years.

Role	N	%
Advisor	27	58%
Family Identity and Concern	17	36%
No role Identified	<u>3</u>	<u>6%</u>
	N= 47	100%

3. Students Relations with School Teachers

The school is a major socializing institution for the 12-14 age group. Most students also participate in other activities, formal and informal, which round out the process of socialization. For the students of Student House, however, the Student House becomes the primary and contextualizing vehicle for socialization, within which the school plays a necessary role but one related to a number of other significant structures.

Some 44% of the students identified their teachers role as supportive and sympathetic. They believed their teachers were especially sensitive to their concerns and were sympathetic regarding Student House matters troubling to students. Another 28% perceived that their teachers had a limited influence. Students in this category reported experiencing no special push from Student House for academic achievement. There were 17% who reported teachers as influencial and challenging. They recalled that grades were important to them regardless of perceived peer or staff attitudes. There were 11% who made no response at all.

A theme which emerged both in interviews and in over half the questionnaires was the students and staff report that students were identified by teachers as "the Institute kids." The students believe their teachers saw them as better behaved, brighter, needing greater challenges, easy to relate to, and interesting. At the same time, they believed teachers expected higher academic standards, took extra time with them, and were interested in the unique life-style of the students and their parents.

It was funny how the teachers knew you were a Student House student. They always said we were brighter than the others. We were also more restless. Sometimes they played the role of "counselor." (age 18)

"The Institute kids" were both a gift and a problem for the teachers. The Student House staff reported students challenged teachers' authority not so much from a behavioral standpoint as from a teaching standpoint. A former director said:

Our kids have to have a context for why they do things. If they don't get one they ask. We (the staff) got calls once in a while from teachers. We would go over and explain that the kids don't mean to be disrespectful but they are accustomed to having explanations and reasons for doing things.

None of this appears to have diminished the possibility of the student having strong and significant relationships with the school and teachers, nor their active participation in the life of the school. Students reported being pushed to increase language skills and not being allowed to "coast" or simply "get by." Several students described certain teachers as "friends" and reported continuing relationships to the present. Other supportive relationships included informal counseling, encouragement, and understanding.

I had really good relationships with my teachers. I would say most of us did because most of them liked the kids in Student House. We were almost all higher academically than the other kids in school and were more interesting to them because of our lifestyle and because most of us had lived other places in the world. We were just broader minded and they found that easy to relate to. (age 16)

A few students reported sympathy for particular teachers who were faced with the task of discipline and education in an unruly and sometimes explosive inner-city classroom.

Other students spoke of their teachers in comparison with the Student House staff, and described their teacher relationships as ones in which a great deal of dialogue and give-and-take could go on.

A number of students spoke of having a few good teachers, with whom productive relationships were established, but noted that they were the exception and that most of their relationships were quite "restrained and impersonal."

Table 6

Describe the role your school teacher played during Junior High School.

Role	N	%
Supportive, Sympathetic	21	44%
Limited or No Influence	13	28%
Influential, Challenging	8	17
No Response	<u>5</u>	<u>11%</u>
	N = 47	100%

4. Student Relations with Peers

Students were asked what qualities they admired in other students in Student House. Qualities that are admired are often qualities that are emulated. Fundamentally, students said they admired leadership ability. Three qualities they identified with leadership were, first, being in charge of oneself emotionally, physically and intellectually; second, the ability to achieve teamwork on a task; third was autonomy.

In an intensely corporate and highly task-oriented situation such as Student House, leadership depended on one's ability to be in control of one's self.

I admired people who were able to keep their cool no matter what, speak back to the staff if they (staff) were wrong, didn't mind any assignment and smart, but not a show-off. I respected these qualities because I wanted to be like that. (age 14)

Leadership also meant being in control of your own emotions.

I admired bravery, confidence and leadership. I admired these because I've always wanted to be this way. I'm learning to control my own feelings. I learned to keep my mouth shut at the right time. I'm not saying I'm all that now, but I am more controlled than before. (age 16)

Leadership was important. You had to be in control of yourself when you were in charge of people who acted foolishly, which happens sometimes. (age 14)

One student pointed out why it was desirable to be self-assured in an unfamiliar situation.

