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ADOLESCENCE:

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PEER GROUP AND FRIENDSHIP

A Thesis submitted towards the examination of

Doctor of Philosophy

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ADOLESCENCE: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PEER GROUP AND FRIENDSHIP;   1987

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the nature of the peer group experience
and friendship patterns amongst a sample of 3rd, 4th and 5th year
secondary school pupils.

The thesis has four parts and a General Introduction in which the need
for more sociological research in the area of the peer group and
friendship is asserted.   Certain themes are developed in relation to
the peer group and friendship,   and arguments for the research
established.   In   the   final part of the General   Introduction
consideration is given to the nature of the sociology of youth in
relation to social class and age grading in society.

Part One has three Chapters. The first deals with recent research into
the peer group, most of which is American in origin with the exception
of certain ethnographic studies which have been published in this
country over the last few years.   In Chapter Two research into
friendship is considered with Chapter Three providing a critical
evaluation of the research presented.   A general schema is provided,
drawing on the literature review which provides the basis for the
development of research methods and the subsequent research programme.

Part Two establishes the basis for the thesis research and has one
chapter.   Four objectives are explored.   The first concerns the
importance of friendship to young people, the second with levels of
friendship, the third with deriving definitions of friendship.   The
final objective examines the effects of age and sex on friendship and
is compared with the findings from four significant studies undertaken
in this area.   Sociometry is considered in relation to "mapping" a
group, a self esteem inventory is developed and the Higher Schools
Personality Questionnaire evaluated with a view to measuring a number
of personality traits.

In Chapter Five of Part Three a research design for quantitative and
qualitative research is presented.   The data are prese ted in Chapters
Six and Seven.   371 young people completed a questionnaire into their
friendship and peer relations and two peer groups were intensively
involved in group discussion in an endeavour to provide more detailed
information on friendship and peer activities.

The final part, Chapter Eight, is devoted to a detailed consideration
of the findings from the research in the light of the established
objectives.   An appraisal is undertaken of the extent to which new
knowledge has been provided in the social sciences regarding the peer
group and friendship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My own adolescence now lies dimly in the past, some recollections are still vivid but many others have become irretrievable from the eight year period between my 12th and 20th birthdays, which constituted my youth. There were times of storm and stress - the traumas now almost lacking in significance through the passage of time. The peer group and friendship was for me of extreme importance - the holidays, Boys' Brigade, sailing and camping, the coffee bars and later the girls. There was leaving school and starting work; my first wage packet, the scooter and then the car and much more ...

This thesis has provided me with the opportunity of sharing in the lives of many young people. Firstly, the 371 who assisted me with the quantitative research by completing a detailed questionnaire on their friendship and leisure patterns. Later some of those joined the two discussion groups for the more intensive "peer study" and provided many personal details of their friendships, other relationships and leisure activities. None of this would have been possible without their help and that of the school staff who facilitated the work. I know that this placed an extra burden on their already full programme of work and caused associated timetable disruptions.

Members of the Brunel University's Post Graduate Diploma in Youth and Community Studies course undertook work for the pilot study on friendship and peer group identification as part of

ADOLESCENCE: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PEER GROUP AND FRIENDSHIP

C O N T E N T S

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

"After a long, long period of intellectual sleepiness the
study of adolescence has begun to stir itself a ake. During
the last decade genuinely new ideas and findings have made
their appearance in the scientific literature, yet the
revival has gone virtually unnoticed, except among
specialists."

Joseph Adelson (1980).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Preliminaries

I have worked full-time in and for the Youth and Community Service for over 21 years. Throughout this period my main academic interests have been the professional aspects of the Service and how it has developed as a public service, the training of youth workers, both full and part-time, and especially the clients of the Service - the young people.

My commitment is therefore to developing a sociological exploration and understanding of:

1. **The professions**, especially youth work

2. **Youth**

3. **Knowledge** as it is manifested through the skills and curriculum development in youth work training and as reflected at the interface between the Service and its clients, the young people.

Area 1 is examined in my Master's Thesis completed in 1976. This present Thesis is concerned primarily with area 2, the **Sociology of Youth**, focussing specifically on t e **Peer Group** and **Friendship**. It is an area which is considerably under-researched, especially in Britain. There are a number of fairly significant studies. These however, were undertaken in the United States, and as I argue later there may be cross cultural differences which suggest caution about extrapolating such research into the British situation.

Objectives and Principles

We know too little about young people within sociology, and yet important decisions are made concerning services for them such as schooling, welfare, and the Youth Service. We need to know more if such policy decisions are to made wisely.

In writing this Thesis, I have adopted a relatively narrow focus, yet it is far from being a superficial area to research. My starting point was influenced by my own friendships and membership of a peer group during my youth, and by the work I undertook as a voluntary and then full-time professional worker in the Youth and Community Service. Another, and major, influence was the period in Harlow during which I worked in a Youth Centre in daily face-to-face contact with young people. There I was involved in a number of initial research projects concerning the two themes of this thesis, **the peer group** and **friendship**, under the guidance of the late Leslie Button of Swansea University.

Thus, **my initial premise in this Thesis is that there is a need for more research leading to an increase in knowledge about young people's peer groups and friendship.**

To attempt this I have followed a systematic approach which has four distinct parts:

1. A literature review designed to identify the significant features of existing research on the peer group and friendship.

2. Development of a research design and research instruments.

3. A systematic programme of research at both quantitative and qualitative levels.

4. Tentative establishment of general conclusions based on the evidence provided by the research.

Two main principles have guided my research.

The first is argued in Chapter Three - extreme caution is needed in directly relating studies on the peer group and friendship carried out in other cultures, (especially the American from where most studies emanate) to the British situation.

The second principle concerns the context which gives rise to the particular shape and form of the peer group and friendship in modern societies.

Commencing with **puberty**, an essentially biological phenomenon, which gives rise to rapid growth and development, there are social structural forces operating which prolong the "age between" childhood and the attainment of adult maturity. This gives rise to the need for the peer group and friendship probably more than at any other time in the life span.

It is because of the lack of adequate British research into the peer group and friendship that I make no apology for taking

these as my guiding principle and primary focus. I realise that as a result I may seem to be in danger of undertaking more "data collection" rather than theory formulation. In my defence I would argue that there are organisational consequences arising from the research which will make the research of particular value to the institutions concerned with aspects of young people's development. There are also sociological implications which I turn to later.

The thesis provides evidence derived primarily from a systematic field-based research programme aimed at increasing our sociological understanding of two specific themes affecting the lives of young people.

The **first** concerns the PEER GROUP:

> Do all young people belong to one?
>
> What form does it take?
>
> What part does it play in their lives and development?

The **second** theme is FRIENDSHIP:

> What is friendship like during the period of youth?
>
> What does it mean to young people in the last three years of compulsory schooling?
>
> How can it be defined and measured?

To undertake a thorough examination of these themes has required detailed field research into each. This has also

provided the opportunity for comparison between the evidence obtained and the relationship between the peer group and friendship.

General Conclusions

What is argued in this Thesis in relation to young people in the 3rd, 4th and 5th years of secondary school is that:

1. **General issues**

   a) The peer group and adolescent friendship can be researched in a systematic way.

   b) It is appropriate to distinguish between young people's peer groups as essentially leisure-time small groups, and friendship in terms of a network of relationships.

2. **In relation to the peer group specifically**

   c) The leisure-time peer group (and the friendship network) is predominantly uni-sex.

   d) Less than 70% of the young people belong to a leisure-time peer group.

   e) It is possible to identify certain deviant behaviours undertaken by young people which adults would disapprove.

3. **On friendship**

   f) Young people's friendship network is larger than their leisure-time peer group.

   g) Friendship is important to young people and their most important friendship is persistent over time.

   h) It is possible to identify young people's likes and dislikes concerning their most important first level friend.

i) There are three contexts in which young
    people's friendship operates:

    -   school only

    -   school and leisure

    -   leisure only. (Some friends attend
        other schools due to catchment area
        overlap, or have left school.)

j) Educational institutions in general, and the
    secondary schools, in particular, are the
    most powerful contexts in which young people
    make friends.

k) Self-esteem and certain personality factors
    (measured using the Junior and Senior High
    Schools Personality Questionnaire) are
    powerful indicators of friendship
    repertoires.

l) Social class differences do not figure in any
    major way to distinguish friendship
    characteristics and the peer group.

m) Friendship and peer group membership patterns
    do not seem to be significantly affected by
    ethnic origin, although self esteem scores
    vary.

Theoretical implications and issues

There are considerable theoretical implications arising from

this work. The area of sociology of youth is particularly

underdeveloped and little research has been undertaken on the

peer group and young people's friendship in Britain. However.

there has been a new focus provided by neo-Marxits and the New

Wave. Recently there has been a number of ethnographic

studies provided which go some way to balance the large number

of American group studies. However, the very small numbers of

young people involved preclude any easy generalisation from

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them (see Chapter One).

1. The evidence provided in this thesis should contribute to a greater sociological understanding and provide much needed evidence on the nature and quality of leisure-time peer group membership and friendship.

2. The evidence suggests we need to revise our understanding of the relationship between the peer group and friendship patterns. It has often been assumed that the peer group and the friendship group are synonymous. My research castes doubt on this assumption.

3. It also suggests that we need to explore and identify specific differences between studies of young people in other cultures. There are important differences between my findings and the evidence provided by research from abroad.

4. The study provides a much clearer understanding of how young people pursue friendship and how it may be defined at differing levels of intensity.

Overall, this research should provide a basis for further sociological study into the leisure-time peer group and the nature of friendship; its qualities and significance to young people.

The focus of this study is **adolescence** and **youth.*** British

* See note at foot of references at end of this chapter.
sociologists have recently been arguing whether or not

youth is a "a real force and an essential concept" (1).

Stuart Hall is one of those who argues against the concept. In his work at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (2) he and his colleagues assert that youth is a socially created category and should be treated as secondary to the more powerful forces of differentiation operating in society, of which class is the most significant. And yet class must surely also be a socially created category? A more detailed consideration of this line of argument will be presented in Part One in relation to youth sub-cultures.

Few would deny that the period of youth has grown longer over the past one hundred and fifty years or more on account of socio-economic factors associated with our ever more complex division of labour. Musgrove puts it this way:

> "Having invented the adolescent, society has been faced with the problem of justifying its existence. This has been attempted in a variety of terms: social and economic (the need for longer preparation for adulthood in complex societies), biological and evolutionary." (3)

Hall's argument goes further than this however, because he and his colleagues need to reject youth outright in order to develop their Marxist analysis of class relations:

> "The relations between classes, the experience and response to change within different class fractions, is now seen as the determining level." (4)

Marsland, whilst not denying the theoretical and practical

significance of class, argues that it is possible to postulate that:

> "1. Age is a fundamentally important principle of social organisation, a distinctive and significant social force, and a necessary variable in any given model of society.
>
> 2. Youth is a generically significant structural and cultural component of the age system of society.
>
> 3. Age, and therefore youth, is subject, like other sociological variables, including class, to systematic variation in terms of distinct types of cultural conditions and different levels of social development.
>
> 4. Age, and therefore also youth, enters into complex relations with other social forces, including class, and with psychological forces. These relations are systematic and determinate but cannot be extricated a priori. Such explication requires the formulation and empirical testing of theoretically articulated hypotheses." (5)

The age system in our society, I argue, prescribes the existence of both childhood and youth, the latter marked at the commencement by puberty and at completion by adulthood. In sociology, and the social sciences more generally:

> "the theory of youth is underdeveloped and weak
> ...and the extent of concrete empirical research
> on youth by sociologists is indeed remarkably
> limited." (6)

It is my aim to make some small contribution towards increasing our sociological knowledge of the peer group and riendship as part of the sociology of youth.

Review of the argument

Chapter One is a review of recent research literature on the adolescent peer group. It begins with a consideration of the nature of adolescence itself, examining in particular the

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importance of the peer group and youth culture and sub-
cultures. Peer group research, largely of American origin due
to the lack of substantive British studies, is presented and
analysed in three areas, namely:

> a. lessening of parental controls
>
> b. peer group values and attitudes
>
> c. ethnographic studies

There are few substantive researches which can be drawn
exclusively from the British sociological literature. There
are however several small-scale ethnographic studies undertaken
using the participant observation approach. **Chapter Two** is
devoted to a consideration of friendship with particular
reference to:

> 1. Identification of friendship pairs and
>   cliques.
>
> 2. The nature of the friendship bond.
>
> 3. Effect of age and sex on friendship.

Chapter Three evaluates the evidence presented in Chapters One
and Two on the peer group and friendship, and concludes with a
general schema which provides the basis for the development of
research methods and the subsequent research programme
presented in Parts Two and Three.

These three chapters form **Part One** of the thesis.

Part Two is primarily concerned with establishing the basis for
research into the adolescent peer group and friendship. **Chapter**

Four contains an exploration of the meaning of friendship and includes the findings from a pilot study undertaken to derive usable definitions of friendship for the subsequent research programme. This includes, in addition, four other objectives, namely:

> (a) To establish the level of importance young people attach to having friends.
>
> (b) To determine whether they regard friendship as existing at different levels.
>
> (c) To examine **levels** of friendship, as perceived by young people, and explore their definitions of the levels.
>
> (d) To examine the effects of age and sex on friendship during the adolescent period, and to compare the findings with those provided by researchers in Canada, USSR, Australia and Britain.

A number of hypotheses are explored in relation to these objectives.

The approach of sociometry to mapping groups is presented, together with the findings from a pilot study using the sociometric technique as a means of identifying friendship groups.

Next, the nature of self esteem and its mea urement is considered and a self esteem inventory developed.

Finally, in this Chapter, personality measurement using the Kelly Reportory Grid and the Higher Schools' Personality Questionnaire developed by Cattell at the Institute for Personality and Ability Testing is evaluated with a view to

measuring a number of personality traits.

Chapter **Five**, the first of three Chapters in **Part Three** is entitled "Towards a Methodology for the Study of the Adolescent Peer Group and Friendship." In this Chapter, the research design for both a quantitative and qualitative research programme is developed. In **Chapter Six,** quantitative research data are presented and analysed systematically. **Chapter Seven** is devoted to the presentation of qualitative research aimed at supplementing the data presented in Chapter Six. Written records from group discussions undertaken with two adolescent peer groups, identified from the quantitative research, are presented.

Finally, **Part Four — Chapter Eight** is devoted to a detailed consideration of the findings from this research project in the light of the objectives established earlier. An appraisal is made of the extent to which new knowledge in the social sciences relating to the adolescent peer group and friendship has been effectively established in this thesis.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

REFERENCES

1. MARSLAND, D.

Youth: a real force and an essential concept, in Sociological Explorations in the Service of Youth. National Youth Bureau 1978

2. HALL, S. and JEFFERSON, T.

Resistance through Rituals, Chapter 1, Subcultures, Culture and Class. Hutchinson and Co. 1976

3. MUSGROVE, H.

Youth and the Social Order, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1968

4. HALL op. cit.

page 35

5. MARSLAND op. cit.

page 74

6. MARSLAND op. cit.

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The terms "adolescence" and "youth" tend to be used interchangeably. However the picture is complicated by the fact that some social scientists regard the early period as "adolescence" and the later period going into the twenties as "youth". Beyond this, according to Bennett Berger, is a period of "youthfulness" for some individuals who hold on to the happy-go-lucky characteristics of youth (or adolescenc) well into their late twenties or early thirties.

BERGER, B. **On the Youthfulness of Youth Cultures,** Social Research, Vol. 30, Autumn 1963.

PART ONE

"From the time infants take their first step, they are
literally and figuratively moving away from their parents. A
major characteristic of childhood in the movement for
independence... Instead of the family their relationships with
their peers takes an increasing significance."

Robert Bell.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One begins with a consideration of the nature of

adolescence as a biological and social phenomena. The "rites

de passage" ceremonies characteristic of less complex societies

are compared with the longer transition of today's modern

societies. The behavioural consequencies arising during the

transition and the development of youth culture and sub-

cultures is examined using the perspectives of the structural

functionalist, neo-Marxist and New Wave sociologists.

A review of the most recent research on the adolescent peer

group is presented following a computer literature search

conducted within three citation indices. The analysis suggests

that the research can be categorised into four main areas,

namely:

a. LESSENING OF PARENTAL CONTROLS - involving exploration of
   parent/peer conflict.

b. PEER GROUP VALUES AND ATTITUDES - covering deviance,
   delinquency and the consequential conformity of behaviour
   within the peer group.

c. ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES - usually undertaken using the
   participant observation approach.

Chapter Two is concerned with the nature of friendship. Again,

three particular headings are used to present the analysis of

the research, namely:

i. IDENTIFICATION OF FRIENDSHIP PAIRS AND CLIQUES.

ii. THE NATURE OF THE FRIENDSHIP BOND.

iii. EFFECT OF AGE AND SEX ON FRIENDSHIP.

Chapter Three provides a critical analysis of the material

presented in Chapters One and Two and from it issues relevant

to the development of the research methodology used in this

thesis, are incorporated into Part Two.

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CHAPTER ONE

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ADOLESCENCE AND THE PEER GROUP

INTRODUCTION

In late childhood there is a secretion of hormones from the
endocrine glands which gives rise to **puberty.** This has both
direct and indirect effects on physical and emotional
development.

Physically, the young person undergoes a growth spurt during
which change in physique is the most noticeable but the
maturing of the sex organs is considered to be one of the
single most significant events during puberty. The ability to
menstruate in girls and ejaculate in boys are significant
manifestations.

There are often considerable differences in the age of onset of
puberty between individuals of the same sex. It is possible
for an average girl to start puberty some twelve months earlier
than the average boy - at eleven and a half and twelve and a
half years of age respectively. Girls also mature up to two
years earlier than boys but variations in the onset of puberty
for both sexes may be influenced by nutritional and socio-
economic factors (1).

Accompanying the primary sexual developments - menstruation in
girls, and ejaculation in boys, there are also the following
secondary sexual characteristics.

BOYS	GIRLS
Growth of pubic hair	Growth of pubic hair
Growth of hair under arms	Growth of hair under arms
Heavy growth of hair on face	Light growth of hair on face
Heavy growth of hair on body	Light growth of hair on body
Eruption of second molars	Eruption of second molars
Considerable growth of larynx	Slight growth of larynx
Change of voice by octave	Moderate lowering of voice
Widening of shoulders	Widening of hips
Considerable thickening of muscles	Slight thickening of muscles
Increase in perspiration	Increase in perspiration
Sometimes slight and temporary development around breast nipples	Development of breasts (2)

Not only does the age of onset of puberty vary between individuals and between the sexes but also the age of its completion. Indeed, some individuals may have almost completed their sexual development before others have even started. In addition to the sexual development there is a major growth spurt leading to increased height and:

"Neural and biochemical changes manifested in heightened activity of the sebaceous and sweat glands; increased susceptibility to acne and other skin reactions (pimples, pustules, blackheads, blotches). (3)

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Puberty forms only part of what we regard in western society as adolescence - a period described by Miller as "the age between" childhood and adulthood (4). This period, which now covers about eight years, has extended to meet the demands of modern society: the raising of the school leaving age, expansion in higher and further education and the consequent lack of financial independence. This latter factor not only affects those in full-time education but also many who are employed. Those relying on state benefit, as a result of unemployment brought about by the current economic recession, may be particularly badly affected. Whereas puberty may be interpreted primarily in terms of physical growth and development there are also sociological forces at work beyond mere adjustments to the consequences of certain intensified psychological drives (especially sexual). These forces give rise to behaviours which cannot be blamed on:

> "...growth, genes, or glands, but only on a culture that has no meaningful place for the adolescent ... differences in growth rate, physique and fat patterning may have tremendous repercussions on the adolescents themselves."(5)

Other writers have drawn attention to the conc mitant social factors running alongside what is essentially a biological development.

As early as 1904, G. Stanley Hall (6) advanced a recapitulation theory in a publication entitled, "Adolescence", in which he assumed a specific causal relationship between puberty and the social psychological adjustment problems of adolescence.

Translating Darwin's concept of biological evolution of the species into psychological theory of individual capitulation, Hall asserted that the experimental history of the human species has become part of the individual's genetic structure. Thus, according to the theory, the human organism passes through development phases which correspond to the animal, the savage, and civilised ways which characterise maturity. Using this model, Hall identified adolescence as a period of "sturm und strang" (storm and stress). In addition to this, he advanced the view that adolescent physical growth is rapid and abrupt rather than part of an essentially continuous process. Hall received considerable criticism of his views from the eminent psychologist Edward Thorndike and others who could not accept the inevitability of these states of behaviour. However, the notion of storm and stress has been taken up by many social scientists as has the notion of "discontinuity".

Charlotte Buhler (7) writing in 1933 analysed five phases in the course of human life and suggested a functional bio-social definition of adolescence as:

> "an in-between period beginning with the achievement
> of physiological maturity and ending with the
> acquisition of social maturity, i.e. with the
> assumption of the social, sexual, economic and legal
> rights and duties of the adult."

Both Aries (8) and Musgrove (9) in their detailed treatment of the subject have written extensively on the historical concept of adolescence.

Aries suggested that:

> "the younger generation" as we know it today was hardly
> established until well into the 17th century.   Since
> work came early, children were regarded as adult well
> before the age of ten years.   For many there was no
> school and in any event it rarely extended into the
> teens.   Such rapid transition resembled that found in
> primitive societies."

He cited certain figures in history who became famous at an
age much younger than many of today's school leavers - Edward
the Black Prince was 16 when he won the Battle of Crecy, Joan
of Ark was a year younger when she took Orleans from the
English, and Ivan, also 17 had himself crowned Tzar of Russia
and had been labelled "the terrible".

Musgrove in his influential treatise claims that he is able to
date with precision the beginnings of adolescence.

> "The adolescent was invented at the same time as the
> steam engine.   The principal architect of the latter
> was Watt in 1765, of the former Rousseau in 1762.
> Having invented the adolescent, society has been faced
> with two major problems;   how and where to accommodate
> him in the social structure and how to make his
> behaviour accord with the specifications."(10)

Such an assertion is highly suspect since there   re accounts of
"adolescent" young people, well before the eighteenth century.
Modern societies, especially those in the West, are marked by
an extensive period of education for the young. This has
lengthened to meet the needs of an increasingly complex
division of labour and I would argue that this is the major
force prolonging the transitional status between childhood and

adulthood. This has had a consequential reduction in the role

of parents in the socialising of their children and an increase

in segregation of young people from adults. This is manifested

not only during the hours of education but for many, in leisure

time too. Even with children of a very early age, parents

conspire or abdicate certain responsibilities, because they

believe in the beneficial effects in the socialising process of

children playing together and also because it reduces demands

for attention placed on themselves.

> "The new generation of parent is more firmly committed
> to a policy of training serious independence. It
> tolerates more freedom and it expects higher levels of
> performance and responsibility." (11)

In adolescence, as dependency on parents decreases,leisure time

group activities away from the influence of parents and other

adults, increases. At the same time there is an increase in

significance of adolescent group friendships and association

with groups of peers. This provides the focus for this Thesis.

So far, this account of adolescence has focussed on "puberty"

as the boundary between childhood and adulthood - a biological

focus, but there are emotional/adjustment prob ems which are

emphasised by the prolonged time-span between puberty and adult

social maturity. There is also a boundary, at the end of

adolescence, which is even less clear and defined because the

meaning of maturity is unclear and changeable. The inter-play

of biological and social factors combined with the long period

of transition, has emphasised age consciousness not only for

adolescents but also for those who relate to them:

"Youth is part of the age system of society and   only
makes sense when it is construed as such".(12)

Adolescence may be regarded as a period of deficit with
individuals lacking the equipment to be regarded socially,
physically, legally and fiscally as fully-fledged adults.
These factors are brought about by the complex nature of modern
society but, as anthropological writings indicate, this has not
always been the case. The latter in particular, highlight a
simplified and ritualised transition from childhood to
adulthood. Mead (13) draws our attention to the transitions
marked by "rites de passage" in less developed societies, an
example being the circumcision of both boys and girls. Benedict
in an influential paper stressed that the adolescent phenomena
as we know them are largely the product of discontinuity in the
culture between childhood and adulthood. The young person is
practising the skills of adulthood whilst being confronted by
conflicting standards of behaviour so characteristic in the
more complex societies. (14)

Eisenstadt summarised the significance of these "rites de
passage" ceremonies as transformations which represent:

> 1.   a series of rites in which the adolescents
>   are symbolically divested of the characteristics
>   of youth and invested with those of adulthood,
>   from a sexual and social point of view;   this
>   investment, which has deep emotional significance,
>   may have various concrete manifestations: bodily
>   mutilation, circumcision, the taking of a name or

symbolic rebirth;

2. the complete symbolic separation of the male adolescents from the world of their youth, especially from their close attachment to their mothers; in other words, complete "male" independence and image are fully articulated (the opposite usually holds true of girls' initiations);

3. the dramatisation of the encounter between the several generations, a dramatisation that may take the form of a fight or competition in which the basic complementariness of various age grades - whether of a continuous or discontinuous type - is stressed; quite often the discontinuity between adolescents and adulthood is symbolically expressed, as in the symbolic death of the adolescents as children and their rebirth as adults;

4. the transition of the tribal lore with its instructions about proper behaviour, both through various ritual activities; this transmission is combined with:

5. a relaxation of the concrete control of the adults over the erstwhile adolescents and its substitution by self control and adult responsibility." (15)

Anthropological studies are not without their critics. It is argued they are too descriptive with little emphasis being placed on psychological characterisations or upon total configurations. Attention is frequently focussed on modes of behaviour which are either overt or verbalised, but the question arises as to how anthropologists cope with the inexplicit. They are required to interpret rituals which are deeply seated in the culture that they are observing and which are seldom articulated in words. Western vocabularies may themselves be completely inadequate, having insufficient richness to describe such traditions and in consequence may

give rise to totally erroneous conclusions (16).
Anthropological studies have, however, led sociologists to
develop new theories with a cultural bias - see for example the
work of Parsons on youth below.