I remember that in Student House everyone was more or less tossed together in a strange situation. There was a lot of meanness, but the same is true in any youth group or school, but this was "intensified." The qualities I admired in them were calmness, kindness, and people who were so sure of themselves that they didn't have to pick on other people. I also admired courage because then I didn't think I had any, and because it was so rare. (age 15)

Outgoingness was a valuable quality that students admired.

Some students were timid. There was a tendency to exploit them. Some students stood up for the timid ones because they may not have spoken up for themselves. (age 18)

The second aspect of leadership that students believed to be important was the ability to achieve teamwork.

The quality of team leadership came up constantly. I respected their courage to guide and direct the irresponsible (team members) and even harder, the equals. (age 14)

Making teamwork happen involved vitality as well as obvious organizational skill.

The role some of the students played in leadership was a person who was motivated to get things done whether it was a Student House assignment or school work. That was admired because those people could bring things off and also have fun. It wasn't like they were boring people and didn't like to have fun; they contained two qualities and were really respected by both staff and students. (age 18)

Some recalled that sheer task necessity called forth leadership responsibility.

In some students I noticed the eagerness for responsibility and making sure things got done. With a few others it was just the opposite. I respected the people who took up the responsibility, because somebody had to do it. (age 15)

One of the greatest struggles for an adolescent is to maintain a balance between being ones own person and being acceptable to the peer group. In the table this category is called "autonomy." Some students recounted having abandoned values they had been brought up with in favor of peer values. They reported that adopting the peer group values did not make them a part of the group. They, in fact, only succeeded in imitating the exterior behavior of the admired peers. They were not accepted by the peer group but simply became another peer group with similar exterior behavior.

Peer group relations are central in the lives of adolescents. They exercise massive influence on adolescent development. Maintaining a balance of influence is an essential task of development.

I respected people in Student House that cared for themselves. It is hard to keep a balance between being your own person and being part of a peer group. Those who did I respected. I respected people who were not afraid of their peers -- who said something when their peers were goofing off. Those who could say no to their peers and to peer pressure. Those who helped others, no matter who they were. It is easy to say "the hell with everyone except myself." (age 18)

The main qualities I admired were the ability to draw the line between doing what they knew they ought to and still have respect of their friends, which is a hard tightrope to walk sometimes! I also admired the students who made a decision and stuck to it, regardless of the consequences. (age 18)

I admired people who could push their friends and still remain friends. I admired people who didn't do things just because everyone else did. I admired people who had the guts to do things I wouldn't and I admired people who could trudge on through the hard times because I always used to wander and ponder through them. (age 16)

Table 7

What qualities did you admire in other Student House students:

Categories of Qualities	N	%
Being in Charge of Self (Intellectually, Physically, Emotionally)	17	36%
Ability to Achieve Teamwork on a Task	17	36%
Autonomy	9	19%
No response	<u>4</u>	<u>9%</u>
	N= 47	100%

C. Maturation Experiences

Socialization happens within some framework whether it is consciously or unconsciously designed. The framework reflects the practical and conceptual basis of adulthood within a given culture. The present socializing framework for youth today is reduced to ritual and lacks little of the original drama and authentic risk required to make a transition from childhood to adulthood. Some experiences which introduce manhood and womanhood are deferred until marriage age or ignored completely. Others within our culture are simply impotent ritual. Youth then take growing up tasks in their own hands when the adult culture withholds or ignores them.

The socialization tasks today are made more complex by the fact that the society for which youth are being socialized is undergoing continuous and rapid change. Here is what students in Student House report about their growing up experiences.

1. Summer Experiences

The summer times of Student House are discontinuous times within a calendar of high structure. Summers are also highly structured but combine some unique features which, from the students point of view make a sharp contrast to the remaining parts of the year. Most students pointed to the summer as a reunion time with Student House grads. The summer time also relaxed peer group pressures. Students were able to work and relate beyond peer group lines because old peer configurations no longer existed.

There were only five of us 8th graders. Everyone else was older. We had a great time because everyone plugged into getting the work done. We delivered outdoor advertising and painted the entire Student House. We all worked hard and had great celebrations.
(age 16)

Working with other youth provided a different work incentive.