Eisenstadt also emphasised the transitory nature of
adolescence:

> "the individual is no longer a child (especially from
> the physical and sexual point of view) but is ready to
> undertake many attributes of an adult and to fulfil
> adult roles. But he is not yet fully acknowledged as
> an adult, a full member of the society. Rather, he is
> being "prepared," or is preparing himself for such
> adulthood."(17)

A consequence of this, he argued, is the emergence of:

> ".. a great variety of youth groups, peer groups, youth
> movements and what has been called youth culture."(18)

Thus, youth is afforded a low status position in society only
rectifiable by the achievement of adult maturity. This is the
opposite of what Mannheim prescribed for a reconstructed post-
war Britain since he believed that a dynamic society would give
youth high status and:

> "its proper place and share in public life." (19)

cf China's cultural revolution in which the Red Guard were
mobilised to bring about radical changes.

Sociologists have concentrated their attention on the position of young people in the social structure. There are fundamentally two positions taken up by sociologists, the first being broadly associated with the structural functionalists and the second with Marxists.

Parsons, a prime exponent of the structural-functionalist tradition has drawn attention to "Youth in the context of American Society" and noted that not only has formal education been extended but it has also become more "progressive" and less restrictive. Parents have become permissive with regard to activities outside of the home, which throws:

> "an important stress on the child's relations to his age peers, one that becomes particularly important in adolescence. This is the area least under adult control, in which deviant tendencies can most readily be mutually reinforced, without being immediately checked by adult intervention." (20)

For Parsons, this presented some problems in what he termed "normative upgrading and value generalisation" since newer freedoms are illegitimate in relation to old standards. This, he equated with Durkheim's "anomie" in relation to conflicting expectations on the individual and indeterminacy in the structure of expectations. He argued also that whilst parents are committed to the training of independence they require in return high levels of performance and responsibility.

Parsons concluded that:

"American youth is in a ferment. On the whole, this
ferment seems to accord relatively well with the
sociologists' expectations. It expresses many dissat-
isfactions with the current state of society, some of
which are fully justified, others are of a more dubious
validity." (21)

Writing with White in another paper he argued that:

"the emergence of youth culture and peer groups is part
of a general process of structural differentiation that
has been going on in American society under the
relatively stable general system of values...the peer
group has assumed a place that is complementary to the
school on the one hand, the family on the other, in the
differentiated sub-system of the society having to do
with the socialisation process." (22)

Parsons' analysis is based on two important premises - the

first concerns the movement away from an older order in a

rapidly changing industrial society and the predicted

consequential "anomie" which has a profound affect on the

young. The second premise is that young people, in particular,

will naturally wish to challenge the status quo whilst

ascribing to the deepest values and commitments of the society.

They are activist on account of frustrations brought about by

the lack of full adult status and independence.

The view of Mannheim is not in major disagreement with those

expressed by Parsons. It emphasised age and the acquisition of

experience by the young:

"That experience goes with age is in many ways an
advantage. That, on the other hand, youth lacks
experience means a lightening of the ballast for the
young; it facilitates their living on in a changing
world. One is old primarily in so far as...he comes to
live within a specific, individually acquired framework
of useable past experience, so that every new

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experience has its form and its place largely marked
out for it in advance. In youth,. on the other hand,
where life is new, formative forces are just coming
into being, and basic attitudes in the process of
development can take advantage of the moulding power of
new situations. Thus a human race living on for ever
would have to learn to forget to compensate for the
lack of new generations." (23)

Following the early work by Parsons, and over the last 25 years

especially, the sociological literature on youth culture has

increased in pace with a rapidly developing "youth scene".

However, what was a predominently American preoccupation of

explaining the teenager phenomenom using a functionalist

analysis has turned over the last 15 years or so, to British

analyses of sub-cultures. The interest has been brought about

by young people themselves, since many of the recent sub-

cultural manifestations such as "punks" have eminated in

Britain, in for example, Kings Road, Chelsea.

What is meant by sub-culture?

"pattern norms, rules and standards implicit in the
behaviour, social relations and artifacts - they are
systems of meanings, ideologies, conventionalised
understandings and cognitive and unconscious structures
which may be recognised in a given society with varying
degrees of consciousness and explicit verbal
formulations, but which, in any case, are brought to
conscious awareness and precise formulation" (24).

Youth culture may be described as a way of life different from

the mainstream culture. It embraces a particular pattern of

attitudes, values and beliefs which manifest themselves in

the activities which groups of young people share. Some may be

distinct to a particular peer group and others shared more widely within teenage society, such as the cults of Mods, Rockers, Skinheads and Punks.

Abrams (25) drew attention to the developing "teenage scene" in his study of teenager spending undertaken in 1959. A new consumer group had emerged in the 1950's, not one that was particularly delinquent but one that made market choices in a newly developing leisure industry manifested by coffee and milk bars, fashion clothes, distinctive hair styles, cosmetics, records, films and magazines, two wheeled transport, dancing and dance halls. It was a form of mass culture but dominated, initially at least, by working class males who were the affluent section of teenage society, having left school and taken up work.

Sociologists writing on youth culture have adopted one of the two basic postions, and these will be examined in detail, namely:

      i. Structural functionalist

     ii. neo-Marxist and New wave

i. Structural functionalist.

American sociologists following in the functionalist traditions sought to explain youth culture in terms of the transition from adolescence to adulthood and as a quite normal expectation of the shift in status. Eisenstadt and Parsons op. cit. emphasised the marginal status of young people who by virtue of

prolonged schooling and college, apprenticeships and trainee

postions are not fully integrated into the economic structure

of society. Eisenstadt argued that the transition is more

concerned with coping with emotional shifts than with economic

or political matters. This brings the importance of peer

groups into sharp relief, including the social interaction that

they provide, both within the group and to the placing of the

individuals in the outside world:

> "..the existence of these groups is not fortuitous or
> random, and that they arise and exist only under very
> special conditions .. can also shed light on the
> understanding of the conditions of stability and
> continuity of social systems." (26)

Several studies were undertaken in America to answer the

question of whether a separate culture existed. Elkin and

Westley, (27) who undertook research in a suburb of Montreal

found that the teenagers were closely tied to the family which

itself had a high degree of consensus. In many areas of life

there was a joint participation by both parents and children.

However their sample was small and drawn from an area where 59%

of the male working force were executive, managerial or

professional. Only 20% of the eligible teenagers were

interviewed - this amounted to 20 young people and their

parents plus a further 20 where actual life history data was

available. Whilst the conclusions that a youth culture did not

exist may be appropriate for that middle class area, the

authors admit that the majority of studies had been carried out

in metropolitan areas.

More powerful studies supporting the notion of youth culture include that of Coleman who conducted research in ten American High Schools. 8000 subjects were included in a questionnaire and interview schedule. He argued that:

> "This setting apart of our children in schools - which take on even more functions, ever more "extra curricular" activities - for an even longer period of training has a singular impact on the child of high school age. He is cut off from the rest of society, forced inward towards his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age. With his fellows, he comes to constitute a small society, one that most of its important interactions are within itself, and maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society. In our modern world of mass communication and rapid diffusion of ideas and knowledge, it is hard to realise that sub cultures can exist right under the noses of adults - subcultures with languages all their own, with special symbols, and most important, with value systems that may differ from adults (28).

This major study has not been without its critics. There are those who suggest that the rationale was 'shaky' and that conclusions have been drawn where others would have been equally valid. For example Epperson dismisses Coleman's conclusion concerning the degree that boys disdain from following their fathers' occupations: it is equally plausible that youthful aspirations may be shared by the parents towards upward social mobility, or to realistic self appra sals, or to changes in the occupational role system. (29)

Berger (30) taking a different line asserts that youth culture may be a creature of some young, and some not so young, persons. He suggested that "youthfulness" like fertility is unequally distributed in society and may not be satisfactorily

explained by chronological age. Whilst some young people will
follow ways of life which actually pursue the aims and
expectations set down for youth by adult authorities there are
others who are odds with, or indifferent to, these official
desires and expectations of "responsibility." Youthful traits
are described by Berger as being spontaneous, energetic,
lively, exploratory, venturesome, vivacious, irreverent,
disrespectful, immoderate, action seekers; these being
qualities rather than roles. This provides some explanation of
the tendency for youthful characteristics to be carried well
into the 20's and even beyond the 30's, marked today
especially, by many of the pop idols of the 60's.

The functionalist view tends to provide a generalised view of
the transition to adulthood, the youth culture that exists and
is regarded by many sociologists as too simplistic. It has, in
recent times, failed to account for youth dissention brought
about by factors such as unemployment and of class differences.
How can unemployed youth take on the political and economic
values of adult society?

ii. Neo-Marxist and New Wave.

A strong version of this analysis is taken up by Allen who
argued that the concept "youth" along with "colour" and
"immigrant" can be the basis of social differentiation:

> In complex (what Eisenstadt calls universalistic)
> societies, the experiences of sub-groups with different
> economic positions, differential amounts of power and
> differential access to education, housing, occupations,

status and so on cannot be assumed to be similar
experiences, either subjectively or objectively, for
members of these groups be they 9, 19 or 90 years of
age. (31) My emphasis.

From this she argued that in societies with class systems the
position of youth cannot be understood without reference to
this system. The normative functionalist models most highly
developed in the work of Parsons are, according to Allen,
theoretically inadequate since they stress a stability and
continuity which is unable to account for structural change and
conflict. Thus the experience of:

"a nineteen year old working class youth is strikingly
different from that of a middle or upper class person
of the same age. This is not simply a difference of
economic or social level but a difference which
permeates every aspect of life...in societies with
class systems the position of youth cannot be
understood without reference to this system." (32)

Overall, Allen's thesis is that a new approach to the study of
youth and youth culture is required which puts them firmly:

"into a framework of dialectical structural change."
(33)

This position has guided many recent British sociologists
writing in the neo-Marxist tradition. It is argued that deviant
subcultures tend to be working class subcultures since the
young people come from working class families and
neighbourhoods, they grow up in a working class environment,
occupy the lowest streams in school and leave as soon as
possible passing into "dead end" employment, unemployment or a
Government Training Scheme. Interpretations are given on the
relationship between these working class experiences and

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subcultural styles. The resulting youth movements are "countercultures" against what are described as the predominent middle class norms.

Thus, the focus of many of these writers has been on the problems of working class youth - deviant youth and on interpretations which identify the structural causes. They differ from many of the American studies which accept deviance as a general and natural youth condition associated with the transition to adulthood. The neo-Marxist, on the other hand, believes that:

> "The de-mystification of the youth question must be attacked at its roots, and the roots say that youths are problems and that their problems are senseless and hooligan. The important thing, therefore must be to understand the sense and the meaning of the troubles of the young members of the working class. (34).

Thus, sociologists following in this tradition need to explain the nature of the criticism (through the outward behavioural manifestations) expressed by working class young people in terms of class society.

Murdock and Phelps argued that there will be several subcultures in an:

> "emerging complexity of the triangular relationships between "school culture", "street culture" and "pop media culture", together with the various sub-patterns of meaning which exist within each of these general cultural constellations". (35)

They define "street culture," as being a particularly working class feature, and "pop media culture" as being distributed

unequally amongst adolescents, i.e, being shared by many

different young people across class divisions. They asserted

that others have combined these two features in the generalised

notion we call youth culture.

Several years later Murdock, writing with McCron, argued that

the rediscovery of class inequalities :

> "..finally revealed the conceptual bankcruptcy of
> "youth culture" theory ... increasing numbers of
> commentators and researchers recognised the need to
> restore class to the centre of the sociology of youth."
> (36)

The "new wave" movement is a development within the neo-

Marxists perspective. It distinguishes qualitatively different

class circumstances with which members of different classes of

young people must contend. It is thus, a class based

formulation which owes much to the "new criminology" of the

late 60's and 70's. Social class becomes central to their

theories of youth expressed in the:

> "...dialectic between a "hegemonic" dominant culture
> and the subordinate working class "parent" culture, of
> which youth is a fraction." (37)

They argue that the major sub-cultural movements amongst young

people - the skinheads, punks and the earlier teddy boys should

not be seen as mindless "yobbos" but as significant expressions

of youth frustrations and predicaments, and of society in

general. Unfortunately, the "fads" generated by the young,

(new wave theorists do see them as media led) are assimilated

into mainstream fashion, cease to serve the needs of the

working classes and are replaced by a new "fad". This explains, to some extent, at least, why these movements are somewhat transitory.

The British subcultural and new wave theories are still underdeveloped, the substantive arguments are backed by little more than preliminary and small scale studies such as the somewhat descriptive ethnomethodolical small group working class male studies (these will be explored later in this chapter). They lack insufficient "hard data" from empirical research and often rely on media illustration and representation of youth. This hardly justifies the generalisations which have resulted especially as the focus has largely ignored middle class youth.

Besides research with delinquents attracting public funds for research:

> "another reason for this neglect has been the
> difficulty of decoding middle class youth cultures.
> They defy all attempts to impose the one readily
> available middle/working class model. Presenting
> hippies or beatniks as representatives of all middle
> class youth would offend the most vivid sociological
> imagination." (38)

Equally, I would argue, it would be wrong to present all working class youth as non-conformists in the schooling system or as a race of "skinheads!"

One of the main critics in Britain of the Marxist analyses of the subcultural theory of youth is Marsland. (39) He asserted that youth is subordinated by the Marxists into their class

theory whereas, for him, class is one of several explanatory variables for the behaviour of young people.

Frith agreed, and in referring to youth culture asserted that:

> "Its relative importance can only be assessed empirically, will be different for different groups in different situations. As an age group, young people of all classes do share the structural problems of the transition from childhood to maturity; they are well aware of their difference from the other age groups in society." (40).

The existence of separate adolescent behaviour and value systems would generally not be denied by sociologists. The extent to which they are in opposition to adult values is more open to question and the likely variation amongst different groups of young people considerable. *The explanations given by* sociologists will depend on their conceptual position. The neo-Marxists would wish to subsume subcultures within their class analysis, as contracultures, and deny their independent existence from class. Oppositional behaviours expressed by . working class youth are said to be a direct manifestation of their class position and frustrations, lack of independence and powerlessness; a position which is shared across the age boundaries although in different forms.

The structural functionalist analyses were advanced in the 1950's and early 60's at a time when America was affluent and full of optimism following the second world war. Employment was plentifully available and the transition from childhood to adulthood relatively smooth. The situation has changed and many youths have become a real problem to society. Those in

the deprived sectors of their society have posed the greatest threat to the social order, perhaps as great as that experienced in the 1920's and 30's. The analysis needs extending in order to take account of variations in the youth subcultures without losing sight of the possible generalisations for youth as a whole, as they undergo the transition, since they will still become adult!

The neo-Marxist challenge to the conventional functionalist analysis of youth is only part of a major challenge in sociology today. Indeed, there is a tendency for Marxists' to generalise all human relations in society to that of class and completely ignore age as it defines youth. This will be emphasised later when the work of Hall and his associates is considered further. For the present, I wish to argue that youth is a significant reality whether viewed from the biological and psychological levels or sociologically. It needs further analysis and refinement and we should resist the Marxists' distractions.

The importance of the peer group is emphasised by several of the writers whose work has been reviewed in this section of the Chapter. In the next section a detailed consideration will be given to the peer group as part of the theoretical underpinning of the work of this thesis.

The Adolescent Peer Group

The word "peer" has been used throughout the ages to refer to
equals, being derived from the Latin word "paris" meaning
"equals". Etymologically too, peers are equals and in the
English language is derived from the Anglo-Norman "pares". In
law, "judicum parium" gives the right to be tried by equals.
In the House of Lords, a peerage is derived from peer-age
meaning equals. Many writers in both the sociological and
psychological literature have emphasised the importance of the
peer group in adolescence.

Although in the 1840's, according to Kett, peer loyalty was
dismissed *as no more than a "low principle of schoolboy*
ethics", today most writers on adolescence agree that:

> "Peer relations play an important role in adolescent
> development.... Peers play an important role in
> determining the content of behaviour as well as in all
> aspects of social and cognitive learning. Experiences
> with peers are vital in the development of standards
> and behaviour." (41)

Erikson, in his book, "Youth and Crisis", referred to the
identity crisis which is characteristic of the adolescent
period. He asserted that this period requires a 'moratorium",
a:

> "period of delay granted to somebody who is not
> ready to meet an obligation or forced on somebody
> who should give himself time."

Thus, in the context of adolescence, a psycho-social moratorium
becomes:

> "a delay of adult commitments, and yet it is not only a
> delay. It is a period that is characterised by a
> selective permissiveness on the part of society and a
> provocative playfulness on the part of youth, and yet
> it also often leads to deep, if often transitory,
> commitment on the part of youth, and ends in a more or
> less ceremonial confirmation of commitment on the part
> of society." (42)

Erikson, developing earlier work by Freud, emphasised

adolescent psycho-pathology from a psycho-analytic point of

view. He saw adolescents joining groups in an endeavour to

solve doubts they had in their elders even if this necessitated

joining deviant cliques and gangs (43).   In another book he

emphasised that the psycho-social moratorium takes on:

> "some form and duration between the advent of genital
> maturity and the onset of responsible adulthood, (it)
> seems to be built into a schedule of human
> development." (44)

And yet, he argued that there is a denial of the reversibility

of historical time:

> "expressed in a clique's or gang's delusion of being an
> organisation with a tradition and organisation of its
> own... temporary gains derived by the joiner from the
> mere fact that he has been taken into a pseudo-
> society." (45)

This somewhat negative emphasis needs to be considered

alongside Erikson's description of the isolated youngster

suffering torment whilst the group joiner has temporary gains.

Inevitably, with the psycho-analytic writers, there is an over-

emphasis on sexual development during puberty even though they

do not all share the view that human sexuality begins at

adolescence. They argue that the idea of "penis envy" in
girls and the "castration complex" in boys becomes the centre
of their interest and gives rise, according to Erikson, to
auto-eroticism, grandiosity and playfulness which is immensely
amplified due to genital potency and "locomotive maturation".

Parsons stated in an influential paper published in Daedalus
that there is a duality of orientation for youth:

> "On the one hand he finds a compulsive independence in
> relation to certain adult expectations, a touchy
> sensitivity to control which in certain cases is
> expressed in overt defiance. On the other hand, within
> the group, there tends to be a fiercely compulsive
> conformity, a sharp loyalty to the group, an insistence
> on the literal observance of its norms and the
> punishment of deviance." (46)

He goes on to identify particular traits which manifest
themselves as distinctive patterns of American youth culture,
namely sexual standards infringing the taboos set up by adults;
masculine physical prowess expressed particularly in athletic
pursuits; an apathy towards politics; and having a "good"
time. Here, Parsons established the link between adolescent
sub-cultural activities and the peer group.

Coleman, (47) proposed three reasons to explain why the peer
group takes on a particular significance during the period of
adolescence. Firstly, he drew attention to the marked
upheaval in physical development and in its concomitant social
and emotional reorganisation. These force the individual to
cope with new and unknown experiences which in turn provoke a
major challenge to identity and self-esteem. It is not

surprising under these circumstances that the adolescent turns

to those who are undergoing similar experiences; his peers.

His second reason concerned the gradual severance of emotional

ties with parents.   In striving towards independence, adult

standards are questioned; there is a tendency towards rebellion

against authority and a weakening of the emotional dependency

formed with parents in childhood.   Coleman drew attention to

the paradox here, for at a time of great uncertainty and self-

doubt and when support is most needed, the adolescent finds it

difficult to turn to his parents.   The final reason concerned

experimentation.   During this "psycho-social moratorium"

already referred to, teenagers explore behaviours which are

both acceptable and unacceptable to society and which are

almost totally explored through the medium of the peer group.

Sebald described this "peer' phenomenon in terms of:

> "Teenagers among themselves have created a relatively
> stable, although temporary, social structure.   They
> know they belong together and observe norms and values
> not necessarily consistent with the adult world's
> folkways and mores ...   In their peer culture they find
> status and consequently the role of the teenager." (48)

The social science literature on the peer group is extensive

and many more references could have been cited here in support

of the view that the peer group is of great significance during

the period of adolescence.   But what evidence is there to

support the positive and negative effects of belonging to such

a group?   In the next two sections consideration is given to

some of the research undertaken by social scientists in the

examination of the nature of the peer group and friendship. To

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aid this, a computerised literature search was undertaken to

explore research within three citation indices, namely,

Sociological Abstracts, Eric and Social Scisearch.

Peer Group Research

A perusal of the references revealed that overall there is a

lack of recent research into the adolescent peer group,

although a number of significant publications were identified.

The lack of appropriate references is in agreement with Adelson

(1980) who stated that:

> "After a long, long period of intellectual sleepiness
> the study of adolescence has begun to stir itself
> awake. During the last decade genuinely new ideas and
> findings have made their appearance in the scientific
> literature; yet the revival has gone virtually
> unnoticed, except among specialists." (49)

It is also striking that the majority of reference sources were

of American origin, although there were some notable British

ethnographic studies which will be considered later in this

Chapter.

Research into the adolescent peer group may be broadly focussed

in three main areas:

        a.   Lessening of parental controls
        b.   Peer group attitudes and values
        c.   Ethnographic studies.

The literature presented is classified into each of these

areas, although there is inevitably some overlap between some

of them.

(a) Lessening of Parental Controls

The main focus in the research literature is provided by the significance of parent/peer conflict. It is determined by the different levels of influence that peers and parents have on the young person. There is, however, considerable disagreement in the literature regarding the extent of this. Coleman, in the late 1950's undertook an extensive study of young people. He asked in one set of questions whether young people would join a school club:

      i. If their parents disapproved;
   ii. If their favourite teacher disapproved;
 iii. If it would mean breaking with their closest
       friend?

They were then asked whose disapproval would be the most difficult to accept - parents, teachers or friends. Table 1 below indicates the response.

Table 1

"Which one of these things would be hardest for you to take - your parents' disapproval, your teachers', or breaking with your friend?"

	Boys	Girls
Parents' disapproval	53.8%	52.9%
Teachers' disapproval	3.5%	2.7%
Breaking with friend	42.7%	43.4%
Number of cases (excluding non-responses)	3621	3894

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Coleman concluded that:

> "The responses indicate a rather even split between
> friend and parent while the teachers' disapproval
> counts most for only a tiny minority. The balance
> between parents and friends indicates the extent of the
> state of transition that adolescents experience -
> leaving one family but not yet in another, they
> consequently look both forward to their peers and
> backward to their parents." (50)

Keniston (51) refered to the young person's "systematic
disengagement" from adult society during adolescence, a theme
which features in Porter-Gehrie's study of a middle-class
adolescent peer group engaged in fund-raising for poor people
in the United States. The group had responsibility for not
only raising the money but also spending it, and the author
concludes that members of the group acted like:

> "a successful adult engaged in managerial and
> administrative tasks."

They became aware of the economic power that their fund-
raising generated and as a result jealously guarded the money
and:

> "sacrificed a potentially wider range of adult contact
> in order to keep their autonomy." (52)

A study of adolescent boys carried out by Iacovetta set out to
test the following hypotheses:

i. The lower the quality of the adolescent's
interaction with adults, the higher the frequency
of interaction with peers.

ii. The lower the quality of the adolescent's
interaction with adults, the higher the dependence
upon peers.

iii. The lower the quality of the adolescent's
interaction with adults, the higher the autonomy
of interaction with peers. (53)

Likert type scales were used to elicit the responses to the

following questions:

1.   Can you go to your parents or other adults for
help or advice when you have a problem or when you
are involved in some kind of trouble?

2.   Do your parents understand your problems?

3.   Do you think that the opinions and suggestions of
most adults are good guides for behaviour?

4.   How often do you disobey your parents?

5.   Do you consider your relationship with your
parents ideal, satisfactory, unsatisfactory?

6.   Check the answer that best expresses your attitude
towards the following statement:

**"There are practically no adults that help the teenager these
days..."**

The scales were combined using factor analysis and a dimension

labelled "Quality of Adolescent-Adult Interaction" was

generated. For "peer group involvement" three dimensions were

identified, and questions formulated, to test:

1.   Frequency of interaction with peers;

2.   Dependence upon peers;

3.   Autonomy of interaction with peers.

Each had a single question:

For 1   "Approximately how many nights a week do you get together with friends?

For 2   "For help in facing life's problems the teenager must turn mostly to friends."

For 3   "Do your parents generally know who you are with when you are out with friends?"

Iacovetta concluded from the results that:

> "analysis indicated that the quality of adolescent-adult interaction is inversely related to peer group involvement and that the relationship is statistically significant beyond the .001 level. This holds true for each dimension of peer group involvement included in the analysis. Thus, the analysis supports the hypotheses." (54)

The sample was limited to approximately 623 white males from senior pupils of seven High Schools in St. Louis, U.S.A. Iacovetta suggests that different results might have emerged had the sample included girls or been undertaken in other situations.

A study by Bowerman and Kinch in 1959 (55) examines "norm orientation" and "identification" in which subjects are asked whose ideas are most like their own on a variety of topics. They are also asked whether their family or friends understand

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them better and whether, when they grow up, they would prefer

to be like their parents or like they thought their friends

would be. The results are tabulated by age. Between the 7th

and 8th grades of school, the peer group overtake parents in

respect of normative orientation. However, as far as

identification is concerned, there is an increase for peers but

not to the same extent as for normative orientation (Table

2).

Table 2

Percentage of Children Classified as Having Family, Peer, or Neutral Orientation by Grade in School (after Bowerman & Kinch, 1959)

| | | | | Grade level | * | | |
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Normative Orientation							
Family	82.2	64.6	69.8	51.9	33.0	42.4	30.4
Peer	11.9	23.2	18.1	34.3	52.2	41.2	50.6
Neutral	5.9	12.2	12.1	13.9	14.8	16.5	19.0
Identification							
Family	81.2	79.2	77.6	72.2	57.4	62.3	51.9
Peer	5.0	2.4	4.3	9.2	18.2	13.0	26.6
Neutral	13.8	18.3	18.1	18.5	24.3	24.7	21.5

Source: Published in C. E. Bowerman and J. W Kinch (1959).

* Age 13

Five years later similar findings are described by Brittain

(56) who advances the "situational hypothesis" in which parent

wishes or peer pressures depend primarily on the situation.

Further corroboration is provided by Larsen who states:

> "... the adolescent is said to follow the wishes of his
> parents rather than those of his peers when the context
> requires decisions that have futuristic implications.
> Conversely, when the decision involves current status
> and identity needs, the adolescents opt for the wishes
> of their peers. Brittain's research has strongly
> supported the assumption that adolescents perceive
> peers and parents as competent guides in different
> areas..." (57)

A major study carried out by Kandel and Lesser in 1972 examines

adolescents and their parents in the United States and Denmark.

They found that in terms of future life goals, the influence of

parents is much stronger than that of peers, in both countries:

> "Peers have less influence on adolescents than parents
> with regards to future educational goals." (58)

It is clear from the evidence that peers do exert a powerful

influence on the young person but whether parents or peers have

the greater influence depends on the situation.

Some explanation for this is offered by Douvan and Adelson (59)

who refer to the adolescent's quest for autonomy and to the

degree of uncertainty generated in the parents concerning

appropriate norms for a youngster. They suggest that parents:

> "are likely to be impressed (probably over-impressed)
> by social change, likely to feel that parent and child
> live in different worlds, and that they themselves lack
> the experience to teach the child how to meet and
> manage his world. We have here something similar to a
> self-fulfilling prophecy. Half believing he cannot
> really guide his child, the parent helps the child in
> his turn to the peer group. This is done ... in an
> atmosphere of doubt and ambivalence." (60)

It is worthy of note that Kingsley Davis, (61) in an article

published as early as 1940, refers to rapid social change as

being a reason for parent-adolescent conflict. He argues that

it has crowded historical meaning into the family time span,

which in effect gives the adolescent a different social context

from that which the parent acquired. He concludes that:

> "If ours were a simple-stable society, mainly
> familistic, emancipation from parental authority being
> gradual and marked by definite institutionalised steps,
> with no great postponement of marriage, sex taboo, or
> open competition from status, parents and youth would
> not be in conflict. Hence, the presence of parent-
> youth conflict in our civilisation is, one more
> specific manifestation of the incompatibility between
> an urban-industrial-mobile social system and the
> familial type of reproductive institution." (62)

(b) Peer Group Values and Attitudes

I referred earlier to the uncertainty associated with the
period of adolescence in modern society which gives rise to
adolescents turning to themselves, (in peer groups) where
expressions of loyalty and commitment are demonstrated.
Several sociological explanations have been advanced for this.
Parsons and Bales, (63) for example, draw attention to the
power and authority dimensions associated with the adult as a
ruling force at home and in school. These compare with the peer
group in which the same dimensions of power and authority are
based primarily on the willing consent of the participants and
are both relevant and universalistic, in their terms. This
mutuality of control and acceptance in the peer group helps the
young person to build a sense of "ethical universalism."
Eisenstadt, (64) agreed - major adult activities are organised
on a universalistic, i.e. non-kinship basis, whereas the peer
group can be likened to a kin group since it is small and
represents face-to-face interactions based on inter-personal
relationships.   This aids breaking with the family and its
authority and leads to participation in the broader context of

adult society.

I now consider a number of research findings drawn from studies examining adolescent values and attitudes which largely focus on conformity of behaviour, both of a deviant and non-deviant kind. Several research studies were carried out by Constanzo and Shaw, (65). In one of their earlier studies they asked subjects to make decisions about the length of a line (this was based on Asch's paradigm on the effects of group pressure.) Twenty-four subjects at each of four age levels and divided equally between boys and girls, are presented with the illusion that all members of the group differed from a subject concerning the length of the line. Susceptibility to group pressure is significantly related to age, as indicated in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3
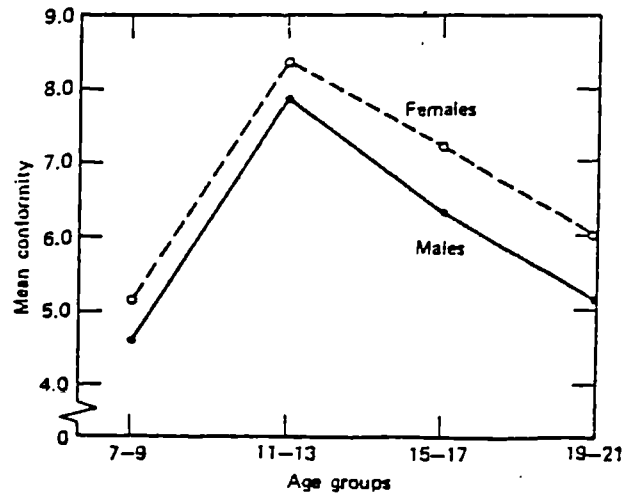
Mean conformity as a function of age (after Costanzo and Shaw, 1966).

The highest degree of conformity measured is between the ages of 11-13. The lowest level is with the 7-9's, and beyond age 13 there is a gradual decrease, although females are more conforming than males throughout.

A second study by Constanzo, (66) developed the earlier work a stage further by adding the dimension "self-blame". Subjects are assessed by a story completion test in which heroes in the stories caused some accident or disaster inadvertently. Subjects complete the stories indicating who is to blame. Constanzo's results show that conformity follows a similar pattern with age, although its extent is strongly affected by the degree of self blame.

Bronfenbrenner and Devereux (67), identify what they call the "peer-orientated child" who comes from a warm, democratic, permissive home where peer groups play a more salient role than parents. In a later analysis Devereux found that those

adolescents who spend most of their time in gangs are the least dependable and the least achievement-orientated. So we have here a picture of the:

> "nice, popular, outgoing, and friendly adolescents (who were also so) irresponsible, anxious, mischievous and under achieving?" (68).

Overall, Devereux concludes that:

> "Children who spend much time with friends yield more to peer pressure than do those who spend time with adults. And children who spend relatively more time with gangs of peers yield more than those who play with single friends. Hence, at face value, almost any peer experience appears to have at least some potential for drawing children towards deviance." (69)

In this context "gang" is used as a negative concept and associated with deviance.

In a more recent study, Bart (70) undertook research in a school selected for its high incidence of antisocial behaviour. Eleven of twelve groups identified within the school, each consisting of 4-7 members, were found to have negative attitudes towards the school and,

> "group leaders tended to be described as outgoing, tough, bold, intimidating, resolute, negative towards school, and attired in attention-getting clothes." (71)

Since the study was undertaken in a single school with a small sample of students, and included blacks, whites, girls and boys from the seventh and eighth grades, together with 10 staff members, it is clear that the evidence is somewhat limited.

In an examination of the social comparison process amongst adolescents in a peer group, Seltzer, (72) concludes from his researches that,

"peer group interaction is serious business"

and goes on to assert that serious developmental concerns are involved with reality testing and measurement of self against fellow adolescents.

> "The peer group appears to function as a sorting house
> characterised by pulsating, evaluational tempo, where
> subjects use one another, not so much to compete as to
> compare." (73)

A British study undertaken by Coleman, (74) uses a sentence completion procedure to examine the independence-conformity dimension as a function of age. Subjects are asked to complete the sentence:

"If someone is not part of the group ..."

His findings show that independence (constructive responses) remain at a very low level in the lower age group 11-15, but increase signficantly at 17. The corresponding negative responses decline sharply from the age of 15 but are less marked for girls than boys, (See Table 4).

TABLE 4
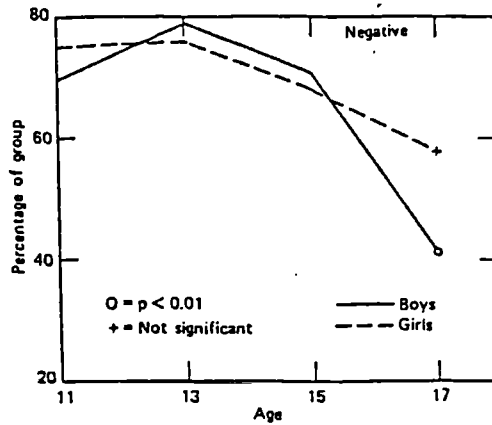
Proportions of each age group expressing negative themes (anxiety, worry, etc.) on a sentence-completion test item to do with independence from the peer group

The results are consistent with those of Constanzo and Shaw (op. cit.) and of Landsbaum and Willis, (75).

Bhagat and Frazer (76) researching in Glasgow asked boys to rate their peers using a number of scales and to complete judgements of evaluation, potency, activity and aggression. They conclude that juvenile offenders tend to rate their peers less positively.

I would argue that peer group influence over an individual member's delinquency requires considerably more research than has been undertaken to date by sociologists and psychologists. The problem is that the vast majority of research into delinquency has been conducted on individuals. It is not yet fully clear whether delinquents are individuals who have strong bonds with their peers or whether they are "loners" from disturbed backgrounds who are incapable of forming deep and lasting relationships with others.

The evidence in this section is fairly disparate although it is clear that in the middle period of adolescence, conformity to the peer group is at its highest.

(c) Ethnographic Studies

The sociological tradition for the study of small groups was developed primarily at the University of Chicago in the early part of the century. This interest in small group research led to a number of field studies which have had a major impact in social psychology. ' Of particular importance are the studies of Thrasher, (78) and the now classic study by WilliamFoot-Whyte of the Norton Street Gang in the 1930's.(79) Foot-Whyte used the method of participant observation to ethnographically describe an Italian slum gang's activities, including the structure of leadership and influence.

Butters argues that:

> "Since the late 60's, there has been an increasingly
> confident suggestion that participant observation
> practiced under the aegis of Symbolic Interactionism
> constitutes a "paradigm" of theory and methods to rival
> the positivist/functionalist approach." (80)

In this he is including the several important British ethnographic studies which in the last fourteen years have been published on adolescent groups. Four have been selected for specific study:

i. Daniel and McGuire, **The Paint House** (1972)
ii. Parker, **View from the Boys** (1974)
iii. Willis, **Learning to Labour** (1977)

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iv. The Williamsons', **Five Years** (1981)

Each of these are considered briefly, in turn.

i. The Painthouse (81)

Daniel and McGuire describe the Painthouse as:

> "a co-operative of all those involved... (the)
> manuscript is the product of that co-operative action.
> It was not highly organised, but consisted of informal
> meetings of groups and individuals talking about their
> own ideas. All of these meetings were tape-recorded
> and the recordings then typed up.   The material was
> then put in categories and edited." (82)

They go on to suggest that the book is not a sociological work,

or a professional study, but rather a fair selection of views

and opinions expressed about an East End gang through

conversations and arguments - its life and attitudes, the local

youth club and school, views on work, authority and the law.

There are 14 key members of this gang which the authors argue,

is one of the first skinhead gangs in England in 1968.   The

Painthouse, after which the book is named, was originally known

as the Cellar Club and was situated in a decaying Victorian

building in the East End of London.   The gang is a racially

mixed group of West Indian, mixed nationalities (West Indian

and English), Jewish, Irish and English.

The book describes the gang's exploits, particularly in respect

of its major preoccupation in attacking and robbing Pakistani's

in the East End (Paki-bashing.) Chapters are devoted to

school, work, immigrants in general, football and violence, all

vividly illustrated with the recorded narrative.

The authors conclude that the group:

> "demonstrated how strongly they believe that they are
> under pressure to conform with the established values
> of society.   They singled out members of their own
> community to attack - children at school who were
> successful were referred to as "dummoes" because they
> believed that these children conformed, also did as
> they were told and didn't think for themselves.   They
> saw these children as being on their way out of the
> local culture and in the future to take establishment-
> type jobs - the future officials, police, etc.   Also
> they attack local people termed as traitors, East End
> people who had adopted values other than those that the
> gang believes to be the values of the East End.   Their
> vicious attack on the middle-class and all that they
> associate with it, perhaps indicates the gang's fear
> that the middle-class is a real threat and reference is
> made to local people who are becoming middle class, at
> least in attitudes." (83)

A concluding chapter given over to the gang claims that:

> "We need to change society.   Change frightens people,
> any people.   Not only the upper classes but our
> parents and us too. Change means revolution.   People,
> even those who write and talk about revolution, think
> it means smashing everything up, bombing and shooting
> and killing people. They don't hear when you talk
> about a peaceful revolution, they still imagine bombs
> and things.   They don't realise that we don't want to
> harm them as people but change the way we live.   Most
> of the people who talk about revolution think of
> themselves as leaders and they want to take over after
> the revolution and replace the people who control us
> now.   Instead of believing in equality they believe in
> power.
>
> It is through equality that we get rid of class and
> exploitation." (84)

The painthouse emphasises strong peer loyalty and anti-social

behaviour towards those who are not of their kind - the middle

classes and particularly the status dissenting working class,
as perceived by the group.

The accounts of violence contained in the Painthouse contrast
markedly with the group's expressed desire of not harming
anyone and for a peaceful revolution!

ii. View from the Boys (85)

Howard Parker's study was undertaken with a group known as "The
Boys" from Roundhouse, a down-town area of Liverpool.   He
describes the boys as:

> "a social network of late adolescents, who, as the
> dominant peer group at their own age level, have
> reached manhood together having lived in Roundhouse all
> their lives." (86)

This three year study is with a group of very delinquent boys
who Parker describes as:

> "a recognisable peer group, a network of lads who have
> grown up together and are seen around together in
> various combinations .... The Boys represent the
> largest and most recognisable adolescents' network of
> this kind in the area." (87)

The author describes in his final chapter, how he knew The Boys
when he was on the staff of Sandhills, a local school.   He
made contact with the group again after taking up a research
post in the university but immediately had to resolve an issue
faced by many participant observers, namely, as to how he could

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move into the group and start work. The pub provides a focus for group meetings. It is assumed by many local people that he is on the dole and when he does declare that he is undertaking research work he states that it is for studying the way the police and the courts operated. Because of the delinquent nature of this group he finds conflict on occasion between his role as participant observer and that of a member of the group. This is emphasised when the group is engaged in delinquent acts since, as the relationship develops, a greater amount of time is spent "knocking around" with the members. He describes, with some vivid quotations, the development of the group's delinquent activities; confrontations with the police, appearances in court and attitudes towards girls and other leisure pursuits. In the penultimate chapter which Parker titles "On the edge of society", he attempts to unravel the socialising influences and attitude formation of the group members. He describes how although about a third of the network pass their 11+ examination and go to the local grammar school, with only two exceptions they have left and joined the Catholic secondary modern school of St. Patrick, within three years. One boy "Fosser" did not even complete the first year at the grammar school. Attitudes to school, the church and to life in general are explored. In the conclusion to the study Parker suggests that there will continue to be a high level of compliance amongst The Boys towards the system – the values of achievement and having a job or business. Some will become "big spenders" arising from the proceeds of their criminal activities and they might also might move to a better area,

but:

> "... most of The Boys will not even break out to this
> extent nor deviate from what they know to be the
> rules, (this) can be explained only by a subtle blend
> of time, experience, coercion, compromise, mellowing
> and acceptance of other conventional roles such as
> husband, father, breadwinner." (88)

iii. Learning to Labour (89)

The aim of this study was to examine the transition from school

to work of non-academic working class boys. Willis calls the

main group "the lads" who provide a counter-school culture;

and a case study is prepared following interviews, group

discussions and participant observation. The study focusses on

the group's last two years at school and the early months of

work.

The group comprises 12 non-academic working class lads from a

town which Willis calls "Hammertown" and are selected by the

researcher on the basis of friendship links and membership of

an oppositional culture in a working class school. The main

ethnographic part of the study contributes to a later analysis

in three sections:

1. ELEMENTS OF CULTURE covering:

   a) Opposition to authority and the rejecting of the
      conformist (an exploration of counter-school
      culture)

b)   The informal group

Dossing - going to sleep in class
Blagging and wagging - leaving school after
registration.
Developing plays to a fine art. Self direction
and thwarting of the organisational aims of the
school such as playing cards behind a locked door,
asking to miss class to do a non-existent job -
teachers pleased to let them go.

c)   Having a laff

Making laughter usually at other people's expense.

d)   Boredom and excitement

Playing the system through the group to gain
excitement in school (but this might lead to
boredom). Outside of school, excitement is gained
from fighting, drinking, attending commercial
dances, vandalism and exploiting minorities.

e)   Sexism

Conquests and joking with or about girls.
Sexual jokes.

f)   Racism

Separation is their form of rejecting others but
they would be in the thick of racial disturbances
in school. West Indians come off better than
Asians.

2.   CLASS AND INSTITUTIONAL FORM OF A CULTURE

Links with the wider working class culture,
masculinity of the shop floor culture. The
institutional form is expressed by the 5th form
culture and parents views are shared.

3.   LABOUR POWER, CULTURE, CLASS AND INSTITUTION

a)   Official provision -

Attitudes to careers and vocational guidance.

b)   Continuities -

Rejection of teachers continuity between school
and work. The lads culture guides them to the
shop floor.

c) Jobs -

Most undertake manual and semi-skilled work - jobs are all the same, which one doesn't matter, so long as it earns money.

d) Arriving -

Half had left their first job within the year and this led to new jobs or periods of unemployment.

In each of the sections the detailed transcripts of conversations are provided together with descriptive contextualisation and research notes recorded at the end of each session to assist subsequent interpretation. In a part titled "Analysis", Willis attempts to interpret his data using a Marxist framework. This set Willis the task of examining cultural forms - the maintenance and reproduction of the social order, for example in the transition from school to work. In this respect he asserted that:

"Working class kids who had really absorbed the rubric of self-development, satisfaction and interest in work, would be a terrifying battle. Armies of kids equipped with their "self-concepts" would be fighting to enter the few meaningful jobs available, and masses of employers would be struggling to press them into meaningless work." (90)

Thus, the rejection of the values of the school by many working class kids helps, according to Willis, to perpetuate working class ideologies and maintain the existing social order.

(iv) Five Years (91)

The Williamsons' describe this study as a true story of five

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teenagers who grew up together in an area of classic social deprivation (sporadically attending the local comprehensive school and getting into the usual kinds of "trouble" associated with working-class youth.) A particular feature of this study is the fact that despite similar backgrounds the boys went very different ways between the ages of 13 and 18.

With regard to methodology, Williamson states that:

> "I never became (nor did I ever intend to become) "one of the boys"; and if I had tried, I would have been despised for it. I was different, but that difference became acceptable because I treated them all with respect." (92)

Delinquent activities and court appearances are described together with drinking, violence and exploits with girls, including pregnancies arising through not using contraceptives. The girls according to the Williamsons:

> ".. were a prop to peer group status so long as their demands on a boy's time did not prevent him from being with the peer group on most occasions. The boys and the "crowd" always came first." (93)

The book concludes with a case study of each of the five group members, together with a postscript dated March 1981 stating what each group member was doing at that time - buying out of the army; being out of work; parting with the girl-friend; being released from Borstal; being involved in the cultures surrounding drug-taking, gay liberation and anti-Nazi movements of the young London scene.

Each of the ethnographic studies described, undertaken using the participant observation approach, are small-scale, longitudinal and highly detailed. The techniques employed are similar to those of social anthropologists, the theorising being based on fieldwork data presented as ethnographic descriptions which aim to map the meaning of custom, role and social structure within a defined social system. Of late, this approach has shifted towards the "phenomenological" in an endeavour to assist individual researchers to make sense of their social encounters, albeit often as a result of intuition. There are many variants to the participant observation approach and Becker has given serious attention to the problems arising in his paper, "Inference and proof in participant observation." (94)

In his conclusion he warns that:

> "Those who work with this (participant observation) and
> similar techniques (need) to attempt greater
> formalization and systematization of the various
> operations they use, in order that qualitative research
> may become more a "scientific" and less an "artistic"
> kind of endeavour." (95)

Further consideration will be given to the research and methodological approaches presented, in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER ONE

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THE NATURE OF FRIENDSHIP

What is a Friend?

What is a friend? I will tell you. It is a person with
whom you dare to be yourself ∞ ※ Your soul can be
naked with him. ❦ He seems to ask of you to put on
nothing, only to be what you are. He does not want
you to be better or worse. ∞ ∞ ∞ When you are
with him, you feel as a prisoner feels who has been
declared innocent. ❦ You do not have to be on your
guard. You can say what you think, so long as it is
genuinely you. He understands those contradictions
in your nature that lead others to misjudge you. ❦
With him you breathe freely. ∞ ∞ You can avow
your little vanities and envies and hates and vicious
sparks, your meannesses and absurdities and, in
opening them up to him, they are lost, dissolved on
the white ocean of his loyalty ∞ ※ He understands.
You do not have to be careful. You can abuse him,
neglect him, tolerate him. Best of all, you can keep
still with him. It makes no matter. He likes you—
He is like fire that purges to the bone. ❦ He under-
stands. He understands. ∞ ※ You can weep with
him, sin with him, laugh with him, pray with him.
Through it all—and underneath—he sees, knows .
and loves you. ∞ ※ A friend? What is a friend? Just
one, I repeat, with whom you dare to be yourself. ❦

— C. Raymond Beran

Considering the importance attached to friendship over the

centuries, and especially in the modern world, it is surprising

that very little research into friendship has been undertaken.

"Friend" and "friendship" are words we use to describe a

relationship between two or more persons and the words do not

describe the characteristics of one or more of those persons.
Ramsøy has suggested that there are considerable differences in
the nature of the friendship bond, differences from society to
society and that:

> "partly for this reason, friendship is not at present a
> specialised field of enquiry in sociology. While few
> studies focus on friendship, many find it, since
> closeness to others is a pervasive potentiality in
> man." (1)

He also drew attention to the fact that friendship during the
period of adolescence might be more significant than at earlier
or later ages.

Because of its closeness and intimacy, friendship may be
described as a primary relationship - a fundamental human
relationship which seems to satisfy a basic need for
companionship and which extends beyond the bounds of family and
marriage. The relationship is located within the accepted
value system of society and based on symbols and qualities
which cannot be fully integrated into the institutional
frameworks of a society. In our modern society, not having
friends carries with it a certain taboo, and a probable feeling
of inadequacy and loneliness.

> "No one would choose a friendless existence on
> condition of having all other good things in the
> world." The ethics of Aristotle.

There may be factors in modern society, with its increased
mobility, which affect not only the persistence of

relationships but also their formation and intensity.

The mechanism which causes two or more people to come together through interpersonal attraction, as friends, i.e. how the relationship is "sparked-off", is a complex one and Duck has asserted that:

> "After millions of years of evolution (2 or 3,000 of them being relatively civilised and notable for the complex social structures which have been developed), we do not know what causes people to like each other, to choose their friends or to marry one person rather than another - despite the concern of many writers and thinkers of various sorts over this very issue." (2)

To study friendship is to study something which is dynamic and which, with care, is capable of being captured and described at any point in time. We need to know "what is" in the friendship in order to assess changes and draw generalisations which contribute to the theory of friendship.

MacIver, in an influential essay published in the 1940's indicated that sociologists need to know about the nature of social processes and the modes of dynamic relationships, particularly in the ways that people become associated and disassociated. He argued that:

> " ... the principle of integration combines and even confuses two quite different forms of group unity. There is a difference between the subjective harmony of the attitudes of group members towards one another and the harmony of ideas. We can observe in many groups the social unity within which people feel at one though their opinions still differ." (3)

Drawing on MacIver's work, Lazarsfeld and Merton proposed that there was need to interlock the:

"use of substantive conceptions (both theoretical and empirical) and of methological or formal conceptions in the analysis of a particular type of sociological problem."

In consequence it was necessary to explore:

"that ... triple alliance between theoretical statements, empirical data and methodology which, as MacIver's works indicate, is required to advance disciplined knowledge about social processes." (4)

in this case, friendship.

These three themes; theoretical statements, empirical data and methodology are taken up in Chapter Four et seq.

It is important to note here that friendship is not bounded by the external roles that the individuals occupy; within legal limits, what goes on between friends is private and there are very few conventions in society which govern who can and who cannot be friends. Of course, pressures in the form of rumour, gossip or ridicule for example may so strain a relationship that it breaks the bond between the individuals concerned.

Three kinds of research approach adopted in investigations into adolescent friendship can be identified and these are described in the section below.