In the 1979 summer program, I was in the (work) project with youth a year older than I was, which made me try harder with the things I was already doing. I grew up faster and learned that these things weren't hard but rather easy. (age 14)

Summer meant new respect between students.

I did pre-school all summer. I was in the 7th grade. It was important because the older youth treated me equal. (age 15)

Summer also meant the acquisition of practical skills.

I learned to drive during the (work) project. Someone had to make pick-ups and deliveries. I was old enough to get a license so I was trained. (age 20)

Practical skills included learning how to be in charge of people as well as machines.

I think the summer I remember most was the children's camp in my 8th grade year. It was a great struggle for me because I was responsible for more lives than my own. I had a more adult responsibility. (age 16)

Being in charge of others with adult responsibility has maturing aspects to it.

Last summer (1979) was very memorable to me. I was a junior staff at camp. I lived in a cabin with 4th-5th grade girls and two adult staff. Sometimes either the staff or the kids would make me mad but I got over it and the whole summer payed off. It was a lot of fun. A lot of the time I was alone with the girls and they really turned to me for help, and I never felt that way before. Even though I would rather have a "friend-to-friend" relationship with the girls instead of a "staff-to-child" the girls will always mean a lot to me. (age 14)

Students experience the tension of being placed in a position of responsibility and the yearning to be a child.

Last summer (1979) I had a big responsibility. I was one of three staff in charge of all the 1st and 3rd grade girls. I struggled very much because I wanted to do other things besides watching them. (age 14)

Students developed empathy for the teacher side of the student-teacher relationship.

Summer camp 1978 helped me see what it was like to be a teacher, not one being taught. There's a definite difference. (age 15)

Because youth are placed continuously in a variety of roles they develop a dual perspective from which to see responsibility.

One summer that was particularly memorable to me was the summer of 1977. Theoretically I was out of Student House, but I had been on the staff the previous year. In addition to learning to drive, I was a mediator between staff and students which allowed me to hear both sides of an issue and learn from it. (age 18)

The fact that students had a good bit to say in constructing the actual structures contributed to the significance of their program experience.

I remember we went out to California to pick onions. The credit for making it a great summer goes mainly to the staff director, who treated us fairly and made us pick up responsibility for having a successful work project. He won our respect by not trying to dominate the situation and by convincing us that the summer was for our benefit and not as a way to get rid of us. We worked hard picking onions all day and swam and played pool without being bogged down by structures that he knew we would rebel against. We had Daily Office and dinner structures that everyone participated in fully mainly because we decided to have those structures. (age 18)

Rites of passages were experienced at three different levels. First was in doing a task which was hard and brought recognition. Second was participating in adult programs. Finally students discussed their experience of the 6th grade trip.

Students combined their energy, desire to be appreciated and do something useful into one huge effort. Breaking into the adult world is not easy. One has to earn his or her right to enter. After the right is earned, it is bestowed, but not before.

My most memorable summer had to be the "Sherpa Trek" in the summer of 1977. There were fifteen of us who traveled to five Religious Houses, spending a week in each place and renovating the house. I liked it because it was fun and also because it made me feel that I was doing something effective. I had sat around for years hearing the adults around us say, 'those dirty, awful youth, look at what they did,' and unfortunately they always had something to point to. But with this, I just knew they'd have to can their critical comments. Maybe it was my own little way of getting revenge, but for me that's what made it so great. (age 16)

Experiments involving youth in adult programs proved meaningful.

One important summer was the July I attended the Global Research Assembly. I had a chance to get involved with a level of work beyond Student House. I began to understand the work of the Institute. (age 18)

Another aspect of the summer program identified was the 6th grade trip. Students believe that something important happens to them. One student said in an interview.

I didn't know how I'd be different. I just knew I wouldn't be a child anymore.

Students know that this trip initiates a two or three year period where they live away from parents. It is important to do well.

My 6th grade trip was one of the best things that happened to me in or out of the Order. We survived in the Northern Wisconsin woods for five weeks. It helped to convey the theme of rite of passage in a very appropriate environment. This trip was important to me because it helped me to be conscious of who I was and where I plan to go in life, at least at the time. What I saw myself doing in the future then is quite different than what I'm doing now or have done in the past four or so years. (age 18)

Table 8

What was the importance for you of your summer experiences?