A number of social scientists have investigated adolescent friendship in order to explain the particular place that friendship has in adolescent development. An analysis of the literature reveals three particular directions taken by researchers, namely:

    i. Identification of friendship pairs and cliques.
   ii. The nature of the friendship bond.
 iii. Effects of age and sex on friendship.

i. Identification of friendship pairs and cliques

Whilst some research into adolescent friendship has been undertaken with large samples of young people examining, for example, the quality of the relationship (see ii. below, The nature of the friendship bond) much research has been concerned with identifying best friends and members of friendship cliques.* The method of sociometry developed by Moreno (5), has been used extensively to identify clique membership and a subject's preferences to do certain things with identified individuals. Sociometry, which is described in greater detail in Chapter Four, enables friendship choices to be plotted diagramatically as in the example from Button (6), Figure 1 below.

    *   The word clique has its origins in the French language and refers to a small exclusive set or faction. According to Conger "The adolescent's peer relationships fall into three broad categories: the "crowd" or "set", the "clique" and individual friendships."
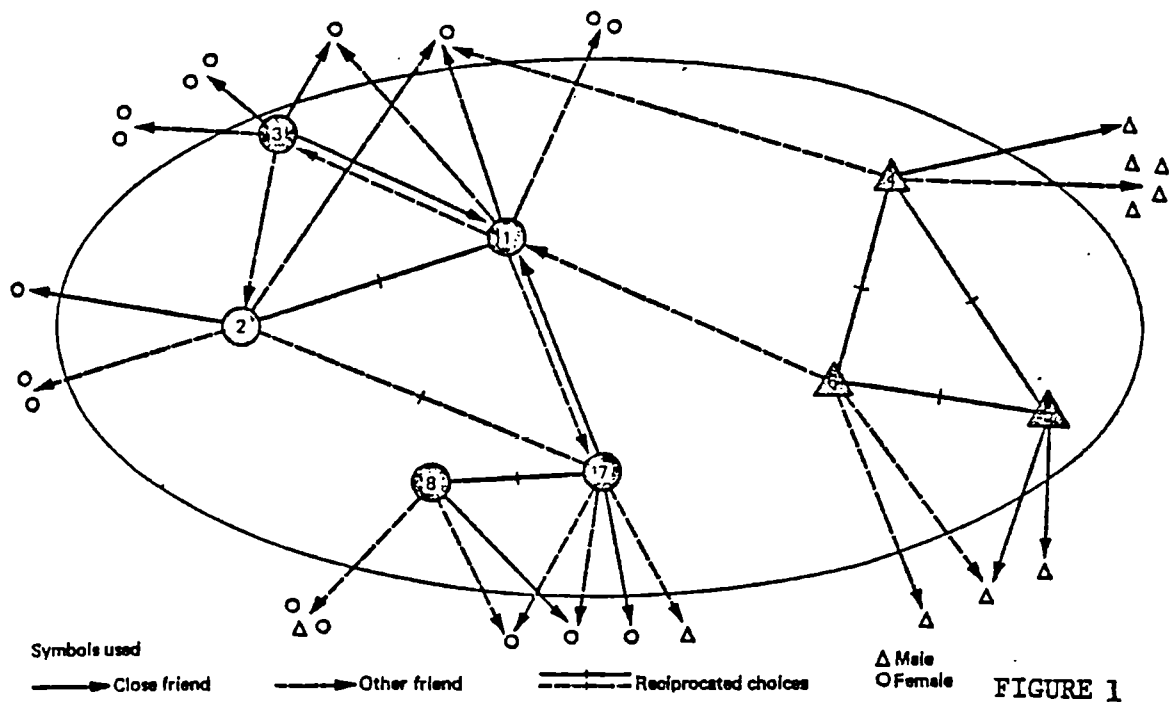
A sociogram of a small group of fourteen–fifteen–year–olds based on a friendship study

Button asked eight young people to name their friends at two

levels in accordance with definitions given of "close friend"

and "other friend". By then asking each of the named friends

the same question it was possible to construct a wider

network of friendships. The technique of sociometry also

provides the opportunity to explore such questions as "who is

the most popular or least popular member of a club or school

class?"

The Sherifs' used sociometry extensively in their experiments

in camps for younger adolescents (7).

Several researchers have used sociometric studies to identify

and determine the size of friendship groups (8),(9), (10).

For example, Siman asked middle class Caucasian young people

from the New York City area to list all the friends that he or

she spent time with as a group. This assisted the process of
defining cliques - sizes of cliques ranged from 3 to 13 with a
mean of 4.2. Dunphy, on the other hand, asked individuals to
list regular associates who were regarded as belonging to their
"crowd". Dunphy's intention was to define these "crowds" for
subsequent research, but responses were so disparate that he
abandoned this approach for an observational method. I would
suggest that his problem was due to his expectation of finding
similar boundaries to membership in the "crowd" as one tends to
find in the peer group or clique. The amorphous nature of the
"crowd" made accurate mapping quite impossible.

The sociometric technique provides the starting point for many
possible avenues of further research - into styles of
relationship; longitudinal studies; group formation; and many
more, but it is not without its critics. Borgatta argued that
sociometric studies were:

> "...so called theoretical studies that have not gone
> beyond asking a choice question and then drawing an
> unreadable diagram for the relationship revealed
> through the responses." (11)

This need not be the case, (see Chapter Four).

ii. The nature of the friendship bond

As with the study of peer groups a number of researchers have
attempted to compare the values associated with the friendship
bond to those of parents and in some cases significant others.

Gray and Gaier examined the congruency of adolescent self-perceptions with those of parents and best friends. They gathered their data from a sample of 35 girls comprising seven twelfth graders (17 year olds), volunteers from a private Catholic high school and their fourteen best friends (two per subject) and fourteen of their parents. They used a Q sort technique, as developed by Stephenson (12), to obtain ratings of the individual and others. Each subject was asked to sort 100 cards containing a word or phrase into eleven stacks ranging from "most like me" to "not like me". These were then scored. The researchers concluded from their study that:

> "a high degree of association existed between the adolescent girl's perceptions of ideal self and the manner in which her parents and two best friends presumed she sees herself." (13)

Millen and Roll investigated the adolescent male's relationship with his father and his best friend. 413 college students completed a rating scale in which each was asked to report how much he felt understood by his father, mother, best male friend, best female friend and favourite teacher. Opportunity was also given to include any additional person the subject wished to designate. The ratings were made on a 7- point Likert type scale ranging from "virtually a total stranger" to "complete understanding." The authors concluded from their findings that:

The mean rating for:	Was significantly higher than for:
Best male friend	Father, favourite teacher and other
Mother	Father, favourite teacher
Best female friend	Father, favourite teacher
Other	Favourite teacher
Father	Favourite teacher

The subjects also felt relatively less understood by their fathers than they did by their best male friends, their mothers and their best female friends. It was the authors' belief that their findings pointed to the importance of the friendship relationship as a vehicle for understanding the personality development of adolescent males.

Siman op. cit. tested a new model of peer group influence using questionnaire responses from 41 naturally existing adolescent cliques, representative of males and females in grades 6 thru' 12 (11-17 years). The model contained two group components, the first recognised a trend towards homogeneity of behaviour for all members of a particular clique, and a second the existence of diversity in the behaviour of individual group members by measuring peer group influence in terms of the deviation of individual behaviour from the group norm. The group size ranged from 3 to 13 (mean of 4.2) was middle class, caucasian and came from New York City area. The procedure required that participants listed all the friends that he or she spent time with as a group. Having identified cliques from

the data they were included in the sample if the following

criteria were met:

(a)   the group was composed of at least three people;

(b)   agreement by at least two individual members as to
       the exact composition of the group;

(c)   agreement by every identified group member to
       participate and fill out a questionnaire.

The questionnaire contained several 9-point scales used to

determine the frequency of an individual engaging in certain

behaviour, and also parent and peer standards.   The researcher

concluded that the data for both males and females supported

the idea that negative anti-social behaviours tended to be

associated with the peer group and with peer influence:

> "When individual or group norm estimates were used,
> peer components contributed significantly to a greater
> number of adolescent behaviours for males than for
> females ... Parents actually play a more signficant
> role in influencing adolescent behaviour than a
> standard analysis might show." (14)

Several researchers have examined the extent of intimate

disclosure between adolescents and their friends.   Klos and

Loomis asked subjects to recall actual intimate conversations

with their closest own-sex friend and closest opposite-sex

friend and to reconstruct the dialogue.   From the responses a

reliable example-anchored scale was formed for a sample of 128

college students equally divided by sex; half freshmen and half

seniors; all Caucasian and middle-class.   The analysis of

variance showed significant differences in the level of

intimate disclosure: freshmen males to males, low;   freshmen

males to females and senior males to males, moderate; senior

males to females and females of either age to friends of

either sex, high.   The level of intimate disclosure was

independent of the tendency to give socially desirable

responses on the Marlowe-Crone scale. In their conclusion,

however, the authors argued that:

> "Because late adolescents tend to overrate their levels
> of intimate disclosure to peers and to make judgements
> inconsistent with more objective ratings, we question
> the validity of any study which employs self-ratings of
> intimate disclosure." (15)

The final study in this section was carried out by Roll and

Millen who examined the friendship of late adolescents as

represented in their dreams.   They argued that descriptions of

friendship provided by young people were likely to be

formulated through "rose-coloured glasses." To counteract this

they undertook analysis of young people's dreams about

friendships and concluded that they were frequently represented

as negative and marked by separation and abandonment.   They

argued that this differs from the common view of friendship,

although there was agreement that friendships were intense,

important relationships and that friends were more likely to be

represented as skilled, adequate and helpful rather than

disordered, and inept. (16)

iii. Effects of age and sex on friendship

Adolescence is described as a period of transition between

childhood and adulthood.   During this period it is likely that

the nature of the bonding between friends is likely to change. What evidence is there to support this?

Douvan and Adelson considered developmental data on girl friendships in three phases of adolescent development - early, middle and late. It was unfortunate that they did not undertake an identical study with boys in order to draw fully on comparative data. For their first period, pre-adolescence and early adolescence, (girls of eleven, twelve and thirteen years), they suggested that friends focussed more on activity than they did on themselves. Indeed they found that these girls had great difficulty in describing characteristics of their friendships, and when they did they were more superficial than those obtained from older girls. Conflicts with the family were likely to be minimal with few objections being raised when limits were imposed. Most subjects believed that they could not be as close to a friend as to members of the family and were more often to spend leisure-time with the family than with friends. Boys did not have much importance at this age.

For puberty and middle adolescence (girls of fourteen, fifteen and sixteen years) the authors drew attention to the bodily (biological) changes and instincts which disturbed the psychic equilibrium. Since the authors used a psycho-analytic framework for their analysis, it is perhaps not surprising that they drew attention to:

"guilt evoked by the eruption of sexual urges,
incestuous and aggressive dangers in the family." (17)

They suggested that the transition to heterosexuality was made
through the like-sexed friendship, and girls at this age were
less tied to the family, spent more time with friends and were
more articulate about the nature and conditions of friendship.
Friends were needed to confide in, to provide emotional support
and understanding. At this age they emphasised the need for a
friend to be loyal, trustworthy and a reliable source of
support in any emotional crisis. She should not be a person
who goes off or who gossips behind one's back. Girls of this
age were more likely to mention sexual immorality as a cause of
unpopularity than at the earlier or later ages. The authors
argued that it was:

> "a time when, in order to consolidate identify, confirm
> status, heighten self-esteem, adolescents form
> themselves into cliques which are, as we know, more or
> less exclusionist." (18)

They concluded that heterosexual activity commenced at this age
and that it leads to competition between like-sexed
friendships.

In the late adolescent period (girls of seventeen and eighteen
years), many of the areas of concern of the middle period had
been worked through. The girl had learned how to handle
herself with boys, she was less suspicious of them and was able
to turn to them for intimacy. More stable friendships were
formed and the passionate quality receded.

Where comparison between the three age groupings was possible, Douvan and Adelson identified sex differences as being a most important distinguishing feature of friendship.

An earlier study by Powell compared reaction times to neutral and stimulus words when given to young people and adults between the ages of 10 and 30. He found that the greatest amount of anxiety, as expressed in differences in reaction times between neutral and "friendship" words, increased to a peak at age 15 in boys and 16-17 in girls, although an earlier peak occurred at the age of 13.5 in girls. (19).

These findings have more recently been confirmed by Coleman (20) who used British subjects. He found that the greatest insecurity in friendship and fear of rejection occurred at age 15 (21).

Bigelow and La Gaipa undertook content analysis of written descriptions provided by children and young persons between the ages of 6 and 13 years. Seven dimensions were found to contain developmental changes during this age period. Table 5 indicates the onset and age-related changes in friendship and shows that common activity, loyalty and admiration increased considerably with age.

TABLE 5

Percentage Incidence Distributed by Grade Levels for Friendship Expectation Dimensions

Dimension	Onset	Grade level[a]							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Help - friend as giver	2	5	<u>12</u>	14	7	14	25	33	35
Common activities	2	3	<u>7</u>	32	52	24	40	60	60
Propinquity	3	7	5	<u>9</u>	12	12	20	38	32
Stimulation value	3	2	3	<u>12</u>	23	30	51	52	61
Organized play	3	2	0	<u>15</u>	26	9	10	17	20
Demographic similarity	3	0	3	<u>7</u>	35	15	15	10	23
Evaluation	3	2	5	<u>13</u>	13	17	33	21	30
Acceptance	4	3	0	5	<u>9</u>	9	18	18	38
Admiration	4	0	0	5	<u>23</u>	17	24	32	41
Incremental prior interaction	4	2	7	4	<u>10</u>	10	17	32	34
Loyalty and commitment	5	0	0	2	5	<u>10</u>	20	40	34
Genuineness	6	0	3	0	2	5	<u>12</u>	10	32
Help - friend as receiver	6	2	5	3	5	2	<u>12</u>	13	25
Intimacy potential	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	<u>8</u>	20
Common interests	7	0	0	5	7	0	5	<u>30</u>	18
Similarity - attitudes and values	7	0	0	0	0	2	3	<u>10</u>	8

Source: Published in B. J. Bigelow and J. J. La Gaipa (1975). p. 858. American Psychological Association.

Note. Underlined scores represent grade levels of onset.

[a]At each grade level. *n* = 60.

In another study La Gaipa again used content analysis and determined that loyalty, intimacy and authenticity increased to large measure with age. The study this time included young people of the age 16 (Table 6).

The author concluded that:

> "no developmental change was found in the meaning of friendship using a qualitative indicator of change. The meaning of friendship appears to become stabilized in early adolescence and shows little change afterwards. By then, the language of friendship has been learned. Adolescents can reflect and communicate with one another regarding friendship...Social development during adolescence appears to entail an increase in cognative competence regarding the stage of a relationship. There is a growing awareness that the appropriateness of a friendship value or expectation depends on the level of friendship." (21)

Table 6 presents the means and standard deviations based on six friendship dimensions - self-disclosure, helping, similarity, positive regard, strength of character and authenticity with four levels of friendship. In the study, La Gaipa (22) argued that for Canadian University students (1359) most of the differences between means were highly significant except for a few adjacent levels such as between close-friend and best-friend.

TABLE 6
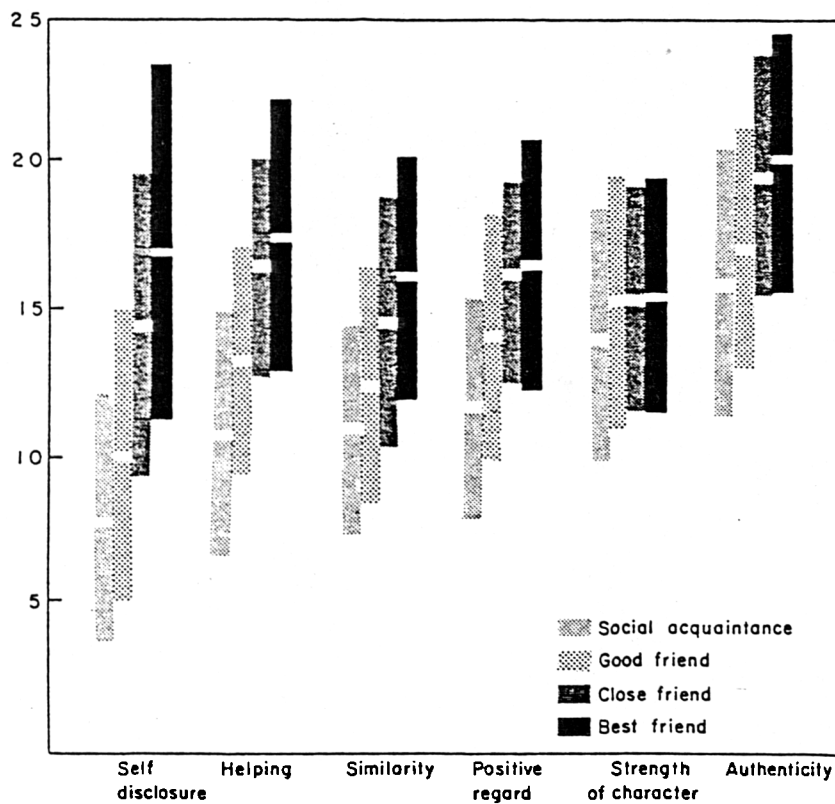
Variability of scores by friendship scale and level of friendship. (One standard deviation above and below the mean.)

Richie and Richie (23) examined the significance of the best friend relationship in adolescence. The authors found that:

"Female relations are more intensive, demonstrative,
exclusive, and nurturant than males.

Females depend heavily on the friend being a confidant
with whom to process their mutual experiences and
psychological reactions, apparently in an effort to
understand and develop their own personalities.

Males do confide at an intimate level but their
relationships are more likely to be based on enjoyable
companionship and similarity in attitudes with less
emphasis on continual analysis of experience.

Best friends are usually of the same sex.

Lack of a close friend should be viewed as a deficit
that responsible adults should help a student to
remedy.

Becoming a best friend took the majority of their
subjects from two months to two years to reach that
degree of closeness.

Boys are attracted by somewhat different qualities in
their friendships - similar attitudes and having fun
together.

Girls refer to "talking freely" which leads later to
best-friend choices based on those to whom they can
confide - all other reasons had a secondary
importance." (24)

No detail was given of the research design, sample size and age
structure, but reference was made to 160 subjects, but it is
not clear whether this was the total sample for all aspects of
the research programme.

Finally, a study by Feshback and Sones undertook to compare the
reactions of male and female adolescent pairs to a same-sex
newcomer. Following a problem-solving session, group members
were asked to rate each other's personality. Adolescent girls
made less favourable judgements of the new-comer than
adolescent boys. On a behaviour-interaction measure, girls

displayed less friendly reactions, than boys towards the

newcomer.   The authors concluded that:

>"This continuity over a wide age span suggests a
>stable- difference in response to outsiders which has
>its roots in the early developmental history of the
>child." (25)

The next Chapter will form a critical review of the research

evidence presented in this Chapter, and Chapter One.

CHAPTER TWO

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CHAPTER THREE

PART ONE OVERVIEW

In Chapter One consideration was given to the nature of adolescence, the necessary starting point for a review of the research literature on the peer group and friendship during this period.

Adolescence forms part of age-grading in our society and represents the "age between" childhood and adulthood. Whilst adolescence results primarily from a biological phenomenom marked by a growth spurt and sexual development, it is:

> "...always defined in cultural terms...it constitutes a part of the wider cultural phenomenon, the varying definitions of age and of the differences between one age and another" (1)

These age-periods childhood, adulthood, old age, and especially adolescence are marked by status transitions. For the young person there are strong prohibitions regarding acceptable behaviour, in some cases backed by the rule of law. The achievement of adult maturity has, during the last one hundred and fifty years or so, been extended mainly due to the development of technology and a more complex division of labour with its resulting educational requirements. Compared to some of the less developed societies the Western period of adolescence lasts for at least eight years. The ritualised "rites de passage" of these less developed societies, according

to anthropologists, is marked by a swift transition from childhood to adulthood. In Western society the transition has lengthened due to:

> "...demographic circumstances, economic conditions, educational strategy and provision, and the institutionalisation of power of adults makes it unlikely that any changes in the treatment of the young...will come about." (2)

As was seen, the neo-Marxist analysis of adolescence tends to focus on oppositional or "counter-cultures" with the aim of identifying the life styles of working young people. Little attention is placed on the middle class adolescent. These sociologists argue that working class kids are part of the general proletariat in society and should be viewed in the overall context of class relations. In opposing capitalism the Marxists' propose that:

> "the culture that is needed to mesh with our state of technological development is one that is incompatible with capitalism ... In short, to have a new culture - and hence new life styles, new identities, and new freedoms - requires a new social organisation. To establish such a post-capitalist, post-industrial, post-scarcity society would entail, by definition, a process of revolution." (3)

Young people are perceived as being a major force in the "revolution" and their oppositional cultures a contribution to the striving for a new social order. The recent inner city riots in the UK are perceived as a direct manifestation of opposition and unrest amongst young people.

Whereas the Marxist implies "counter-cultures" in the consideration of youth sub-culture, a structural functionalist will refer to "youth cultures" as an expected and therefore legitimate form of revolt against mainstream society as young people undergo the transition to adulthood. They arise in rapidly developing societies as a form of "anomie" or disjuncture in society. Young has suggested these youth cultures can be divided into four typologies, namely:

    i.   academic (conformist)

    ii.   careerist (little intrinsic satisfaction, but their work is seen as means to an end)

    iii.   radical (high involvement, low expectation)

    iv.   bohemian (both expression and instrumental commitment is missing and they retreat into leisure activities (4).

From a functionalist perspective youth cultures are seen, therefore, as subordinate to mainstream culture and an expected response to the "generation gap" caused by rapid social change. The extent that youth culture theories, whether from the functionalist or neo-Marxist perspectives will contribute to an adequate sociology of youth is in doubt since as Smith argues:

"... the use of the concept of youth culture has become unproductive in the development of an adequate sociology of youth." (5)

Another perspective on adolescence was provided by the psycho-analysts and among them Erikson has made a significant contribution. These psycho-analysts have tended to examine

adolescence in terms of identity development and drew their theory from Freud and the post-Freudians. Overall, there was a tendency for psycho-analysts to use their clinical experience of work with individuals which inevitably focusses on the problems of adolescence - disorder and conflict which was seen primarily in sexual terms. Those who describe behaviour only in physiological or psychological ways may fail to supply the determinants to provide the universal constants marking adolescence in all civilisations and cultures.

These different conceptions of adolescence and youth; the neo-Marxist, structural functionalist and the psychoanalytic (and there are others) will inevitably affect the way in which research is formulated, undertaken and interpreted.

What can be drawn from the research on the peer group and friendship presented in Chapters One and Two?

The Peer Group and Friendship

One overriding characteristic of the majority of the research cited in the first two chapters was its American origin. This is perhaps not surprising since the study of the small group began in America in the 1930's with the humanistic work of Kurt Lewin, the Hawthorn experiments of Elton Mayo and the Chicago group studies.

This "American" tradition arises in part from their pre-occupation with social conformity and of the agencies which

weld together those diverse and heterogeneous elements in their society, (brought about by mass immigration), into some form of social consensus. According to Wilson, the very concept of:

> "... the group as it has developed in America, and as it has been studied by American sociologists, is rooted in the mass society experience, in the society where traditional status and identity suffer decline in significance ... the group for its own sake has not been part of the British tradition." (6)

This need not matter if the research undertaken is of the highest academic standard and provides the much needed evidence to increase our basic sociological knowledge on youth. However, is it possible to draw on American, or any other research undertaken overseas and transpose it into the British situation?

The evidence raises serious doubts. Let us take for example the research on the "gang".

The word **gang** has its origin in the word "gangan" which means "to travel together - a company of fellow travellers." The Chambers dictionary describes a gang as a "band of rough criminals" but then goes on to include "a set of boys who habitually play together." As early as 1926, Furfey described the period of pre-adolescence as the "gang age". Pre-adolescents feel that:

> "... the really interesting thing is not what one does oneself but what the gang as a whole does. The gang's the thing!" (7)

80% of male college students in Australia recalled being members of gangs during their primary school days (66% for

females) (8).   Not all gang studies, relate to the period of

pre-adolescence and in Thrasher's famous study of Chicago gangs

he found that 37.5% (455 gangs) had members between the ages of

eleven and seventeen years (9).

The main focus in the social science literature involves the

use of the term "gang" for describing deviant groups,

especially in those studies of American origin.

> "The word "gang" as it is popularly used covers a
> variety of delinquent youth organisations ... hustling
> gang ... illegal drug use(rs) ... warrior." (10)

One of the most famous gang studies was conducted by Foote-

Whyte in an Italian down-town area of Chicago:

> "The Nortons were Doc's gang. The group was brought
> together primarily by Doc, and it was built around Doc.
> When Doc was growing up, there was a kids' gang on
> Norton street for every significant difference in age."
> (11)

Despite its English origin, the word "gang" is used relatively

little in Britain by social scientists although Spinley

referred to London gangs ranging from cliques of three to

larger groups of 20 (12).   Scott, building on ten years

experience with delinquents in London, developed a typology for

street groups.   Some he described as "quite innocuous" but

there were gangs proper - distinguished by having a leader, a

definite membership, persistence in time; 151 boys who had

committed group offences belonged to such a gang (13).   A more

recent study by Downes failed to find evidence of the classical

gang.   Average group size was four or five with a few

individuals on the periphery.

> "While these street-corner groups persisted over time,
> and invariably possessed a dominant personality, all
> the other features commonly attributed to the
> delinquent gang were absent: i.e. leadership, role
> allocation, hierarchical structure, consensus on
> membership, uniform, and name." (14)

Wilmott (15) drew similar conclusions to Downes in his first

study in Bethnal Green.

Whereas some of this evidence is now 20 years old it suggests

that the word "gang" is used sparingly in Britain, but this may

also suggest that the structures supporting the gang are rare

in British society.

My own experience in a new town suggests that a large group,

akin to a gang, could be formed at relatively short notice to

counter threats from similar groups from nearby towns, but did

not exist in any permanent form. In the London Borough of

Newham, on the outskirts of the East End, a youth worker

reported that gang-type groups were evident - the "inter-city

firm" - which travelled to football away matches, the "snipers"

who were heavily into crime and their junior equivalent "mini-

snipers."(16) More recently there has been the formation of

'posses' amongst young people of Afro-caribbean origin who are

committed to street crime in the inner city areas, but they are

not commonplace.

The media use the word "gang"; for example a B.B.C. radio

programme based on the book by the Williamsons' "Five Years",

was referred to as a teen-age gang; words not used by the

Williamsons' who stated that:

>"... these five boys were extracted from their larger peer group." (17)

The Paint House, however, was characterised as a study of an "East End gang" (18) in the 1970's.

Neither Howard Parker in "View from the Boys" nor Paul Willis in "Learning to Labour" used the word "gang" despite working with delinquent groups (19, 20).

Thus, we can conclude from this limited evidence that there may be significant differences in adolescent group structures in studies emanating from the American compared to those in Britain.

Cross-cultural material on friendship derived from research undertaken by Abu-Laban confirmed that:

>"Lebanese youth are more orientated to the family and school related values than their American counterparts." (21)

This evidence is corroborated by Ayoub's study of a Druze community (22).

Abu-Laban made a comparison with the evidence provided by Coleman in the "Adolescent Society" in terms of friendship, and concluded that many relatives, mainly cousins were listed by the Lebanese youth among their close friends. This is also unlikely to be found in Britain.

Devereux, provided further evidence to the cross-cultural
debate:

> "American boys are far more adult conforming - to
> reflect the fact that American boys are brought up
> differently from English boys in many of the same ways
> in which girls are brought up differently from both
> cultures." (23)

Much of the research presented in this Part on the peer group
has a clear structural functionalist emphasis and concentrates
on the effects of the lessening of parental control and the
generation gap by examining the values and attitudes operating
within the peer group. In some studies the young people were
invited to choose between parents, significant others and their
peers in an endeavour to demonstrate the pull of loyalties to
either peers or parents.

Another problem associated with generalising many of the
findings presented in this Part concerns limitations in the
samples of young people used. However, it has to be
acknowledged that many of the studies are of significance to
this research. A frequent criticism of much of the American
small group research concerns the use of college students.
These are usually at the upper limit of their adolescence and
are a selective group, since those not in full-time education
are excluded. There is, in consequence, a bias from which
generalisation is impossible. Many other American studies tend
to concentrate on deviant groups: drug addicts, alcoholics, or
comparative studies between members of America's significant
ethnic and caucasian populations.

Overall, as Dunphy has argued:

> "... with notable exceptions, empirical studies of
> adolescent peer groups have been few and have aimed, on
> the whole, to assess the importance of isolated factors
> rather than to study groups as functioning entities.
> They have mainly centred around the elements in group
> life as the basis for social status, the factors
> underlying acceptance and the personal characteristics
> of group leaders. With the exception of some studies
> on delinquent gangs, there are few thorough analyses of
> particular groups and their dynamics ..." (24)

Whilst much of the evidence presented and the general debate on adolescence and youth has been of American origin, charged by their student protests of the 1960's, there has become a small but growing body of British research.

The work of Coleman (25) has tended to confirm certain aspects of American research, particularly in respect of anxiety generated during the adolescent period and the heightened characteristics associated with personality development. This evidence suggests that we cannot reject American research "out-of-hand" but rather bring them into the arena for debate and consideration when designing British-based studies.

The ethnographic studies cited were of British origin following the traditions of the Chicago School, and despite certain limitations have made a significant contribution to the sociology of youth in this country. Each represented a case study of a particular group selected for its deviant nature and potential richness of data derived from participant observation or derivation of it. In each case the sample of young people

was small and represented a single unique peer group from which no generalisable data was really possible. Each of the studies does, however, provide us with insights about peer group behaviour, examined closely over a relatively long period of time. This has become one of the major advantages of the participant observation approach although empirical research is no less amenable to the longitudinal approach. Willis' Learning to Labour has been praised by the sociological community as:

"... a work of interpretive sociology." (26)

Much of the research on friendship has concentrated on the best-friend relationship, (usually dyadic rather than polyadic). This approach tends to isolate the adolescent from his wider peers and the research tends to focus on what may best be described as "traits" which give:

> "... no clear picture ... of the common structural elements within these groups or of the way in which the structures affect the socialisation of the adolescent ... no significant body of codified theory exists, and few generalisations can be supported by the results of controlled experimentation and fieldwork." (27)

The ideological positions which have been adopted in the study of adolescent groups, and the peer group in particular, draw from the structural-functionalist and neo-Marxist theories. Recently, doubt has been caste on the adequacy of the structural-functionalist theory to account for the present day youth scene especially since the advent of youth unemployment.

Indeed Roberts has asserted that:

> "Functionalism lies discredited. it is reborn every
> Autumn, for new generations of sociology students, only
> to be ritually slaughtered...Marxism became British
> sociology's leading theory." (28)

In defence of Structural-functionalism, it provided a basis for understanding the transition form childhood to adulthood that all young people undergo – in a generalised way. Differences in experiences was part of the inevitable variation in available choices. It provided a basis for looking widely at the youth issue.

Only relatively recently has an alternative explanation been given to the major differences and variety of prevailing life styles that contribute to this transition. The neo-Marxist, drawing especially from the British situation, highlighted the different experiences between groups of working class young people, especially those occupying "contra-cultural" positions and their middle-class contemporaries. Whether class, subsumes all other attributes associated with youth, their parents and those occupying the same class position is, perhaps too wide an interpretation. Age, gender, and other "controlling" variables, in addition to class will need to be taken into account in any programme of empirical research. This is clearly lacking in the neo-Marxist position, which I would argue, can only be regarded as a tentative formulation, since it draws on a series of fairly disparate studies of selective, mostly male and deviant small groups or media labels and presentation of the youth phenomenon.

My own position will not ignore social class, although its
determination presents some methodological difficulties which
will be explained in Part Three. My general approach will be
sociological but I will adopt a "triangulation" strategy and
draw on the area of small group research which is appropriately
located in social-psychology. It is not my intention to
explore relationships with parents or the influences of the
school as an institution, but rather the perceptions of the
young people themselves, on peer group membership and
friendship and to develop the instruments to assist this
process. I shall commence this in the next Part.

Overall, despite the limitations cited, a series of statements
are drawn from the research presented on the adolescent peer
group and friendship. They will be used to guide the approach
and formulation of a research strategy to be presented in Part
Two, following.

The Peer Group

1. Theoretical statements

    i. Development during the period between childhood
       and adulthood is a 'discontinuity' with the peer
       group aiding the transition. The period has been
       described as a psychological moritorium prior to
       the achievement of adult status. (Erikson;
       Parsons).

    ii. The peer group is manifested by low adult control
        and a tendency to deviant behaviour which may be
        illegal or disapproved of, by adults. (Parsons).

    iii. The peer group is complementary to the school and
         the family even when it challenges the status quo.
         (Parsons).

    iv. The peer group is a response to the delay in

achieving adult commitment - there is a selective
permissiveness. (Erikson). '

v. Behaviours are marked by -

sexual standards infringing adult taboos;
tendency towards masculine physical prowess
(macho);
apathy towards politics;
having a good time now. (Parsons).

vi. Youth is a generically significant structural and
cultural component of the age system of society,
seen alongside childhood, adulthood and old age.
(Marsland; Eisenstadt).

vii. Social class is a major differentiating factor in
the lives of young people. (Allen; Hall et al;
Murdock and McCron).

2. Research findings

vi. Physical development has both social and emotional
overtones which require personal re-organisation -
it challenges self esteem and identity and gives
rise to experimentation with behaviour, especially
with peers. (Coleman, J.).

vii. There is a high conformity with peers, especially
during the ages 11-13. (Constanzo and Shaw).

viii. When parental control is weak it may give rise to
low commitment to education and parents.
(Devereux).

ix. Parents and peers influence young people in
different areas e.g. parents in education, peers
in leisure. (Brittain; Kandel and Lesser).

x. Ethnographic studies emphasise peer group deviance
and conformity. (McGuire; Parker; Willis;
Williamson).

Friendship

1. Methodology

i. There is generally a lack of research into
friendship but friendship is significant to
adolescents. (Romsøy).

ii. Sociometry can be used to map a group. (Moreno;

Sherif and Sherif; Button).

2. Research Findings

    iii. The mean size of a friendship clique is 4.2. (Siman).

    iv. Males are influenced most by their best friend and their mother. (Millen and Roll).

    v. The disclosure of intimate details is a measure of closeness in friendship. (Klos and Loomis; Bigelow and La Gaipa).

    vi. Dream analysis suggests that there is fear of isolation and abandonment. (Roll and Millen).

    vii. Friendship relationships with girls emphasise confidant, emotional support, understanding, loyalty, trustworthiness and reliability. (Douvan and Adelson).

    viii. Heterosexual activity leads to greater competitiveness between like-sex friendship. (Douvan and Adelson).

    ix. Response time to neutral and friendship words peak at age 15 for boys and 16-17 for girls. (Powell; Coleman, J. C.).

    x. Friendship values and expectations depend on the level of the friendship, common activity, loyalty, admiration - they increase with age. (Bigelow and La Gaipa).

    xi. Female relationships are more intensive, demonstrative, exclusive and nurturant than boys. Females depend on a friend as confidant. Male intimate relationships are more likely to be based on enjoyable companionship and similarity in attitudes. (Richie and Richie).

    xii. The best friend is likely to be of the same sex. (Richie and Richie).

    xiii. Not having a best friend should be viewed as a deficit and the individual in need of remedial help. (Richie and Richie).

    xiv. Newcomers to a group are less welcomed by girls than boys - roots of this likely to be in early development of the child. (Feshback and Sones).

CHAPTER THREE

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PART TWO

"Empirical studies of adolescent peer groups have been few and
have aimed, on the whole, to assess the importance of isolated
factors rather than to study groups as functioning entities"

Dexter Dunphy

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

Part Two comprises a single chapter and provides the link
between the review of research presented in Part One and a
quantitative and qualitative research programme to be developed
in Part Three. It draws on the statements of the evidence
contained in Chapter Three.

The Chapter entitled **Measurement of Friendship, Personality and
Self Esteem** commences with the presentation of a research model
for the investigation. This is followed by an examination of
the approaches and definitions used to describe levels of
friendship in four different settings; in Canada by La Gaipa,
in the USSR by Kon and Losenkov, in England by Button and in
Australia by Dunphy. This examination leads to a pilot study
undertaken with a sample of young people in which their
definitions of friendship are explored. In addition, a number
of hypotheses are tested on friendship. The pilot study
concludes with a cross tabulation of age and sex on a number of
friendship items and is followed by a discussion of its
findings in relation to the four works cited above.

Next, **sociometry** is considered as a method for mapping the
membership of leisure-time friendship groups. The definitions
derived in the pilot study are used to determine the membership
of two groups. The sociograms are presented for each, together

with a discussion of the methods and findings. Finally the Kelly Repertory Grid, Cattell's HSPQ Questionnaire and self-esteem are considered in relation to friendship. A self-esteem inventory is developed using a factor analytic technique.

The chapter is concluded with a summary of the significant findings relevant to a programme of quantitative and qualitative research to be described in Chapters Six and Seven.

CHAPTER FOUR

MEASUREMENT OF FRIENDSHIP, PERSONALITY AND SELF ESTEEM

Introduction

In Part One consideration was given to the theoretical
underpinning and researches undertaken on the peer group and
friendship. Drawing on this material a model for the proposed
research has been constructed and is presented below. It takes
as its starting point the **Age System** operating in our society.
The focus will be on **adolescence** and **youth.** A particular
feature of this age period is **Development** brought about by the
changes which we describe as **puberty.** Much of the research
presented focussed on the elements of adolescent development
which can be broadly categorised as **intellectual, moral/mental,
social, emotional** and **biological.** The model **Features** the social,
emotional and biological elements. The social produces the
particular features of **youth cultures, friendship** and the **peer
group.** The biological gives rise to physical changes which
include **personality** and **self-esteem** development, influenced by
emotional changes.

Variables shown to influence the overall development include,
particularly, **age, sex, social class** and **ethnicity.**

The research model will be explored in the present and
following Chapter.

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AGE SYSTEM   DEVELOPMENT MODEL   FEATURES   VARIABLES

Childhood

Adolescence
Youth

Adulthood

Old age

Moral/Mental   Social

Emotional   Biological

Youth cultures

Friendship

Peer group

Physical change

Personality

Self-esteem

Age

Sex

Ethnicity

Social class
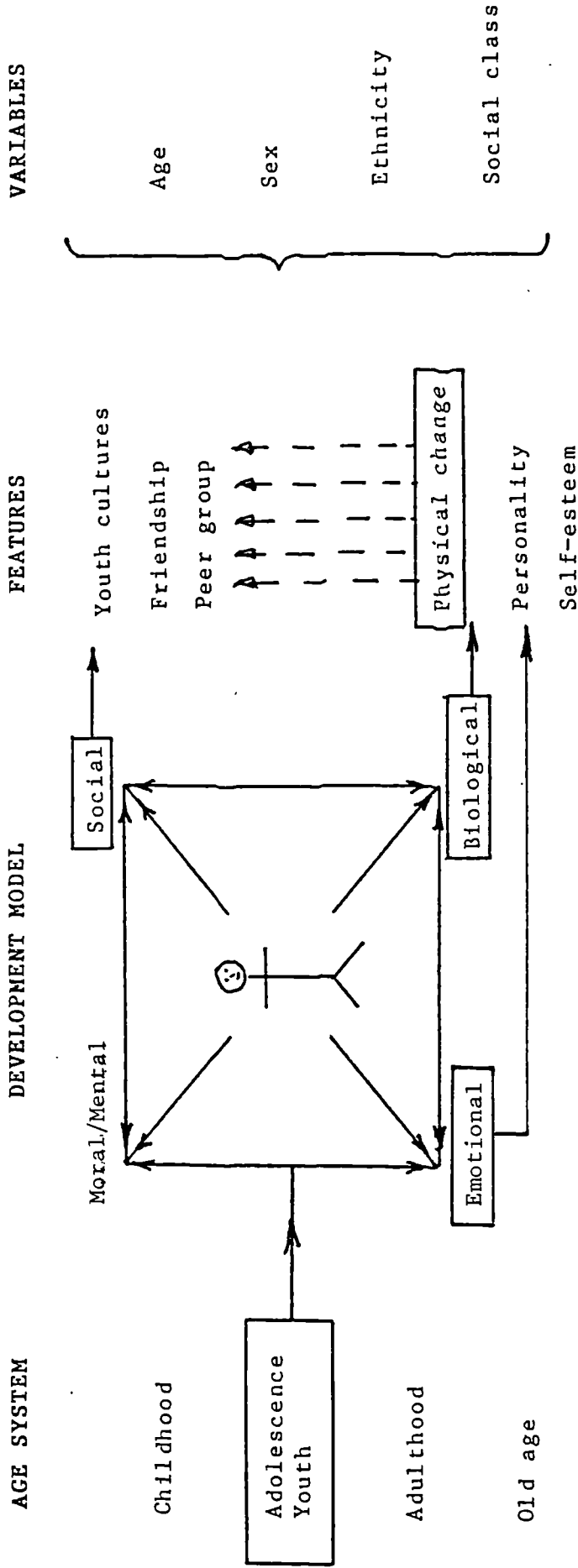
SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF PROPOSED RESEARCH MODEL

Friendship

In addition to studies which drew attention to the "best friend" (1),(2),(3), there are others which have specifically sought to define friendship at various levels.   The following research studies are reviewed:

   i.   A Canadian study by La Gaipa
  ii.   A USSR study by Kon and Losenkov
 iii.   An English study by Button
  iv.   An Australian study by Dunphy

i.   La Gaipa

In a study carried out by Canfield and La Gaipa (4) it was suggested that it was useful to think of friendship in terms of a hierarchy ranging from casual acquaintances to best friends. Five levels, used in later research work were defined as:

Best friend(s)	– your very closest friend, perhaps one or two persons.
Close friends	– a rather select group of ten or twelve persons with whom you have established a close relationship.
Good friends	– a larger group of people who you seek out and prefer, but with whom you are not particularly close.
Social acquaintances	– people you interact with at school, at work, drinking coffee, getting together for a bull session.
Casual acquaintances	– people that you barely know – with whom you just have a "nodding acquaintance" (5).

Using these definitions, ten undergraduate students conducted 150 open-ended interviews to determine what expectations people had of others at these differing levels of friendship.

A content analysis of over 1800 friendship statements resulted in 152 items listed by level of friendship. These were administered to 30 judges who rated them on a nine-point scale in terms of their essential character. The casual acquaintance level was dropped because of lack of satisfactory items, and in consequence an 80 item scale covering the four remaining friendship levels was incorporated into a Likert type questionnaire. The result of these produced 11 factors derived from factor analysis (op. cit. Chapter Two).

In a later study La Gaipa found few differences between young people of 13 and 16 years, although there was a notable change in "intimacy" between the early and late adolescent. In this respect he argued that:

> "the adolescent has a need for recognition, approval and belonging that is satisfied by acceptance into a peer group. There is also a need for intimacy and friendship that is satisfied by a dyadic relationship."
> (6)

ii. Kon and Losenkov

This study, originally written in Russian, was conducted in Leningrad schools. The study was:

> "an empirical description of friendships of Soviet
> upper-classman, 14-17 years of age".

Subjects were asked to distinguish between a friend (drug) and a companion (priyatel) (7). The translator commented that the Russian words "drug" and "priyatel" were usually translated as "friend", but in the Russian meaning, "drug" was a closer relationship conveying more intimacy. In English, they argued we can say "close friend" or "best friend" ("buddy") and "casual friend". "Drug" was used to describe greater reciprocal intimacy and a subjective closeness. The degree of closeness, however, was more than that conveyed by the term "acquaintance."

In preliminary research conducted by the above authors, adolescents were asked to define the term "best friend", "friend", "comrade" and "acquaintance." From an initial investigation a questionnaire was prepared containing almost 200 items with open and closed questions and scales. Various sub-samples were selected to undertake the Junior and Senior High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ) devised by Cattell.

They found that a "best friend" provided a greater degree of understanding compared to mother, father, favourite teacher and

form teacher.   There was variation between boys and girls and between those who lived in rural and urban areas.   A number of statistically significant correlations were obtained with friendship items; "having peers of the opposite sex", " extensive relationships with peers of both sexes" and "group friendship with peers of the same sex" when compared with the independent factors derived from a modified HSPQ (8).

iii.   Button

During the early 1960's Button and a group of students conducted a large number of interviews with young people in order to derive operational definitions of friendship.   In 1965 he published the definitions for four levels of friendship, namely:

Close friends   —   with whom one reciprocates at an intimate level

Other friends   —   whose company is sought but are not close friends

Associates   —   to whom one would gravitate if they happen to be present

Acquaintances   —   whom we know and would acknowledge.

These were further refined and used extensively in sociometric studies for research and training purposes. The refined definitions read as follows:

Close friends   —   someone you like and meet frequently, whom you trust and you would confidently tell your secrets — and expect them to do the same to you.

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Other friends	–	people you like and possibly meet frequently, whose company you seek and are more than associates or acquaintances, but who are not close friends.
Associate	–	you may not go out of your way to meet this person but if he happens to be about you would probably join up with him.
Acquaintances	–	someone you would acknowledge upon meeting, but would not normally choose as a companion for a social occasion (9)

Button suggested that:

"It is not enough to ask merely for a "best friend" for different people live at quite different levels, and without some more objective yardstick – it would be impossible to make a comparison." (10)

(iv)   Dunphy

In this study, Dunphy used a different basis to categorise friendship, namely:

(a)   Best friend of same sex only

(b)   Best friend of opposite sex only

(c)   Friends of same sex

(d)   Friends of both sexes (11).

He then used these descriptions in a questionnaire in which he asked:

"Do you have one or two best friends?"

and

"Besides having one or two very close friends, many young people also go around in a "crowd" of four or more.   The others who belong to this crowd are usually about their own age.   They see each other at least once

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a week, and do things together. They might be all
boys, or all girls, or maybe both, but they go to the
pictures together, or to a club, or just stand on the
street corner and talk. Do you belong to a group like
this?" (12)

Perhaps to ensure identification with their particular
categories of friendship, La Gaipa and Dunphy introduced what
might be regarded as excessive detail into their descriptions.
This is too restricting if we are to take Button's view that:

"The total pattern of friendship with which individual
young people surround themselves may be very different
from one to the next, and would seem to be
characteristic of that person." (13)

This present study provides the opportunity to re-examine, by
means of an initial pilot exercise, adolescent friendship
levels and definitions. The objectives and findings are
presented below.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP: Pilot Study

i. Objectives

The pilot study was established to test a sample of young
people's understanding of friendship.

The objectives for this study were:

> (a) To establish the level of importance young people
>   attach to having friends
>
> (b) To determine whether they regard friendship as
>   existing at different levels
>
> (c) To examine levels of friendship as perceived by
>   young people and to explore their definitions of

levels of friendship

(d) To derive usable definitions for the subsequent
research programme

(e) To examine the effects of age and sex on
friendship during the adolescent period, and to
compare the findings with those provided by La
Gaipa, Kon and Losenkov, Button and by Dunphy (op.
cit.)

A number of hypotheses were explored in relation to these
objectives.

(ii) Approach

A short two-page questionnaire (Appendix One) was prepared as a
basis for deriving the information required to fulfil the
objectives. Seventeen members of Brunel University's post-
graduate Diploma in Youth and Community Studies formed the
research team and each was invited to approach 10 young people
of differing age and sex in the approximate age range 14-18
years, in order to get the questionnaire completed. They were
asked to use their discretion and assessment of ability as to
whether it would be appropriate for individual young persons to
self-complete the questionnaire or participate by means of a
supportive interview. Their decision would take into account
their prior knowledge of the individuals concerned, since most
were full-time youth and community work practitioners
responsible for running youth groups, and would be undertaking
the study with their members. Although this introduced
variations in approach it had the advantage of covering a wider
range of ability by including those who would have had
difficulty completing the questionnaire individually.

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The completed questionnaires were coded for computer analysis including certain "open-ended" questions for which a preliminary content analysis was undertaken to provide a manageable coding frame. Sufficient categories were included to ensure that marginally different answers were separately coded. This was undertaken by the researcher alone, in order to prevent variation in interpretation and the need for coding validation.

(iii) The data

Figure 2, represents the pilot study distribution by age. 149 questionnaires were completed by young people between the ages of 13 and 20 - mean age 15.8 years.
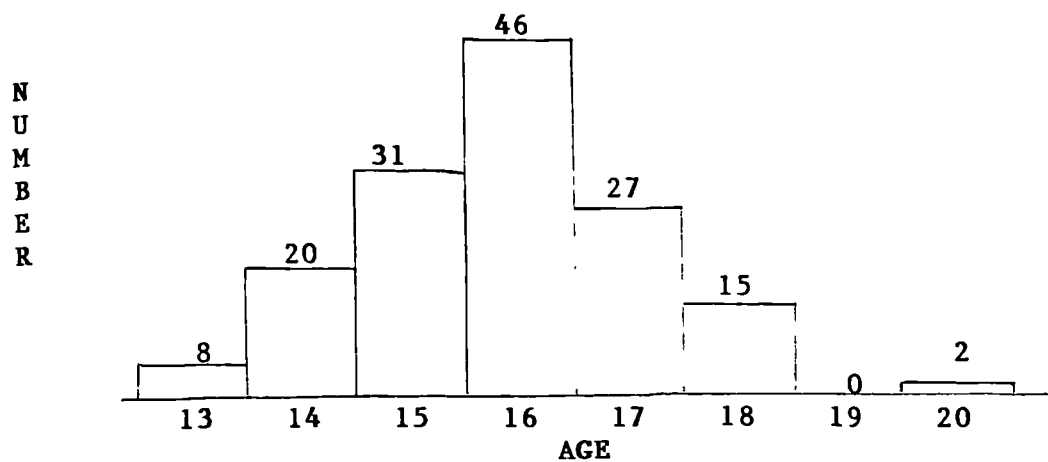
FIGURE 2 - Pilot Study distribution by age.

Mean age 15.8 years   s.d. 1.41

N = 149

The sample was evenly divided by sex - male: 75, female: 74

a)   To establish the level of importance young people
       attach to having friends.

The following hypothesis was tested:

Having friends is important to young people

The respondents were invited to indicate on a five-point Likert

scale ranging from "very important" thru' "very unimportant"

their responses to the question "how important to you is having

friends?"

Table 7 indicates the importance young people attached to

friendship. As many as 140 (94%) regarded friendship as either

"important" or "very important" on the five-point scale. 103

(69%) scored "very important." The mean of 4.62 with its

small standard deviation of .64 manifestly demonstrates the

importance attributed to friendship by young people. Thus, the

hypothesis was confirmed.

	Very important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Very unimportant
Code	5	4	3	2	1
No.	103	37	7	2	0
%	69	25	5	1	0
N	149				

TABLE 7   Importance of Friendship to the young people.