Categories of Importance	N	%
Relaxing Peer Pressures	17	37%
Learning Practical Skills and Responsibility	11	23%
Student Formed Structures	9	19%
Rite of Passage	8	17%
No Response	<u>2</u>	<u>4%</u>
	N= 47	100%

2. Human Development Project Experience

Beginning in 1978-79, students spent their 9th grade year in one of the social demonstration projects of the I.C.A. Students living outside North America did school by correspondence. They lived with the I.C.A. staff on location in a village project. Staff and students worked out the responsibilities students would have in the village. Students had sole responsibility for their personal upkeep and study life.

Students in projects in the United States went to local high schools. While they were in the project itself, they found themselves cast in a staff role.

I was in the Widen (West Virginia) Human Development Project. That was for one year and a summer. It was the first time I told (or had to tell) people what the I.C.A. did. (age 16)

Some students "earned their stripes" by doing programs far beyond the expectations of their adult leaders.

I was in London last year. I was only there for six months because I went to India for a three-month visit to my parents. I really got to know my parents again in India. I am very glad I went. The first three months in London we three girls were "babbling youth" which the adults didn't know what to do with. Later we started doing CYF's (Community Youth Forums). That made a great impact on the adults that we could actually set up and do CYFs all on our own. They treated us more like adults afterwards and we were expected to be one (adult). That is fine for a while but I wasn't ready to sit through hours and hours of meetings. (age 15)

Some 15% of the students commented on the self-discipline required to manage finances, study and work life.

Students reported seeing another side of life than they were accustomed to. It was an experience in cross-cultural living.

I lived two months in Cano Negro (Venezuela), 11½ months in Sol de Septiembre (Chile) and ½ month in San Vicente de Azpetia (Peru). This experience made me decide to live in any situation. It was an experience of deep cultural shock and a realization of what the third world is. (age 14)

I lived in Widen (West Virginia) for one year. It helped you see a different kind of life. Not like city life but a rougher even happier life. (age 16)

Some grads who were not part of the original class participating in the Human Development Project made arrangements to work in projects for brief periods of time.

I went to Vogar (Manitoba) for one month. It opened my eyes to the squalid situation that some people live in everyday with no escape. Cooking in the Vogar community kitchen made me use my ingenuity as there were three of us to cook for a couple of hundred people. I learned how to coordinate things and to recruit youth from the village to help with preparation of meals and dishwashing. (age 18)

Other Student House grads found themselves in positions of unexpected advantage.

I wasn't in a Human Development Project during my junior high years. I did go in the summer of 1979 to Azpetia in Peru (for which I received college credits). It was a fantastic experience! I was in charge of the pre-school and it helped me in seeing the things I was capable of doing that I wasn't sure I could do. I was also pushed to offer my wisdom from eleven years in the Order. Human Development Projects are good for students. For one thing, it allows them to get involved, practically. (age 20)

The projects have begun to be places where vocational decisions are made.

I was in Cano Negro, Venezuela for about nine months. One of the main reasons I went to a project was to give myself some time to think about what I wanted to do with the next few years. If I was going to go to school, work, or what. I know I wanted to go to school, but I wasn't sure what it was I wanted to study. While I was in Cano Negro, I was put in charge of the community store finances. In doing this I discovered my interest in accounting. While I was in Cano Negro, I thought a lot about how I would go about getting a job that had to do with accounting, where I would live, when and where I would go to school. (age 18)

Three students who had only been on location for about a month said they preferred to make comments after they had been there longer.

Table 9

How has experience in a Human Development Project contributed to your self-reliance?

Categories of Significance	N	%
No Response*	18	38%
Sole Responsibility for a Significant Task	14	30%
Sole Responsibility for Self-Management (Clothes, Money, Study)	7	15%
Experience in Cross-Cultural Living	5	11%
Deferred Answering	3	6%
	N= 47	100%

*The Human Development Project is a recent addition to the Student House program. Students who spent their 9th grade year in a project had a chance to apply what they had learned as 7th and 8th graders.