(b) **To determine whether young people regard friendship as existing at different levels?**

The second question concerned levels of friendship.

Respondents were asked, "Does friendship exist at different levels - different kinds of friend?" YES/NO

The hypothesis, **"Friendship for young people exists at different levels"**, was tested.

142 (95%), replied YES and only 7 (5%), replied NO. Thus, this hypothesis was confirmed.

(c) **To examine levels of friendship, as perceived by young people and to explore their definitions of levels of friendship.**

The hypothesis **"Young people are able to distinguish and describe friendship at different levels"** was tested.

Those responding YES to the second question (b) above, were then invited to list the levels. A preliminary content analysis and tally was used to distinguish between levels and the key names incorporated into a coding frame. Many names to levels had either sole advocates or fewer than four. These were grouped into an OTHER category. Despite a large number of examples there were certain key names which had a large advocacy. Using the computer, profiles of each of the key names were prepared using first, second, third, fourth and fifth choices.

Definition	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
best friend, best mate	36	5	0	0	0
close friend	29	5	1	0	0
good friend, very good friend	14	18	3	0	0
school friend	2	10	10	3	0
friend, friendship, friendly	6	23	10	3	2
very close friend, really close friend	9	0	0	0	0
acquaintance	0	1	8	6	2
mate	1	7	5	1	0
girl-friend	6	2	1	5	1
boy-friend	0	5	4	3	2
talking friend, talk to friend	2	5	5	0	1
youth club friend	3	1	0	1	1
play,social,leisure friend	1	4	1	0	2
trusting friend	9	0	0	0	0
casual friend	0	6	4	1	0
family friend	3	0	1	1	0
ordinary friend	0	2	1	1	0
working friend	0	0	8	3	0
others	22	45	39	17	3
N	143	139	101	45	14

TABLE 8 Definitions and counts of key names used by young people to describe levels of friendship.

Table 8 indicates the definitions and counts at each of the choice levels. (Questionnaire observation and the low counts indicated that no more than five levels were needed. The key names determined were listed together with the number of advocates.)

Examining the first choice in Table 8, it can be seen that 79 (55%) of all choices were in the key names "best friend", "best mate", "close friend", "good friend", "very good friend." It will be demonstrated in the next section, following a full analysis of the definitions used, that a number of the key names related closely with the key words used by young people to describe their definition, e.g. "trusting", "talking", "working", "school".

In the second choice area, "best friend", "best mate" and "close friend" were given less prominence; 5 choices (4%) each. "Very close friend" and "really close friend" received no choices, although "good friend" and "very good friend" were chosen by more young people - 18 (13%) than in the first choice area, but "friend", "friendship" and "friendly" scored the highest with 23 choices (17%).

In the third choice, more prominence in proportion was given to "school-friend" and "working friend" together with "friend", "friendship", "friendly" and "acquaintance". In the next section, it will be shown that the analysis of key words used suggested that the third and fourth choices could be combined

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in an area incorporating "acquaintances", "school" and "work-friends".

The fifth choice was used by only 14 of the young people involved and since this represented less than 10% of the respondents it was considered unreasonable to use these in further work. The evidence supported the hypothesis that young people were able to distinguish and describe friendship at different levels, although there was a wide choice of names used.

In addition to the foregoing, it was noted that "girlfriend" and "boyfriend" feature in each of the five choices and the key word analysis (see below) indicated that these were usually sexual pairs.

The next stage in the analysis was to prepare a coding frame based on the key words used in the definitions provided by the young people in answer to the question:

> "Could you state briefly what friendship at the
> different levels means to you?"

It was found that allowing up to four key words was sufficient to cover the range of definitions used.

The following hypothesis was tested.

"Young people are able to define the qualities of friendship at different levels."

Table 9 represents the analysis for up to four levels of friendship given by respondents together with the key words used in their definitions.

Key Words	Choice			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1 close, know really well	19	6	4	1
2 trust	32	3	3	1
3 secrets, tell things to	24	3	3	1
4 confide	12	3	0	1
5 problems, sharing problems	32	3	0	0
6 important	7	3	1	0
7 talk to, chat	17	26	18	9
8 help if in trouble, help out, turn to if troubled	20	9	1	2
9 get on well with, nice, like, love, special	16	15	5	1
10 laugh, have fun, joke	4	10	5	1
11 rely, reliable	19	7	3	0
12 like to be with, go around with, fond of, hang around with, enjoy	31	31	11	4
13 see frequently, a lot, most of the time, spend spare time	23	11	5	3
14 don't argue	4	0	0	0
15 same interests, same activities	4	2	3	1
16 nod of head, say Hello	1	4	13	7
17 know by sight, barely know	0	4	2	2
18 see occasionally, sometimes, not often	0	9	10	4
19 share	2	2	0	0
20 don't tell secrets	1	17	5	2
21 see at school/work	2	14	22	7
22 confides in me (reciprocation of 3 above)	4	1	0	0
23 do things, everything together	3	0	1	0
24 understand, understanding	2	1	0	0
25 friend, mate of opposite sex	6	10	2	5
26 dislike	0	1	1	3

N=134

TABLE 9   List of keywords used to describe levels   of friendship.

In the first choice a number of key words scored highly.

> "close, know really well;   trust;   secrets, tell things to;   confides;   problems, sharing problems; talk to, chat;   help if in trouble, help out, turn to

if troubled; get on well with, nice, like, love,
special; rely, reliable; like to be with, go around
with, go out with, fond of, hang around with, enjoy;
see frequently, a lot, most of the time, spend spare
time."

An initial definition of these first choice friends was

constructed from the key words:

"Someone you see a lot, who is close to you and you
like to be with. You can trust and confide your
secrets and share problems with them and you could rely
on them to help you out if you were in trouble."

For the second choice there was a reduction in intimacy in

terms of sharing secrets and in the level of trust afforded to

these friends. There was also less problem-sharing or

turning-to in cases of trouble. Above all, these were not

friends to whom the young person would tell secrets and were

more likely to be seen at school or work. They joked and had

fun and they were more likely to be a member of the opposite

sex. Thus, the key words which were signficant in the second

choice of friendship were:

"Talk to, chat; get on well with, nice, like, love,
special; laugh, have fun, joke; like to be with, go
around with, go out with, fond of, hang around with,
enjoy; see at school/work; don't tell secrets;
friend; mate of opposite sex."

An appropriate definition for this second-level of friendship

was formulated, namely:

"Someone who is not as close as a first-level friend
but you like them, talk, joke and go around with
them, but would not trust them with your secrets."

The context, "school/work" was omitted from this definition as

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was "love" to avoid being too restrictive, especially since a small percentage of young people might be unemployed and most peer and friendship groups were likely to be single sex.

At the third-level, "school/work" had an even greater dimension, but the frequency of contact and the level of intimacy was manifestly less, with "nod of the head" or saying "hello" increasing in significance. Thus, at this third level, the key words were:

> "Talk to, chat; like to be with, go around with, go out with, fond of, hang around with, enjoy; nod of head, say hello; see occasionally, see sometimes, see not often; see at school/work."

Using the key words an appropriate third-level definition was constructed:

> "Someone you talk to, give a nod of the head or say "hello", and although you may get on with them you probably see them less frequently than your first and second-level friends."

Again the school/work dimension was omitted from the definition for a similar reason to that stated above.

The fourth choice of friendship occupied a relatively insignificant position in the overall friendships of young people. These were friends that one might talk or chat to, give a nod of the head or say "hello". They were young people who were not known very well to the subjects. It is worth noting that only fourteen of the subjects - less than 10% - named a fifth choice and in consequence the number of key words

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used was minimal and differed little from the fourth choices. For this reason neither a fourth or fifth-level definition was formulated. The evidence, however, supported the hypothesis.

(d)   To derive usable definitions for the subsequent research programme.

From the evidence provided in Tables 8 and 9 and the presentation of the findings, three definitions were formulated for friendship at three decreasing levels of intimacy.

First Level

"Someone you see a lot, who is close to you and you like to be with. You can trust and confide your secrets and share problems with them and you could rely on them to help out if you were in trouble."

Second Level

"Someone who is not as close as the first-level friend but you like them, talk, joke and go around with them, but would not trust them with your secrets."

Third Level

"Someone you talk to, give a nod of the head or say "hello" and, although you may get along with them, you probably see them less frequently than your first and second-level friends."

Although it is possible to label the levels, for example, "best friends", "good friends" and "acquaintances" respectively, it is considered adequate to use of the term "level" prefixed by first, second and third. These levels and definitions are used for the purposes of the subsequent research to be established in Part Three.

(e) Listing of names of friends in order of importance

In the next section of the questionnaire the respondents were invited to:

> "In the space below would you list your friends in order of importance and divide up according to your own levels?"

This was qualified with the note:

> "Remember that teenagers vary greatly in their number of friends - it is in this variation that we are interested."

Whilst valuable information was obtained in this section, there were inconsistencies in presentation by the young people which rendered the analysis more limiting than was originally intended. However, the information did indicate that when four levels of friendship were applied by respondents the total number of young people involved might exceed 100. At the first and second-level, the number was considerably less, ranging from 4 to about 20. This area of the research is reconsidered in detail in Chapter Five.

(f) Contacts who are not described as friends

Respondents were invited to answer a final question:

> "Are there teenagers who you see in your school or leisure time that you would not describe as friends?"
> YES/NO

The following hypothesis was tested:

"Young people are in contact with others of their age group who:

    i.   they do not regard as friends and

    ii.   are likely to be described in a negative light."

    112 (77%) responded YES
    34 (23%) responded NO

    N = 146

Those responding YES were invited to describe those contacts. These were analysed in terms of whether the responses were positive, i.e. containing words indicating "liking", or negative, i.e. "critical" and "disliking".

The analysis was as follows:

    Positive statement   31 (28%)
    Negative statement   80 (72%)

    N = 111

This part of the research revealed that over three-quarters of the young people, 112 (77%) indicated that there were others of their age who they saw at school or in their leisure time whom they would not regard as friends. Of these, nearly three-quarters (72%), used negative statements to describe them. The following is a selection of negative statements used:

    "annoying, ponce, too talkative, big mouth."
    "people I dislike or people who dislike me."
    "poofs, know-alls, people who think they are hard lads."
    "wet, soapy people."
    "people who talk behind your back, and are very two-faced."
    "people who always cause trouble and blame someone else."
    "wogs, mods, foreigners, pigs."

"a girl who I have only started to dislike as she
took my boyfriend away."

Positive statements included:

"just people I say "hello" to."
"people to talk to but do not go around with, but
also regard as mates."
"friends of friends but not my friends"
"acquaintances"
"I do not dislike many people at all. I like to be
friends with everyone."

On the basis of the evidence, over 76% of young people were in

contact with other young people whom they did not regard as

friends. Of these, 72% described them negatively. In the

light of the 76% response to this question and the subsequent

72% negative statements, the hypotheses were again confirmed.

**(e) To examine the effects of age and sex on friendship
during adolescence.**

The computer analysis was extended to explore some cross-

tabulations arising from the study. These included:

Age by sex
Age by friendship existing at different levels
Sex by using the term "girlfriend(s)"
Sex by using the term "boyfriend(s)"
Sex by use of the term "mate"

Chi-squares were calculated and significance levels determined.

Age by Sex

The sample was checked to ensure that there was no bias in

favour of males or females across the seven-year age-span of

the sample. Table 10 indicates the distribution.

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SEX

AGE	FEMALE	MALE
13	5 (3.4%)	3 (2.0%)
14	12 (8.1%)	8 (5.4%)
15	16 (10.7%)	15 (10.1%)
16	28 (18.8%)	18 (12.1%)
17	8 (5.4%)	19 (12.8%)
18	5 (3.4%)	10 (6.7%)
20	-	2 (1.3%)
N	74 (49.7%)	75 (50.3%)

Chi-Square 11.68 df 6 Significance < 7%

TABLE 10   Sample by Age and Sex.

It can be concluded from the Chi-square value with its significance level of less than 7% that there was no undue bias in the sample between males and females.

Age by friendship existing at different levels

The following was found:

```
Chi-square    12.7
df       6
Significance < 4.7%
```

With 95% of the sample agreeing with this proposition, it was not surprising that a significance of less than 5% was obtained from the data.   No difference was found when comparing age with friendship existing at different levels.

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Sex by using the term "girlfriend(s)"

Only 15 of the sample (20%) used the term, "girlfriend(s)" although significance was found of less than 3%. The term was used more by males than females, as would be expected:

```
Females   3          (4%)
Males    12          (16%)

Chi-square           4.63
df    1
Significance         < 3%
```

Sex by using the term "boyfriend(s).

Here again the relative numbers using the term "boyfriend(s)" was small - 14 (18%) and this gave a lower level of significance - less than 0.2%:

```
Females        13 (17%)
Males           1  (1%)
Chi-square         9.70
df    1
Significance    < 0.2%
```

Sex by using the term "mate(s)"

During the time that I was a teenager and in the early part of my professional youth work career, the use of the term "mate" was applied exclusively by boys to boys. Of late, there is a change reported by the post-graduate researchers and confirmed by this study. The term was also used by girls to describe their friends as the data confirmed:

```
Females        32 (21%)
Males          34 (22%)
Total          66 (44%)
```

Thus, almost equal numbers of girls and boys used the term "mate(s)".

The coding frame for the computer analysis of this pilot study is detailed in Appendix Two.

(f)   To compare the findings with the studies of La Gaipa; Kon and Losenkov; Button; and Dunphy.

The three levels of friendship derived from this study correspond more closely to the definitions of Button at the "close friend", "other friend" and "acquaintance" levels, and do not distinguish between the "best friend" and "close friend" of La Gaipa, and between the "best friend" and "friend" of Kon and Losenkov.   The latter's use of the word "comrade" may well approximate to La Gaipa's "good friend", Button's "other friend" or this study's "Level Two".

The definitions derived from the Pilot Study are preferred to those employed in the other studies cited on the following grounds:

1.   The definitions are the most recent, having been defined in late 1982. As a result, they are not affected by a long passage of time.

2.   They were derived from a sample of British young people from Inner London, Greater London and a rural county town. The sample included young people who were at school, at work or unemployed. This compared with La Gaipa's university students, Kon and Losenkov's sample in full-time education using youth organisations, and lastly Button, who did not give sampling details of the 1000 interviews undertaken.

3.   The definitions contain less bias than several of the other studies.

I wish to argue that bias is particularly notable in the definitions of La Gaipa. In these he used such statements as, "drinking coffee", "getting together for a bull session" which would seem particularly restricting for those who do not undertake either activity. In addition, a number of studies gave an indication to the young people of the number of friends that could be expected in a particular category of friendship. It is clear from the evidence of several studies that there was variation in the number of friends named by individual young people. All too often, however, mean figures for these were quoted without standard deviations, and one is unable to discern the extent of variability from the evidence provided. Whilst this was true for Kon and Losenkov, they were also more specific. They detailed that 43% of male 16 year olds had three or more friends (39% for females). These figures increased to 50% and 40% respectively, for male and female rural respondents. In the case of the latter male group, 20% had five or more friends.

Button indicated that close friendships in his studies had ranged from 1 to over 6, with "other friends" being a "little larger".

Coleman found the number of male friends named by males in co-educational schools was 3.21 (4.13 in the case of females). Although a number of researchers have compared their data with that of Coleman, they have not always compared like with like.

My own earlier research using Button's "close/other friend"

definitions revealed variation in the number of friends named from a minimum of one to a maximum of eight for "close friends" and a similar range for "other friends." Thus, it would seem from the evidence given that any definition containing hints on the number of persons likely to be named under the various categories, may be restricting and introduce unnecessary bias.

Conclusions on the pilot study

Three definitions of friendship were derived from the questionnaire responses of 149 young people between the ages of 13 and 20. In addition, a number of hypotheses were tested and confirmed. We can conclude from this limited pilot study that:

    i. friendship is important to young people

   ii. they can describe friendship at different levels

       and

  iii. define the qualities at these levels

   iv. there are young people who they know who they
       would not regard as friends and most regard them
       in a negative light.

In addition, the terms "girlfriend(s)" and "boyfriend(s)" tended to be used to describe opposite sex friends and the term "mate" was used by both sexes.

The term "sociometry" was first used by Moreno during the time
he was working for the Austrian Government in 1916.   He
emigrated to the United States and later published a book
entitled, "Who shall survive?" (14) which paved the way for the
development of the sociometric movement and the journal
"Sociometry."

Sociometry has its roots in the analysis of data derived from
the sociometric test - usually taking the form of a
questionnaire.   In its simplest form, subject A is invited to
choose another subject to carry out some activity.   Suppose he
chooses subject B - then this can be represented
diagramatically as:

The direction of the choice is indicated by the arrow.   Now if
subject B is also asked the same question, he might choose
subject C.
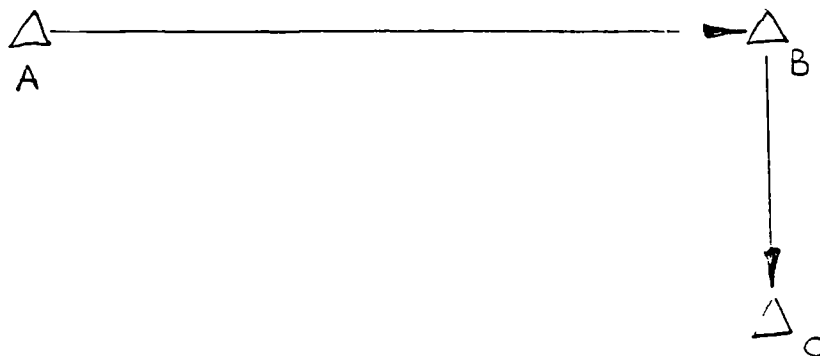
However, if subject C also chooses B, we have what is termed a reciprocated choice, expressed diagrammatically as:
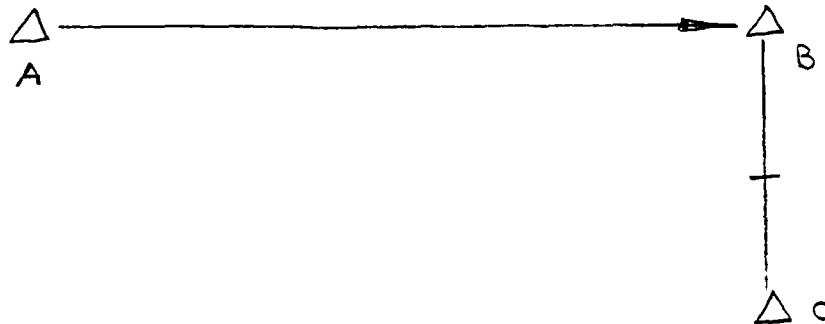
If the exercise is repeated for all members of a group, for example a school class, a sociometric diagram, or simply a "sociogram" can be constructed.

Figure 3 is an example of a sociogram I have prepared following questionnaire responses by a group of post-graduate students at Brunel University. They were asked on four occasions during their two-year part-time course to complete a four-item proforma, which was processed using the sociometric technique. Each participant was invited to write down the name of one person in their group who was likely to satisfy each of the following statements:

(a) Someone you would choose for a social occasion.

(b) Someone you would choose to partner you in a work exercise.

(c) Someone you feel you could share a personal problem with.

(d) Someone in whose company you would likely feel uneasy.

The sociogram Figure 3 represents the response of the group of

22 individuals to question (c) above.
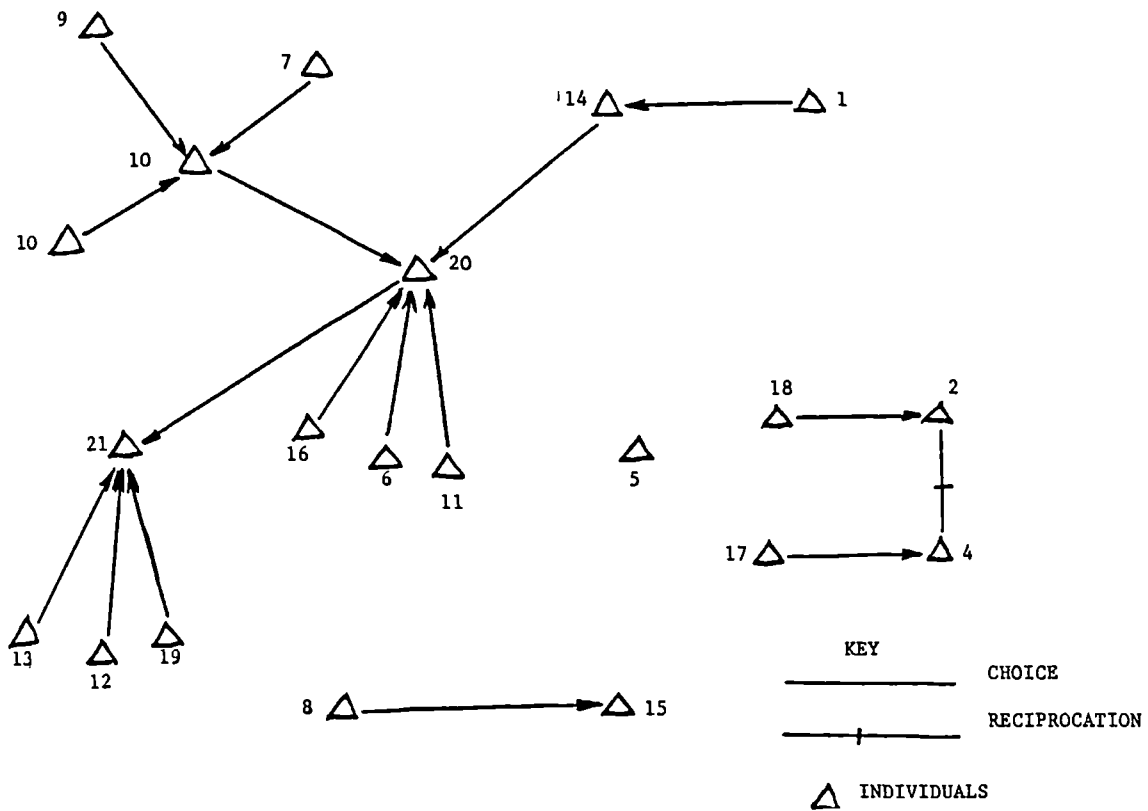
FIGURE   3   Sociogram of the responses of the group to
                    the question: Name "Someone you feel you
                    could share a personal problem with". End of
                    first year, July 1981.

It should be noted that only one reciprocation occurred
(subjects 2 and 4.)   Subject 20 was' named by five different
individuals. Next highest was subject 21 with four choices.
Subject 5 was not prepared to make a choice and stated, "I
don't know that I can trust anyone." Only this one person in
the group failed to name a confidant.   This is an example
where an additional question of the type, "briefly state why
you have answered this way?" can produce valuable additional
information for use in content analysis.   Examples of
responses for the question given included:

> "evident skill in listening and a high level of
> "people" understanding"
>
> "he is approachable and empathetic"
>
> "can sufficiently detach himself to maintain
> confidentiality"
>
> "this is a natural relationship and personal
> problems have already been discussed."

A number of studies have been undertaken which have used the
sociometric test for practical purposes.   It is possible, for
example, for a teacher or youth worker to construct groups or
dyads on the basis of responses to questions such as, "who
would you prefer to sit next to?" or "we are going to conduct a
group exercise, so which four members of the class would you
prefer to work with?"

Sherif and Sherif (16) used the sociometric test as a basis for
providing information to structure groups in a children's camp.
"In the first two experiments, the boys arrived at the

site together, were all housed in one large bunkhouse
and, initially, were entirely free to choose companions
in the activities, all of which were camp wide. Within
two or three days, smaller clusters of budding
friendship groups were observed, composed of two to
four boys each. (One of the more prominent called
themselves the "three musketeers.")

Each boy was then asked informally who his best friends
were in the camp (sociometric choices). Then the
budding clusters were arbitrarily split to compose two
cabins, so that about two-thirds of the "best friends"
were in different cabins." (16)

Coleman used the sociometric test to measure association
structures in the schools of his research and was able to make
comparisons and identify the most named and least named
individuals (17).

I have used Sociometric studies to map the changing friendship
patterns in a group on a longitudinal basis (18), and Ford (19)
has determined the extent of cross social-class friendships in
a comprehensive school.

Inevitably, when large numbers of subjects are involved in a
sociometric test, the task of constructing sociograms becomes
exceedingly complex. For this reason, various mathematical
and computer programmes have been constructed for defining
group relationships Amir et. al. and Levin (20) (21). It is
likely that modern computer graphics could be used to assist in
the processing of sociograms.

Unfortunately, insufficient work has been undertaken to
standardise the procedures for using the sociometric technique

and too little is known of the experimental effects; whether it

is preferable to require oral or written responses, and whether

administering in a group or individual situation is preferable.

However, in designing a sociometric research programme certain

common-sense precautions should be considered:

1. that subjects have sufficient ability if self
    completion questionnaires are used - in reading
    and writing

2. the social setting for questionnaires or
    interviews provides sufficient privacy and
    confidentiality

3. the findings remain confidential to the researcher
    unless agreement has been obtained from those
    involved, to reveal the evidence.

PILOT STUDY TO IDENTIFY FRIENDSHIP GROUPS

Method

Two research students, one located in Croydon and the other in

Guildford, undertook a sociometric study using the first-level

and second-level definitions of friendship derived in the

initial pilot study detailed earlier in this Chapter, namely:

First-Level

Someone you see a lot, who is close to you and you like to be
with.   You can trust and confide your secrets and share
problems with them and you could rely on them to help you out
if you were in trouble.