C. Life Questions

Life issues come in the form of inner questions. It is consciousness of these questions which is the first step in forming a meaningful individual answer. Questions do not finally go away; they emerge from time to time to be reanswered at a new life stage. During adolescence the universal life questions begin to appear. Lives are formed in part in relation to these questions. The quality of individual lives and a nation's collective future is dependent on the nature of the interior questions and the answer formed by its youth. Maturation is more than the physical and social adaptation to an on-going adult world. It is the adults of one generation anticipating the needs of the next generation and equipping them, insofar as possible, to build the next stage of a society. This is beyond socializing to "fit in." This is socializing youth to expect to deal with creating a society rather than merely manning it or fitting into pre-existing models.

One must deal self-consciously with life questions if life responses are to be self-consciously formed. "What will I do with my life?" is a different question for Student House youth than "how will I earn money?" This question of vocation is concerned with the life commitment an individual makes sometime during the early twenties. Self-conscious questions require self-conscious answers.

It's sort of scary when you sit down and ask yourself
 "Now, what am I going to do with my life?" Oh, my God
 I've only got one, now what am I going to give it to.
 (age 16)

When students talk about doing something significant, they are concerned to occasion practical change at some level.

I decided that I was going to do something significant with my life when I was in Student House. I became concerned about the type of superficial life people had who tried to escape out to the suburbs and that the issues of the inner city need to be dealt with if America is to remain an example to the rest of the world. I also became concerned with the system of education in America that left empty spots that Student House filled (religion, the present situation, practical experience, to name a few). I also find it hard to determine exactly when I learned my values and concerns. (age 18)

A large number of questions center around whether or not to remain a part of the Order. (The Order is synonymous with the staff of the Institute that understands itself to be an experimental family religious order.) Like the Kibbutz movement in Israel, the second generation has to have its own reason for staying in or leaving the Order.⁵

Over the past three or four years, hardly a day goes by when I don't ask myself what to do with my life. Other concerns have to do with the Order and my relationship to it, life out of the Order, life in the Order. There's a burning inside that tells me that I bear the burden of being chosen to care. I think many other Order youth have felt that burden and concern, which comes with the question of what to do with my life. I'm sure the Student House raised a lot more concerns as well. (age 20)

Students have to come to their own conclusions about their own lives. The ready-made answers of the corporate body are but one story around which they may elect to form a life pattern.

I wonder how I'm gaining and serving by being in the Order. (age 15)

The intense corporate setting provides a rich resource for questions to be raised.

Before I went away on the 6th grade trip, I knew my life would be different from then on. I was right. I changed a great deal. My questions have to do with style -- what should my role as a youth in a House be? Why should I get up for Daily Office? What kind of a profession will I have, if any? What good do Community Youth Forums do? (age 15)

Some questions are more immediate and related to the business of growing up and where one is to be assigned next.

Some typical questions are:

Should I stay in the Order or not when I turn 18?
Where do I want to go in my 9th grade year?
Why do adults look down on students so much?
Why don't they (adults) give students a chance?
What is going to happen in regards to my academic life in the future?

Life questions set the stage for life patterns and life styles of the adults created in the socialization process.

Table 10

What life questions are you aware of?

Categories of Questions	N	%
What To Do with My Life?	16	34%
Live In or Out of the Institute?	9	19%
How to Make a Difference	9	19%
Appropriate Life Style?	6	13%
No Response	<u>7</u>	<u>15%</u>
	N= 47	100%

V. IMPLICATIONS

This inquiry into the effects of socialization in Student House has examined three major arenas, work, social relations and maturation experiences.

A. Work Performance

Work in Student House has immediate rewards. Its character is often mundane, but that is characteristic of work necessary to the day-to-day maintenance of life. While routine work is monotonous, its completion is obvious and rewarding.

The routine work skills of serving and cleaning get elevated to showmanship in special events work like serving for Guardians Consults and producing special shows for adult meetings. In school, special events or team experiences are limited to those who go out for drama, sports, or extra curricular activities. In Student House, every effort is made to have a broad range of participation in all of the special events. Everyone needs time "on stage" not just those who seek it.

Finally, in the student business, Venture 21, many of the same skills are employed as in routine and special work but this time the reward is financial and seen in terms of an upgraded standard of living. Students make decisions about taking on an extra job based on how much time and energy will be required of them in light of what they will be paid.

Student House provides actual experience in work and teammanship at many levels. Students know first-hand and from repeated experience what it means to do team work since they have daily team assignments. It is this base in actual experience which seems critical to socialization.