Second-Level

Someone who is not as close as the First-Level friend but you
like them, talk, joke and go around with them, but would not
trust them with your secrets.

The researchers were instructed to identify a single individual who they believed was a member of a friendship group and invite him/her to name friends in accordance with the two levels of friendship. With this achieved, the students were then asked to interview the identified first-level friends, if available. From the information obtained a sociogram was drawn.

Figures 4 and 5 are sociograms of the Croydon and Guildford groups identified by this approach.

Figure 4 represents the Croydon sociogram prepared from interviews with a group of fifteen year old West Indian boys. Colin was the first person to be interviewed. After the interviews had been completed the sociogram was drawn and a number of questions regarding group membership posed. For example, was Lalta a member of the friendship group? He was named at the first-level by two members, Colin and Kevin and by Robert B at second-level. Peter S was named at first-level by Robert M, and David N. Also at that level, Clive M was named by Kevin A and David N In addition, there were three first-level friends named by only one group member - Harry, Clive T and Delroy. All the evidence, at least by observation, pointed to the fact that Lalter, Clive M and Peter were members of the group. However, observation alone might have been insufficient to confirm this. Group membership may be defined to a certain extent by the frequency with which the members of that group meet and, the sharing of some common activity, be it social or organised. These factors required further

investigation.   Subsequent testing revealed that Lalter and Peter were members of the group and shared in some common activity.   It also seemed appropriate to identify whether at the second-level or unequal levels of friendship, Shirley, Mark, Dinford, Adesola, Pamela Graham and Derek G were also members of the group.

It was at this point that I began to realise that there might not be congruency between the leisure-time peer group and the friendship group.   This small piece of research revealed a number of contexts in which certain members of the group take part - school, ethnic (black), music, youth club.   Some of the young people named attended the sixth form college, having transferred from school at the end of the fifth year, others were in the fourth or fifth year and Mark was described as the "local pimp".

Thus, it can be concluded from this first sociometric study, supported by the above additional information, that valuable insights into group membership can be provided.   Further follow-up interviews might well have provided further answers to some of the questions posed.
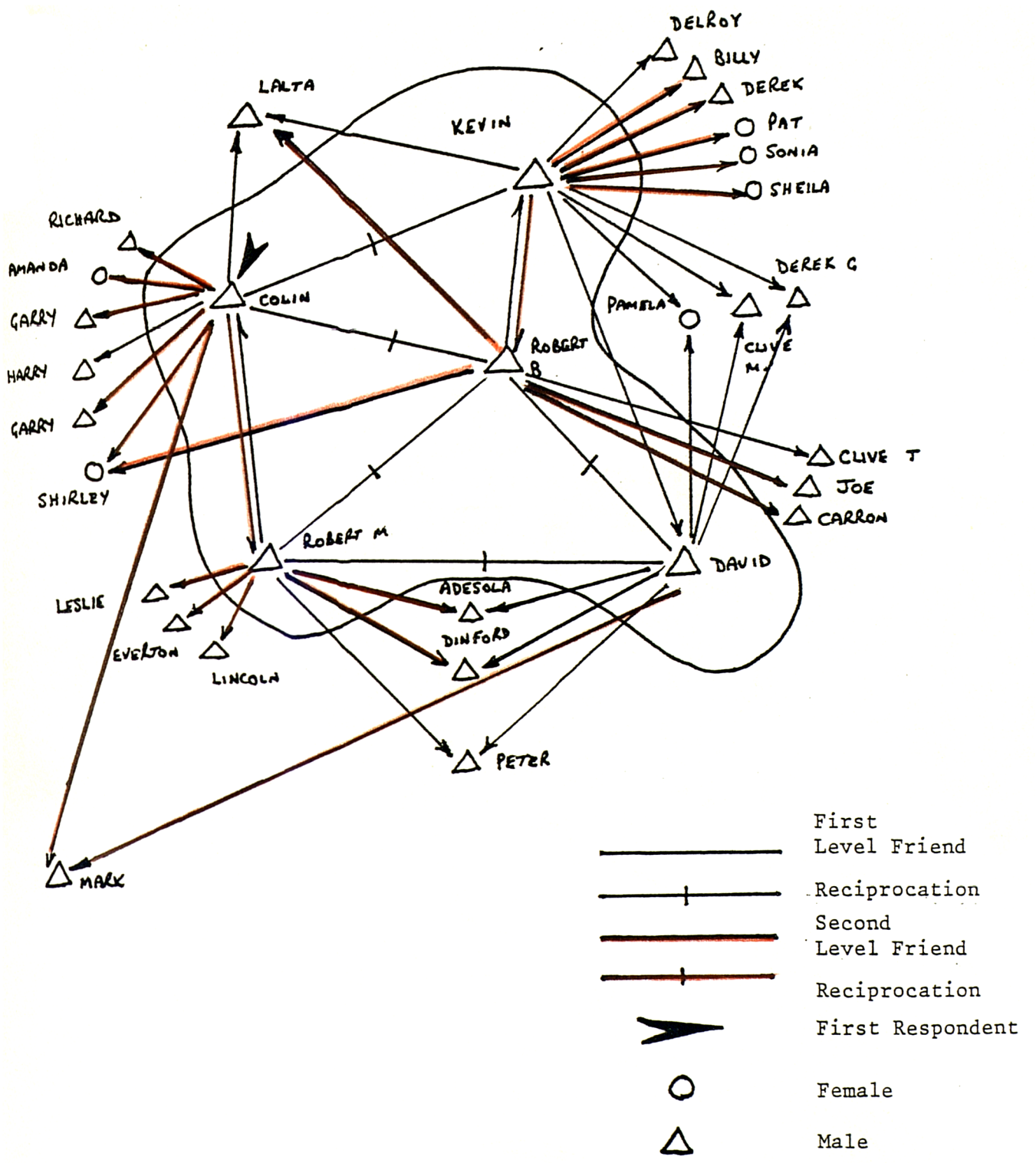
FIGURE 4   The Croydon Group
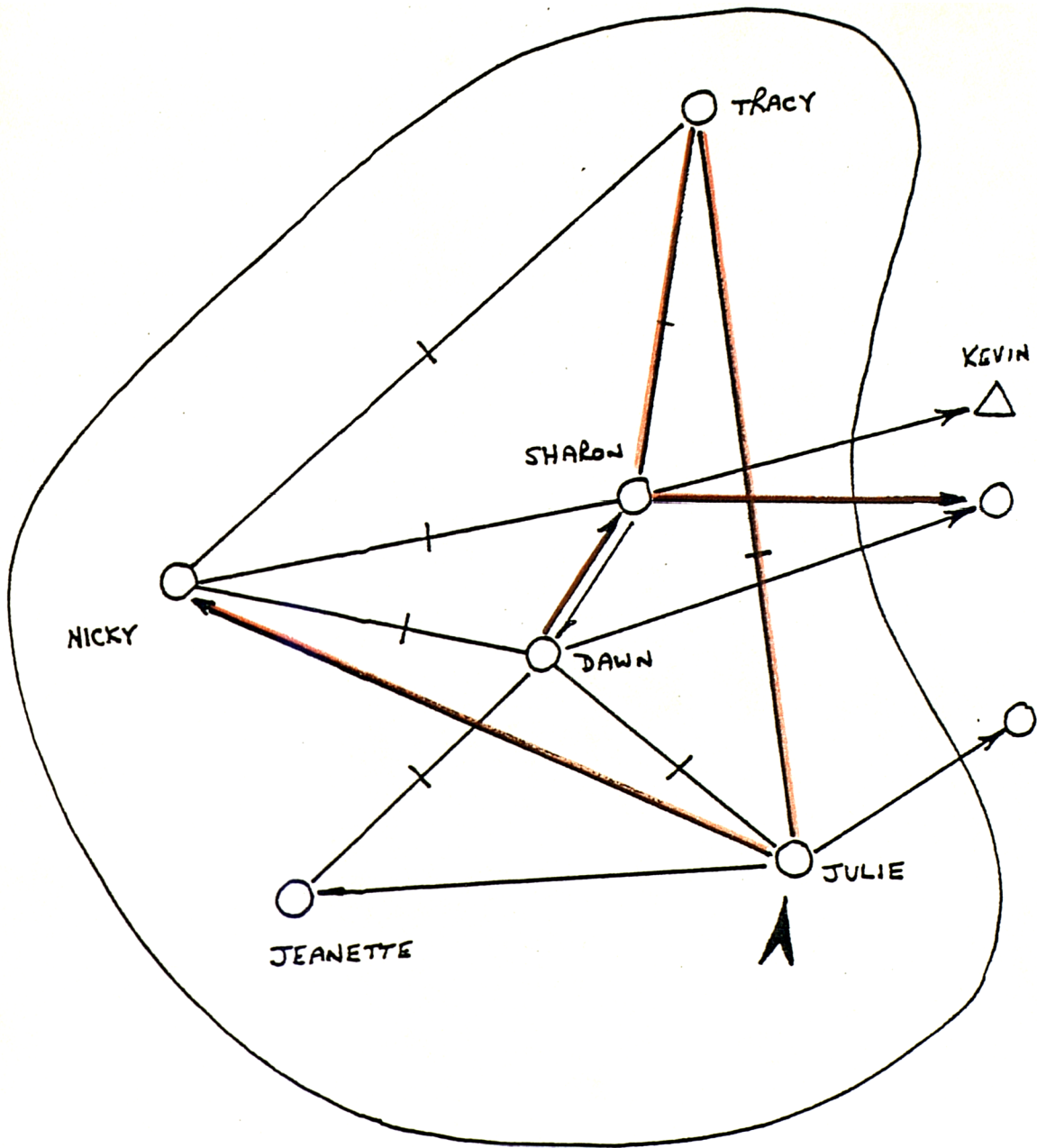
───────────	First Level Friend
──────┼──────	Reciprocation
══════════	Second Level Friend
══════┼══════	Reciprocation
➤	First Respondent
◯	Female
△	Male

FIGURE 5   The Guildford Group

Figure 5 represents the Guildford sociogram of an all female group. The members lived on an old council estate erected in the 1920's about two miles from the town centre. The members were in the 16-17 year age group and interviews commenced with Julie. The sociogram revealed that there were six members of the group, all female, five reciprocated first-level choices, one mixed choice (between Dawn and Sharon), and two second level reciprocations. There were only three friends named outside the area of study and only one boy was featured - Kevin. Although this sociogram appears much simpler because there are fewer friends named, the question of whether the girl named by Dawn and Sharon was a member of the group, has not been answered.

In comparing the two groups (Figures 4 and 5), it is apparent that the relationship styles of the members is quite different. The Croydon West Indian group members have many more friends outside the area of study than does the Guildford girls' group. The majority of the friends named in the West Indian group were personal to particular individuals and only in the case of Lalter was there naming by three group members. Shirley, Mark, Dinford, Peter, Adesola, Pamela and Derek were named by two others. It is clear from these two pilot studies that:

1. more examples are required before comparisons can be made to explain group differences

2. beyond the "bare" information of friendships, there is need for additional background information to enable decisions to be made about

group membership

3. the contexts in which individuals undertake activities as friends, require pursuing.

PERSONALITY AND FRIENDSHIP

There is little reference in the literature to studies comparing personality characteristics with friendship patterns. Duck (22) examined personality similarity and friendship choices by adolescents using Kelly's Repertory Grid technique (23). In the study, Duck examined the nature of the relationship between personality similarity and established friendships amongst adolescents. Duck argued that there was a properly held view that personality was relevant to interpersonal attraction but that the evidence was somewhat "equivocal or contradictory", brought about in part by the fact that not all research studies have involved established relationships (see Izard (24) and Byrne and Griffit (25)). Duck conducted research using three adolescent groups - late, mid and early with samples comprising 30, 36 and 31 subjects respectively. Five lists of triads were presented to the subjects in the form of role titles and individuals were invited to choose personal elements (people) who fitted the role titles:

1. Mother; brother; friend;
2. Father; sister; friend;
3. Teacher; sister; neighbour;
4. Mother; brother; father;
5. A boy you know; a girl you know; friend.

Duck found a relationship between similarity of personality and

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adolescent friendship choice; a similar picture to that found in work he had done with adults. However, there were qualitative differences in the factors relevant to friendship as a function of age. These included the kinds of construct used and sex differences. Mid and late adolescent girl friendship choices correlated with similarity of psychological description. Duck suggested avenues for further research including the need to content analyse psychological constructs into sub-divisions but offered caution in any assumption that friendships were qualitatively similar. He concluded by stating that:

> "The possibility that adolescent friendships are a testing ground for later relationships has serious implications for the theoretical analysis of interpersonal attraction and especially for the understanding of the effects of very early relationships on subsequent ones." (26)

One advantage of using the Kelly theory of personal constructs is that it is based on the individual's own subjective judgements, and produces constructs which relate to the individual's environment, experience and psychic organisation. This particular approach, which I have used extensively was rejected in connection with the quantitative research which is employed in this study and set out in the next chapter. The Kelly approach requires considerably more time than is possible within the constraints of the research to be undertaken. It also requires detailed explanation of the "three card trick" approach and as long as thirty minutes for subjects to derive

constructs for a useable number of triads.

An alternative method of measuring personality employs what is described as an objective test. A most comprehensive and fully developed theory of personality based on factor analysis is that developed by Cattell (27).

Cattell approached the area of personality assessment from the viewpoint that personality was complex and could be differentiated into traits. Cattell is most well known for the Sixteen PF personality test in which 16 individual personality traits are measured. Each trait is scored on a 1 thru' 10 scale based on a normal distribution, with descriptions provided for low and high scores.

A junior version of the 16 PF known as "Junior-Senior High School Personality Questionnaire" has been developed by Cattell's team and was used in an adapted form by Kon and Losenkov op. cit. (28). They correlated eight of the HSPQ factors with:

1. a propensity for extensive relationships with a large number of acquaintances of both sexes

2. an interest chiefly in group friendship with people of the same age and sex

3. an orientation for a friendship with people of the same age, but of the opposite sex

4. an orientation toward an exclusively intimate paired friendship.

Table 11 indicates the correlation coefficients obtained

between the types of relationship and the HSPQ for urban

respondents - 68 boys and 94 girls.

	Types of Relationships							
	Extensive Relationship with Peers of Both Sexes		Group Friendship with Peers of Same Sex		Friendship with Peers of Opposite Sex		Orientation for Intimate Friendship	
Factors of HSPQ	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
A Affectothymia	+0.33**	+0.46***	+0.24*	+0.15	+0.00	+0.21	-0.10	+0.04
D Excitability	+0.03	-0.10	+0.11	-0.02	-0.18	-0.08	+0.24*	+0.03
F Surgency	+0.22	+0.35***	+0.17	-0.01	+0.24*	+0.31**	+0.04	+0.08
G Stronger superego strength	-0.33*	0.00	+0.10	+0.13	+0.05	+0.15	+0.03	+0.06
H Parmia	+0.22	+0.16	+0.06	+0.07	+0.20	+0.34***	+0.09	-0.02
J Coasthenia	-0.21	-0.17	-0.34**	-0.09	-0.08	+0.01	+0.31*	+0.28*
Q2 Self-sufficiency	-0.19	-0.20	-0.33*	-0.20	-0.07	-0.35***	+0.22	+0.14
Q3 High self control	-0.30*	-0.07	-0.07	+0.06	-0.16	-0.07	+0.01	-0.02
Exvia	-0.05	+0.36***	+0.08	+0.12	+0.17	+0.32***	+0.08	+0.09

Note: Factors of HSPQ which are not statistically significant are not in this table.
*$p < .05$.
**$p < .01$.
***$p < .001$.

TABLE 11   Correlation coefficients between types of relationships and HSPQ (Urban respondents: 68 boys and 94 girls)

The HSPQ manual suggests the fourteen trait measures can be used to predict school achievement, vocational fitness, danger of delinquency, likelihood of leadership qualities and the need for clinical help in avoiding neurotic conditions.   A British standardised version of the HSPQ has alterations to eleven items;   three being amendments of spelling, six of lexical terms and two of inappropriate phraseology in the American version*.   The HSPQ contains 140 questions of the type:

Which would you rather do?

    (a) Visit a zoo
    (b) Uncertain
    (c) Go up in an airplane?

*Again, we have the inappropriateness of an American derived study resulting, in this case, in the need for amendment and importantly, for a British standardisation.

Subjects are invited to choose one answer from the three and are encouraged to avoid the centre position, unless it is impossible to provide an alternative answer. The responses to the 140 items are scored, assigned to factors and reduced to a 1 thru' 10 standard score for each of the 14 personality factors. Ten questions contribute to each factor and a test profile can be prepared for each subject for comparison with the normal distribution of a population of young people. Approximately 40 minutes is required for subjects to complete the HSPQ and about 3 minutes to complete the questions associated with any single factor (NB the questions contributing to each factor are spaced throughout the questionnaire).

Due to the constraint on time for this research is was only possible to use four factors in the quantitative research section of this Thesis. Those chosen, it is argued are the most likely to correlate with friendship dimensions and were included in Kon and Losenkov's longer selection. Table 12 shows the HSPQ factors - those to be used in the subsequent research are marked *.

SELF-ESTEEM AND FRIENDSHIP

Finally in this Chapter, consideration is given to the concept of self-esteem in relation to friendship, an area identified in Chapter Three as worthy of research:

> "Self-esteem refers to the affective component of the
> self-attitude, i.e. the positive or negative evaluation
> of the beliefs about self." (29)

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LOW STEN SCORE DESCRIPTION (1 - 3)	ALPHABETIC DESIGNATION OF FACTOR	HIGH STEN SCORE DESCRIPTION (8 - 10)
A boy or girl with low score is:		*A boy or girl with high score is:*
RESERVED, DETACHED, CRITICAL, ALOOF, STIFF	A *	WARMHEARTED, OUTGOING, EASY-GOING, PARTICIPATING
LESS INTELLIGENT, CONCRETE-THINKING, OF LOWER SCHOLASTIC MENTAL CAPACITY	B	MORE INTELLIGENT, ABSTRACT-THINKING, BRIGHT, OF HIGHER SCHOLASTIC MENTAL CAPACITY
AFFECTED BY FEELINGS, EMOTION-ALLY LESS STABLE, EASILY UPSET, CHANGEABLE, OF LOWER EGO STRENGTH	C	EMOTIONALLY STABLE, MATURE, FACES REALITY, CALM, OF HIGHER EGO STRENGTH (not the same as "egotistical")
UNDEMONSTRATIVE, DELIBERATE, INACTIVE, STODGY, PHLEGMATIC	D	EXCITABLE, IMPATIENT, DEMANDING, OVERACTIVE, UNRESTRAINED
OBEDIENT, MILD, EASILY LED, ACCOMMODATING, SUBMISSIVE	E	ASSERTIVE, COMPETITIVE, AGGRESSIVE, STUBBORN, DOMINANT
SOBER, TACITURN, SERIOUS	F *	ENTHUSIASTIC, HEEDLESS, HAPPY-GO-LUCKY
DISREGARDS RULES, EXPEDIENT, HAS WEAKER SUPEREGO STRENGTH	G	CONSCIENTIOUS, PERSISTENT, MORALISTIC, STAID, HAS STRONGER SUPEREGO STRENGTH
SHY, TIMID, THREAT-SENSITIVE	H *	ADVENTUROUS, "THICK-SKINNED," SOCIALLY BOLD
TOUGH-MINDED, REJECTS ILLUSIONS	I	TENDER-MINDED, SENSITIVE, CLINGING, OVER-PROTECTED
ZESTFUL, LIKES GROUP ACTION	J	CIRCUMSPECT INDIVIDUALISM, REFLECTIVE, INTERNALLY RESTRAINED
SELF-ASSURED, PLACID, SECURE, COMPLACENT, UNTROUBLED	O	APPREHENSIVE, SELF-REPROACHING, INSECURE, WORRYING, GUILT PRONE
SOCIABLY GROUP-DEPENDENT, A "JOINER" AND SOUND FOLLOWER	Q₂ *	SELF-SUFFICIENT, PREFERS OWN DECISIONS, RESOURCEFUL
UNCONTROLLED, LAX, FOLLOWS OWN URGES, CARELESS OF SOCIAL RULES, HAS LOW INTEGRATION	Q₃	CONTROLLED, SOCIALLY-PRECISE, SELF-DISCIPLINED, COMPULSIVE, HAS HIGH SELF-CONCEPT CONTROL
RELAXED, TRANQUIL, TORPID, UNFRUSTRATED, COMPOSED	Q₄	TENSE, DRIVEN, OVERWROUGHT, FRUSTRATED, FRETFUL

TABLE 12   Brief description of the fourteen HSPQ personality factors.

The concept has great significance to the social scientist, but according to Coopersmith:

> "So little is known about the conditions and experiences that enhance or lessen self-esteem." (30)

The concept was referred to as "positive self regard" (Rogers), the need for respect (Fromm), the need for self confirmation (Buber) and the need for integrity (Erikson).

Self-esteem figures importantly in Maslow's hierarchy of needs in which he suggested that character traits were directly related to psychological needs. The gratification of lower level needs within his hierarchy, he argued, was essential before higher level needs could be satisfied. Self-esteem was equated with self respect, self reliance, confidence and trust in oneself (31).

Wylie (32) found in a detailed review of the studies of self-esteem that:

> "People who see themselves as helpless and inferior are incapable of improving their situation and lack the inner resources to tolerate or reduce the anxiety readily aroused by every day events and stress."

Button agreed:

> "... we may defend ourselves against anyone who seeks to raise our low self-esteem as we would if he sought to lower a higher one. We even have an early warning system, and our sub-conscious being will respond to an attack upon our self-concept before we are consciously aware that the attack has been made."(33)

A number of researchers have drawn attention to the importance

of self-esteem and its development during the period of adolescence. Mannarino found that pre-adolescent males involved in, what he termed "chumship", had higher self-concepts than those without a "chum" (34).

Self-esteem is seen as a changeable entity especially during adolescence:

> "self-esteem is a crucial problem. There is as yet little experience to base it on, and that little is a thoroughly biased sample acquired in the home and the juvenile group.... adolescents lack reserves of self-esteem to sustain them under humiliating conditions. They cannot easily assimilate an attack on their dignity or worth, for it produces not merely resentment but intense anxiety." (35)

Dunphy, in stressing the nature of the peer group as a primary group, suggested that the self was determined to a large degree by an individual's position and role in a social system of social relationships (36). These assertions provide further emphasis on the importance of the peer group in the course of adolescent development (36).

Naturally enough, achievement, or lack of it, will affect one's level of self-esteem (37), although high self-esteem has not been consistently found to be related to popularity (38).

Elkind argued in relation to the developmental changes in adolescence that:

> "The adolescent, much more than the child or the adult, seeks to enhance, maintain, and defend self-esteem in relation to the audience. Because he or she is breaking away from the security of parental ties, that

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continuing source acceptance and self-esteem has
weakened, and because the young adolescent does not yet
have an occupation or supporting friendships, the usual
sources of adult self-esteem and support are absent.
That is why the young adolescent is so concerned with
audience reactions. It is, for a brief period in life,
the primary source of self-esteem and enhancement."
(39)

Elkind's reference to friendships being "the primary source of

self-esteem enhancement" may be an over-emphasis since the

home and the school will continue to be influential in a young

person's life. School especially, may enhance an individual's

self-esteem through academic and sport achievements, for

example, and negatively reinforce others. This may be

particularly pertinent for those from the working classes since

the value system of the school is likely to be predominantly

middle class. (cf. Willis op. cit.)

In a somewhat dated study undertaken by Neugarten as part of

the Elmtown Study of Hollingshead (40), she asked her subjects

to name their best friend and found that:

"except in the lowest social class, the children named
members of the social classes above them as their best
friends; seldom their equals and hardly ever their
inferiors. There were therefore very few mutual
choices of best friend, so that best friendships cannot
have been very satisfying to the respectable children
of Elmtown. The juveniles of the lowest social class,
aware of the barrier separating them from the
respectable, did name each other as best friends more
frequently than they did children from higher status
families." (41)

Since all the children were white and predominantly from

Northern European stock it is suggested that the findings may

have reflected social stereotyping.

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Rosenberg undertook an extensive study into self-esteem with different ethnic, religious and social class groups. His samples included young people, and in this respect he asserted that:

> "It seems likely that, among adolescents, subcultural norms, or other characteristic aspects of experience deriving from cultural factors, are more important than general social prestige as determinants of self esteem." (42)

He further asserted that in relation to his adolescent sample they differed from adults whose:

> "... class, nationality and religious statuses are ascribed, not achieved. In other words, in the adult world differential occupational achievement, dominence or submission, power or impotence, prestige or disesteem, may influence one's self-esteem, whereas in the adolescent world, the reflected glory deriving from the occupational achievement of one's father may be less important. Nor does this mean that achievement is unimportant for the adolescent. On the contrary, a successful school record or successful interpersonal relationships are ... definitely related to self-esteem." (43)

Rosenberg found that generally, however, ethnic group members even if subjected to:

> "..the most intense, humiliating and crippling forms of discrimination in virtually every institutional arena, do not have particularly low self-esteem. They are indeed, below average, but not by a conspicuous margin (only 6%). (44)

An extensive study was undertaken by Coopersmith who concluded that self-esteem:

> "is a personal judgement of worthiness that is expressed in the attitude the individual holds towards himself. It is a subjective experience which the individual conveys to others by verbal reports and other overt expressive behaviour." (45)

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Unfortunately his research was conducted with children and his sample did not include adolescents. In examining friendship and self-esteem in relation to children he found that those high in self-esteem were chosen as friends more times (3.53) compared to their low self-esteem counterparts (1.47) p .05. This held true when subjects were invited to express whether they found it easy or difficult to make friends. 47% of the sample having high self-esteem stated that they found it easier than others, whereas 88% of the low self-esteem sample found it harder or the same as others, p .08 (46). Coopersmith developed an inventory for measuring self-esteem which was found to be very reliable. It was, however, developed with a very small sample - 85 pre-adolescents.