The Coleman Youth Panel was concerned with youth learning to fulfill collective as well as individual goals. The Student House experiment suggests that some concrete experience in successful teamwork helps youth learn a way to support collective goals.

B. Social Relationships

Part of the effectiveness of Student House as a socializing force is the fact that it realigns intergenerational and peer relations. The staff of Student House is a new adult element in the lives of students. Staff assume responsibility for the day-to-day growing up of students. Parents are relieved of responsibility for the routine tasks of helping their children grow into adulthood and are freed to act as counselor and advisors. They help their own children work through their struggles with the staff and Student House structures.

Teachers and school seem important but do not tend to have a dominant influence on Student House youth. Student House is seen as the most influential socializing agent by Student House graduates. The school is looked to primarily for the purpose it was constructed to serve, namely developing the cognitive functions. Other tasks of maturation are carried out by Student House.

Peers assume many parenting functions. They advise on matters of dating, hygiene, how to get along with staff and teachers. "You listen to yours peers, because you know where they are coming from." While cliques are highly influential in Student House as they are in any adolescent group, alternate structures to natural peer group formation continually realigns students relationships. New teams and team leaders are made up every ten weeks. Work teams are assigned differently each weekend. Students are singled out for special assignments with other adult staff of the Institute such as weekend kitchen assignment. Special sports and performing arts events also place students in situations where they can show outstanding merit based on individual skills. In this constant reconfiguring of teams, students learn to work with whomever they are assigned. While the propensity to work with people one likes does not go away, experience makes it clear that work can be achieved with whomever is assigned to do the job.

At this age, students experiment with both the creative and destructive aspects of group power. Teamwork, sports events, and group games served to offset peer pressure and cliques. Somewhat diverse activities allowed one to be part of a group instead of in competition for power and status.

C. Maturation Experiences

Student House has developed over several years what is an experience-based socializing framework. It begins with a summer trip for all who have completed the 6th grade. This 6th grade trip is understood to be and is called a rite of passage. It introduces a period of at least three years where students are directly in the care of Institute staff who are not parents. They leave their parents and assume a life of their own. They believe the 6th grade trip means they are leaving childhood. This is reinforced by the fact that they no longer live at home. They see their 7th grade year as a learning time and 8th grade as leading time. During the 8th grade they become consumed with where they will spend their 9th grade year. Will they go to the Philippines, Majuro, Apia, Europe, Africa or stay in the United States? Each has its unique demands. They have to make an assignment request in the spring which will be confirmed during the summer. The adults have to agree to accept the youth in their projects. Students who go to projects outside the United States have to raise a portion of their own travel funds. They see this as a year of testing all they know. It is a culmination of what began as a one-month rite of passage trip only two years before. After that is the question of where to finish high school. But the question seems remote to one on the threshold of so great an undertaking as making ones way with one or two others to some distant rural village in the third world. Correspondence lessons instead

of teachers; new adults instead of Student House staff; parents and friends located in another section of the world; a new culture, even rural America is different from urban Chicago, and unknown demands face these 14 year olds. These elements combine to make what the student sees as a "testing year." All self-discipline and motivation must be marshalled to succeed. The adults are demanding, but the student has been in demanding situations before. He has a history of having come through some hard times. This experience record of successfully coming through will be a reminder in periods of doubt.

What is the meaning of work, social relations and maturation experiences that the Student House experience suggests?

1. Menial work is necessary and rewarding. It has a significant role in maturation.
2. Realigning social relationships preserves the parent-child relationship and achieves the maturation tasks.
3. A carefully designed series of rites of passage with authentic risk experientially prepares youth for some responsible roles in adult culture.

D. Comments

More than Psychology

Eric Erickson deals with the psychological tasks of socialization.⁶ Erickson is preeminent in this area because of his stress on the social and cultural milieu. The basis from which he begins is individual psychological development.

A study of an intensely corporate situation such as Student House raises the question of sociological development tasks. Are there sociological tasks of socialization based on a more corporate, community and collective picture of the future? Are some of the issues we are endeavoring

to address as educators placed in the psychology camp simply because of the individualist orientation of our society? Certainly there are psychological tasks to be mastered, but are there not sociological ones which are equally important?

The report of educators and scholars from the Kibbutz focus on personality development. Yet personalities are formed in a social or group context. If articulating and implementing collective and cooperative social aims are to be realized, youth must have experiences in how this is done. This requires that more attention be given to the sociological tasks of development.

NOTES

1. Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage, (New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1977) p. 215.
2. James Coleman, Youth: Transition to Adulthood, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974) p. 6.
3. Blanche Geer, "First Days in the Field." In Sociologists at Work, ed. Phillip E. Hammond. (New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1952) p. 331.
4. T. Bruyn, "The New Empiricists: the Participant Observer and Phenomenologist." In Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement With the Social World, ed. W. J. Filsted. (Chicago Markham Publishing Company.) pp 283-287.
5. Peter B. Neubauer, Children in Collectives: Children - Rearing Aims and Practices in the Kibbutz. (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publishers, 1965) p. 211.
6. Eric H. Erickson, Childhood and Society. (Victoria: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1950) p. 264.

STUDENT HOUSE DOCUMENTATION

O:E

September 17, 1979

Name	Age Now
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____
6. _____	_____
7. _____	_____
8. _____	_____
9. _____	_____
10. _____	_____

Address _____	Telephone _____
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City	State or Country	Zip
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Years you were in Student House or where you spent your junior high school years (Junior high school for our purposes will include 7th, 8th and 9th grades.)

7th Grade _____ School _____ City _____
year State or Country

8th Grade _____ School _____ City _____
 Year _____ State or Country _____

9th Grade _____ School _____ City _____
 _____ Year _____ State or Country _____

I am currently in school

High School

College

Work

Other (specify)

I live at

My own home

My own apartment

in a dorm

Rel. house

Human Dev. Proj. _____

Other (specify) _____

1. a. In junior high school my academic performance was usually

A level work (grades)

B level work

C level work

D level work

Fill in the chart below to reflect your best memory of your academic performance.

7th grade level work

8th grade level work

9th grade _____ level work

- b. If your academic performance went up or down, how do you account for the change?

2. Real work with real responsibility and actual consequences seems to have played a key role in the lives of Student House youth. In Student House there were three kinds of work. The first was the day-to-day maintenance work of meal enablement and assisting with the pre-schoolers or elementary age youth. The second was assisting with special events at the Institute like serving meals at the Guardian Consults. Third was work done "for pay" in the business world which helped support the program of the Student House.

Recall events within each of the three work areas and how these experiences were valuable for you.

- a. What events in the day-to-day work of the Student House do you recall and how was it beneficial to you?

- b. What special events did you work on and how were they significant to you:

- c. What "for pay" jobs did you have while in the Student House? What was the importance of these jobs for you?

- 3 The Student House junior high school student has three primary relations with adults...the student house staff, school teachers and parents. What role did each of these adults play during those years? There are some questions to help you get started with your reflections below:

- a. What was the role the Student House staff (faculty) played during your Student House days? (What events stand out in your memory about encounters with staff? How are those events typical of staff-student relationships?)

- b. Describe the role your school teacher played during junior high school. (To get started, recall some of your junior high school teachers. What happenings do you recall specifically? How is this typical of school teacher-student relations in your junior high school experience?)

- c. Describe the role your parents played with you in your junior high years. (Where were your parents located? How did you keep in touch with them? Recall event(s) that typify relations between you and your parents in those years. How are these important to you.

4. Which Summer (July) experience is particularly memorable to you?
Why was that Summer important?

5. If you spent time in a Human Development Project name the project and identify the length of time you were there. How did that experience contribute to your becoming a self-reliant person?

6. Student House is an experiment in community with junior high school age youth. What qualities did you find you admired among other students in the Student House? Why were these qualities you respected?

7. One Student House grad said, "I recall that the question of what I would do with my life has been a burning question since age 10." What questions or concerns linger with you today that you became conscious of around your junior high years?

8. Describe what you are doing now and what you see for yourself in the future. (If you are in college, what course of study have you undertaken and what do you hope to do with it? If you are in high school, what do you anticipate after graduation? If you are working, what are your next steps? Please include your intentions relative to the Order, as far as you know now.)

Please feel free to write more on other subjects of concern to you.

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