Marsland (47), in research with adolescents used a scale developed by Rosenberg (48) which had ten items. He found little difference in the overall self-esteem between each of four youth associations studied, although variations were found between the members of the associations.

Much of the literature points to self-esteem being a measure in much the same way as intelligence. Having been "operationally defined" scales such as that described below can be formulated using factorisation.

DEVELOPMENT OF A SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY

Recently I tutored a group of first year undergraduate students

undertaking a sociological methods programme in which a self-esteem inventory was formulated. Each student was invited to produce a statement which he/she believed would contribute to a measure of self-esteem. The statements were collated, edited where necessary to avoid overlap, and compiled into a 36-item questionnaire. This was administered to 100 young people in the fourth year of two secondary schools, (ages 14 and 15 years). The subjects were invited to indicate their preferences to the items using a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly agree" thru' "agree on the whole" and "disagree on the whole" to "strongly disagree."

The advantage of four-point compared with five-point Likert scales has been the subject of considerable debate in the social sciences. The four-point, which is chosen for use here, has one overriding advantage in preventing the respondent from choosing the middle category of the five-point scale "uncertain" as a "don't know".

The following statement and preference choices serve as an example of the initial inventory produced (for the full items see Appendix Three).

I make friends very easily:

| Strongly disagree | Disagree on the whole | Agree on the whole | Strongly agree |

The questionnaires were coded and computer analysed. They

produced total scores ranging from 75 to 133, with a mean of 102 (sd 11.8). However, in order to arrive at a shorter and stronger measure, the responses were subjected to a computerised factor analysis. Some difficulty was initially experienced using factor analysis since the responses to the 36 items produced very similar means and standard deviations and it was found necessary to use a variant procedure. When the Jöreskog factor analysis (49) was used in the analysis employing the maximum likelihood technique and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sample adequacy, a satisfactory analysis was obtained. Twelve factors were produced with convergence obtained after 24 iterations.

Factor 1 had the best variance component of 3.797 and contained 10.5% of the variance within the twelve factors.

Table 13 below indicates the variance obtained for each of the 36 questions. Those marked with a * were chosen for a new twelve item inventory - variance greater than 0.325 (see Appendix Four).

V1	.25183	V18	.34249*
V2	.20774	V19	.40760*
V3	.58072*	V20	.13191
V4	.12268	V21	.44847*
V5	.21042	V22	.26404
V6	.41155*	V23	.27394
V7	.29075	V24	.32609*
V8	.18350	V25	.24254
V9	.14855	V26	.25777
V10	.38260*	V27	.18329
V11	-.31698	V28	.09818
V12	.70615*	V29	.40759
V13	.10456	V30	.32077
V14	.18296	V31	.20806
V15	.42743*	V32	.04150
V16	.22716	V34	.45776*
V17	.59374*	V35	.13730
V18	.16579	V36	.32490*

TABLE 13
SELF-ESTEEM: FACTOR 1

The new inventory was subsequently used with groups of young
people and found to produce an adequate normal distribution,
thus distinguishing between those of high and low self-esteem.
This inventory will be used later in the research programme and
correlated against friendship and peer dimensions.

SUMMARY

Initially in this Chapter the work of La Gaipa; Kon and
Losenkov; Button; and Dunphy was considered in relation to
levels and definitions of friendship. All agreed that
friendship could be viewed at different levels, distinguished
by intimacy or the degree of closeness to an individual. La
Gaipa and Button produced four levels of friendship and Kon and
Losenkov; and Dunphy, two.

The young people's friendship pilot study provided four levels

of friendship of which the first three were precisely defined and named first, second and third-levels corresponding to what could be described as best friends, good friends and acquaintances.

The descriptions bear resemblances to those of Button although there were some marked differences. The first-level definition excluded the reciprocation of trust but included "help out if you were in trouble." At the second-level the definition emphasised talk and joke but named individuals would not be placed in a position of trust.

In the pilot study several hypotheses were tested and they revealed the importance of friendship to young people with 94% of a sample of 149 indicating that friendship was important or very important to them. A similar percentage (95%) agreed that friendship existed at different levels and content analysis was used to analyse the names given by young people to those levels. In addition, the qualities of friendship given by the young people indicated that they were able to define the qualities at the different levels. Again, content analysis was used which, together with the levels of friendship data, led to the three definitions of friendship which were described as first, second and third levels.

When young people were asked to list the names of their friends at their various levels it became clear that there was not only a loss of intimacy at the third-level and beyond but that the

overall number of friends named could be exceedingly large - as many as 100. For this reason, only the first two definitions were used in the subsequent sociometric research described.

Additional information arising from the pilot study confirmed that over 77% of respondents knew certain young people who they would not regard as friends. 72% of these used negative statements to describe them.

The use of the term girlfriend(s) and boyfriend(s) were used by a small percentage of the young people, mainly to describe opposite sex friends.

Almost equal numbers of the young people used the term "mate(s)" to describe friends - 44% overall.

Two sociometric studies, using the definitions derived at first and second-level, were conducted on individual young people and their network of friends was subsequently derived. It was clear, from the data provided for the two sociograms (Croydon and Guildford groups, Figures 4 and 5) that the method proved satisfactory for defining groups. It was however noted that there was a difference in an individual's friendship pattern and the members of their leisure-time peer group. The former might contain friends seen only at school, for example, but not seen in leisure-time as part of a leisure-time group. It is apparent that this approach has provided some insight into both

method and understanding of the peer group and friendship, to
be further explored in the subsequent research to be described
in Chapter Five.

From the evidence presented in the study undertaken by Kon and
Losenkov there were significant relationships between certain
factors in the HSPQ and friendship. As a result four factors
have been chosen for use in the subsequent research. These
will be correlated particularly with friendship dimensions (see
Table 14):

LOW STEN SCORE DESCRIPTION (1 – 3) *A boy or girl with low score is:*	ALPHABETIC DESIGNATION OF FACTOR	HIGH STEN SCORE DESCRIPTION (8 – 10) *A boy or girl with high score is:*
RESERVED, DETACHED, CRITICAL, ALOOF, STIFF	A	WARMHEARTED, OUTGOING, EASY-GOING, PARTICIPATING
SOBER, TACITURN, SERIOUS	F	ENTHUSIASTIC, HEEDLESS, HAPPY-GO-LUCKY
SHY, TIMID, THREAT-SENSITIVE	H	ADVENTUROUS, "THICK-SKINNED," SOCIALLY BOLD
SOCIABLY GROUP-DEPENDENT, A "JOINER" AND SOUND FOLLOWER	Q_2	SELF-SUFFICIENT, PREFERS OWN DECISIONS, RESOURCEFUL

TABLE 14

From the evidence cited, self-esteem has been shown to have
bearing on friendship and leisure-time peer group membership
since there was a likely positive effect in enhancing self-
esteem, through group activities. The self-esteem inventory
developed will be used in the subsequent research, which is to
be described in the next Chapter.

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PART THREE

"Most youngsters have close friends; some have only one, but
more have several; a few have six or more: they vary
considerably in this respect. A very small number survive
happily without any close friends at all, but most of those
without close friends ... regret their lack of friends, some of
them very deeply."

Leslie Button (1974)

CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY OF THE
ADOLESCENT PEER GROUP AND FRIENDSHIP

Introduction

I assume that research in the social sciences is conducted for

two specific reasons:

> 1. to assist in the formulation and confirmation of
>   theory

and:

> 2. to increase our existing knowledge about social
>   systems.

Sociological methods have been evolved to assist these

objectives.   They can broadly be divided into two categories,

namely quantitative and qualitative.   The former concerns what

Marsland has described as:

> "the generalised commitment to coherent and rational
> methods of research .... measurement is only one of
> several elements ... we have to begin from acknowledged
> and articulated paradigm theories, derive, rationalise
> and explicate concrete general models, and subsequently
> theories." (1)

Qualitative methods are not incompatible with this assertion.

They can play their part in the advance towards theory building

and the increase and extension of exisiting knowledge, and they

can go hand-in-hand with quantitative approaches.   They may be

conceived narrowly, perhaps too narrowly, as:

"an unstructured and flexible approach to interviewing
that allows the widest possible exploration of views
and behaviour patterns." (2)

Alternatively and more strongly, Glaser and Strauss have

suggested that:

> "The crucial elements of social theory are often found
> best with a qualitative method, i.e. from data on
> structural conditions, consequences, deviances, norms,
> processes, patterns and systems; because qualitative
> research is, more often than not, the end product of
> research within a substantive area beyond which few
> research sociologists are motivated to move; and
> because qualitative research is often the most
> "adequate" and "efficient" way to obtain the type of
> information required and to contend with the
> difficulties of an empirical situation." (3)

Whilst some social researchers use qualitative methods to

sketch out and understand the nature of a problem under

investigation before formulating a quantitative study (i.e. the

quantification of qualitative data), there would seem to be no

reason why quantitative methods should necessarily be raised to

a higher status. They serve different purposes and ought to be

fully compatible with one another. This position, however, is

not held universally by social scientists. There are those who

reject quantitative research methods almost out of hand. They

accuse the researcher of over-elaboration and:

> "The devising and use of sophisticated research
> techniques, usually of an advanced statistical
> character, the construction of logical and mathematical
> models, all too frequently guided by the criterion of
> elegance, the elaboration of formal schemes of imported
> schemes such as input-output analysis, system analysis
> and stochastic analysis, studious conformity to the
> cannons of research design; and the promotion of
> particular procedures, such as survey research, as the
> method of scientific study." (4)

The "accusers" expound the advantages of the qualitative

approach by stressing the inner perspective which places:

> "emphasis on man's ability to know himself and, hence,
> to know and understand others through "sympathetic
> introspection" and "imaginative reconstruction" of
> "definitions of the situation", thereby emphasising one
> of the basic underlying assumptions of human behaviour:
> that man, being a symbol manipulator, is only
> "understandable" through the perception and
> understanding of those symbols that are being
> manipulated." (5)

Participant observation is one of the major approaches used by

many of those who reject quantification, but as we saw in

Chapter One, Becker cautioned the researcher towards greater

formalisation and systematisation of qualitative research; away

from the "artistic" and towards a more "scientific" endeavour.

It is unfortunate that the quantitative and qualitative

methodological approaches in the social sciences belie deeper

theoretical disarticulations in the discipline as a whole,

which are manifested in the emphasis and commitment of

sociologists to distinct schools of thought and a somewhat

rigid identification with particular methodologies and

procedures. We have, thus, the positivist approach being

identified with quantitative sociological method and

phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology

providing some of the foci for most of the recent qualitative

research.

It is beyond the necessary scope of this thesis to do more than

outline the methodological debate in sociology, but I need to

argue my own position.   I have been particularly influenced by

Denzin and his strategy of multiple triangulation where:

> "Researchers explicitly search for as many different
> data sources as possible which bear upon the events
> under analysis." (6)

Westie has supported this argument too:

> "Such strategies permit the sociologist to move away
> from the polemical criticisms of various theoretical
> perspectives, since pitting alternative theories
> against the same body of data is a more efficient means
> of criticism - and it more comfortably conforms with
> the scientific method." (7)

In areas of research which involve small group analysis with

its high degree of theoretical incoherence and where debate as

to whether one approach or another is best, a multiple

strategy may well prove more valuable than many of the

"singular" approaches described in Chapters One and Two.

Additionally, Glaser and Strauss have called for a grounded

substantive sociological theory derived from a multiple

strategy, for they believe that significant insights may come

from one's own experiences, from those of others and from

existing social theory.   Their focus was, however, directed to

the generation rather than testing of theory and they failed to

explain how insights are to be transposed into social theory.

Westie has advanced seven steps through which this

transposition might be affected:

1. a comprehensive list of all existing propositions
    in a given area is contructed

2. for each of these propositions a list of possible
    interpretations is made

3. the actual research is conducted to determine
    which of pre-supposed empirical relationships
    actually exist

4. those pre-supposed relationships that fail to
    survive the empirical test are thrown out, as are
    the interpretations attached to them

5. the best interpretations, from the many
    contradictory propositions initially formulated,
    are selected through subsequent empirical
    investigations

6. conclude with a list of those propositions that
    passed and failed the empirical test and re-assess
    the theories from which they were derived

7. state, now, a reformulated theoretical system -
    basing it at all points on the empirical test just
    conducted (8).

It is clear, looked at from two points of view - the state of

our sociological knowledge on the adolescent peer group and

friendship and the reliance on American-based studies - that an

increase in knowledge is an essential precursor to the

articulation of theory in connection with this investigation.

It is therefore appropriate, I argue, to use both quantitative

and qualtitative research to serve this purpose.   Below, is

detailed the research design for both a quantitative and

qualitative research programme undertaken with young people,

drawing on the evidence presented in Part One and in the

development of methodological techniques in Part Two.

Research Design

Of the many text books on research methods there is frequently an underlying assumption that they lead:

> "the reader through the stages of research as if there was a mechanical sequence that, if followed, arrives invariably at reliable and valid evidence." (9)

In empirical research there are conventions associated with the formulation of hypotheses as a necessary stage in the research design. The testing of hypotheses has, for many social researchers, given way to broad based statistical testing of whole arrays of variables in an endeavour to discover underlying relationships. Their endeavours are considerably aided by the low cost and ease of processing through the use of modern computing techniques.

Wherever possible, a systematic approach is adopted in the planning and research undertaken in this thesis. However, in respect of the sample design, certain difficult decisions had to be made since it was decided to draw samples of young people from secondary comprehensive schools.

My own previous experience of undertaking research in schools suggested that in the planning negotiations one should, whenever possible, aim to:

    i.   cause the minimum amount of disruption to the timetable

    ii.   ensure that the length of research (i.e. time to complete questionnaires) relates to the school timetable periods

iii. take care involving 5th and 6th year pupils since
     they are likely to be preparing for the various
     public examinations

iv. avoid selection via registers to obtain random
    samples - this causes major communication
    difficulties within the school with a strong
    likelihood that some pupils would be late or fail
    to arrive. Many schools would have difficulty in
    providing the extra space required for such an
    exercise, compared to:

v. selection of pupils within mixed ability groupings
   (registration groups) within year cohorts. This
   assumes that an appropriate random sample is
   required rather than selection according to such
   criterion as IQ

vi. let the school select appropriate mixed ability
    groups using the established research criteria of
    the investigator.

For this research the schools were invited to select pupils

from amongst mixed ability groupings and in many instances the

registration periods provided the opportunity to conduct the

research when the pupils were together.

The major problem which arose from such an approach was that

the sample might not be fully random and it was therefore not

easy to describe the sample population within the school. A

significant control was obtained by undertaking the research

prior to the earliest stage that a fifth-year pupil could leave

compulsory schooling - Easter in the year in which age 16 was

attained. This particular research was completed during March

1983.

The size of mixed ability groupings in most secondary schools

is between 20 and 25 pupils and since large comprehensive

schools are likely to have at least a five-form entry, the selection of one of the mixed ability groupings would be approximately equivalent to a 20% sample for a school cohort.

Limitations in resources - time and money - precluded a random selection of a similar percentage from the school population in Greater London, which was the area in which pupils were under investigation. It is estimated from Greater London statistics, that there are 584 comprehensive schools in that area and selection of pupils from five of these (0.86%), was made. Five schools were chosen on the basis of contacts the researcher had with head teachers, teachers and youth workers. In one case where contact was made and head teacher approval obtained, the particular education authority required approval from its research section for any project undertaken in its schools.

It required that:

> "...no question shall be put to a pupil under the age
> of sixteen years about...home circumstances, unless and
> until written consent of the Education Officer is
> obtained"

In addition they expressed the desire to:

> "protect schools and their pupils from invasions of
> privacy, from unwarranted and excessive demands on
> their time by external research workers and to prevent
> particular schools from being unduly used for
> research."

Questions concerning parental occupation were left out of the questionnaire to fulfil this authority's requirements but it

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became clear that other questions such as "Do you share a bedroom?" and the HSPQ items required approval from an Educational Psychologist and other parties. Approval was unlikely to be obtained in time to include Easter leavers in the sample. As a result, a school in a neighbouring Borough was selected as an alternative and used for the research.

Rejection by schools or some higher authority is not uncommon in school-based research and Coleman reported considerable initial difficulty in his major study of adolescents, undertaken in the America, since:

> "Three of ten schools outside Chicago declined to be studied, and Chicago's Board of Education declined to have any of its schools studied." (10)

The five schools in this research were selected to give a cross-section of type and geographical location and a sample size of 100 for each year group, overall, was considered desirable.

Area and School Profile

The schools selected for the research programme were located in three outer London boroughs. They were all comprehensive schools.

Borough 1

The Borough is the third largest (in terms of area) of the
outer London boroughs, occupying 42 square miles with a
population of 229,913*.

Old Town is the borough's main shopping area and is served by
both the Metropolitan and Piccadilly underground lines and a
number of long-distance buses stop in the town centre. Old
Town school was established in 1928. It became a comprehensive
school in 1974 and has 820** on its roll with a five form
entry. It is the only secondary school in Old Town but within
a two-mile radius there are a further three comprehensive
schools.

To the South-West of the borough, close to a major airport, is
Ash Grove School serving a number of large council and private
estates. The area contains many light industrial premises
although the airport is the major employer. The school has a
five form entry with 670** pupils on roll.

Lying to the east of the airport is King Henry School drawing
its pupils from several village areas and large estates (both
council and private). Some of these comprise as many as 4000
homes. There are several small shopping areas and further east
a high proportion of the borough's industries are located,

*1981

**estimate for 1984/5

including several international companies. King Henry School is located on two sites about one mile apart with the upper school catering for 4th-6th forms. The overall school population is 990** with a six form entry.

Borough 2

This borough is south of the Thames and has the largest population of all the London boroughs - 317,980*. Outside of central London the borough is the largest office and commercial centre in the South East. 147,000 people are employed in the borough but 64,000 (40% of the work force) commute out of the borough each day to work. It supports a total of 35 secondary schools catering for age 11-14, 11-16, 11-18 and 14-18. This diversity reflects a transition towards a unified school policy.

Roman Way School is located in the South West of the borough in an area of mainly private but poor accommodation. The school has a 40% ethnic minority population of mainly West Indian and Asian origin. It has a six form entry with 750 pupils on roll. The school has no 6th form and many pupils transfer to a 6th form college, if continuing in full-time education.

Borough 3

This borough has some of the richest and poorest residents in London. Its population is 253,275 and in the South especially, there is a very high proportion of ethnic minorities. The

Park School is situated close to a major trunk road in the Eastern part of the borough close to a large park. The school has a six form entry with 930 pupils on roll.

Table 15 provides the rolls, number of form entry and sample size for the schools used. In addition it contains the estimated number of pupils in the age range - 3rd, 4th and 5th years for the three boroughs, together with the sample expressed as percentage of that estimated number. The range spread from 0.63% to 0.87%. School names are fictitious.

School	Roll	Form entry	No. of pupils in sample	Estimated no. of pupils in age range	Sample as % of eligible pupils
King Henry	990	6	74	)	.82
Old Town	820	5	78	) 8993	.87
Ash Grove	670	5	68	)	.76
Roman Way*	750	6	91	12442	.73
The Park	930	6	60	9495	.63

584 schools in Greater London area (including ILEA) .86%

* No 6th form   TABLE 15   School data

Questionnaire Design

A questionnaire was devised for the quantitative research for completion by school pupils in the third, fourth and fifth years of secondary schools, (see below). Its length was constrained by a school period of approximately 40 minutes. The questionnaire, (Appendix Five) contained five parts and

drew on the research findings presented in Chapter Three and developed in Chapter Four. The parts were as follows:

1. Background information.

2. Friendship patterns derived using first-level and second-level definitions.

3. The Higher Schools Personality Questionnaire items and selected questions on friendship using the HSPQ format.

4. Self-esteem measure.

5. Further exploration of friendships:

    i. Information about most-important first-level friend.

    ii. Whether the individual went around with a group in his/her leisure time, including doing things that adults would disapprove.

    iii. Leisure activity diary for a week.

The content and purposes of each part is considered briefly below:

1. Background information

Essentially, this part of the questionnaire contained controlling variables to distinguish between individuals, school years and schools themselves.

Fifteen questions were produced to assist in describing the sample and used to correlate with variables contained within the next four parts:

1. Name

Respondents were invited to state their name and were told that it would not be used in the research but would provide the researcher with the opportunity to contact them should there be any queries. It was felt that this approach would, to a certain extent, safeguard the research from frivolous or inaccurate answers.

2. Age and year in school

In secondary school classes in England it is possible for one individual to be almost one year older than another. During the period of adolescence, in particular, it is possible that physical development may vary between one individual and another in the same school class on account of age rather than early and late development. Both age and school year are used in the statistical analysis.

3. Sex of respondent

It is clear from the evidence presented in Parts One and Two of this thesis that sex is a variable of some significance when related to friendship and peer group membership.

4. Age expecting to leave school
Examination pass expectations

Even with a general shortage of employment opportunities it is more than likely that those staying on at school to take 'A'levels will be brighter than those intending to leave at the end of the Fifth Year. In part, this can be confirmed by expected examination achievements, indicated by the examination levels.

5. Where going on leaving school

Related to the four areas above, aspirations will be explored - whether individuals intend to go on to University, Higher Education, will be in a job or join a Government job training scheme. Those intending to proceed to employment will be invited to indicate their work ambitions.

6. Number of siblings

It is possible that size of family has some influence on friendship patterns.

7. Self description of social class

In previous research I have found that many young people do not know, at least in any detail, their father's occupation. For this reason the young person will be asked to give a "self-description". This second order measure of social class may be sufficient to determine its effect on friendship and other items.

A discussion of the validity of this self-description or perceived social class will be given with the presentation of data in the next chapter.

8. Share a bedroom
   Through lounge

These two questions are associated with "going out a lot". It is possible that a young person who shares a bedroom or whose house has a through-lounge (one single living room) might find it difficult to obtain privacy or entertain *friends at home. This might lead to going* out more often and make belonging to a peer group more frequent.

9. Number of secondary schools attended
   How long at present school

Family movement may well have an effect on friendship patterns and the sustaining of longer term relationships. The length of time a subject has been at the school in which the research is undertaken, might shed some light on friendship formation.

10. How many different homes lived in

This question is related to the previous two and may help to identify those young people who have moved frequently and what effect it has on friendship.

11. Nickname

The possibility exists that those with nicknames will be more teenage ethnocentric and likely, in consequence, to belong to a peer group and go around

more often with other young people in their leisure time.
                                        ,

Note Since relatively high proportions of members of ethnic

minority groups were present in the samples from some of the

schools, especially Roman Way and The Park, their origins were

subsequently determined and additional computer analysis

undertaken.

2. Friendship patterns derived using First and Second Level definitions

In this section the young people will be asked to list the

first and last names of their friends in order of importance.

They will be reminded that, "We differ in the number of friends

we have, so you may not wish to fill up every line."   In

addition they will be asked to indicate the level of friend -

first, second or third - and to state whether they see this

friend at school, in their leisure time or some other context.

These will be processed as follows:

      i.   Number of first-level friends

    ii.   Number of second-level friends

   iii.   Number of male first-level friends

    iv.   Number of female first-level friends

     v.   Number of male second-level friends

    vi.   Number of female second-level friends

   vii.   Number of school-only first-level friends

  viii.   Number of school+leisure first-level friends

    ix.   Number of school-only second-level friends

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x.   Number of school+leisure second-level friends

       xi.   Number of leisure-only first-level friends

      xii.   Number of leisure-only *second-level friends*

     xiii.   Number of opposite sex leisure-only first-level
              friends.

It is hoped that the statistics derived from this section will
provide valuable information on the numbers and types of
friendships of young people, and when compared to school year
may also indicate the extent of unisexual/heterosexual
friendship patterns. It may also reveal the extent to which
friendships are based on school or leisure-time activities and
whether ethnic origins affect the patterns of friendship.

**The Higher Schools Personality Questionnaire items and
selected questions on Friendship using the HSPQ format**

This next section contains 46 questions of which 40 contribute
to the four factors - A,F,H and Q2 of the HSPQ, and the
remainder have been written to specifically seek information on
friendship, loneliness, etc. They are:

Question 3   If you have a secret do you

                    a. tell a friend
                    b. uncertain
                    c. keep it to yourself

Question 7   Do you prefer friends of the opposite sex?

                    a. yes
                    b. uncertain
                    c. no

Question 10   Are there times when you feel lonely?

                        a. often
                        b. perhaps
                        c. no

Question 11   In your leisure-time do you

                        a. go out with friends older than yourself
                        b. uncertain
                        c. never

Question 15   If you best friend moved away, would you

                        a. find it easy to find another
                        b. uncertain
                        c. find it difficult to fill the gap

Question 22   Are you well informed about sex?

                        a. yes
                        b. perhaps
                        c. no

In addition a number of the HSPQ questions may also provide

insight into friendship. All questions use the HSPQ format in

which individuals will be asked to decide between three

possible answers to each question.   In the analysis, all

questions will be treated as individual items but scores

derived, using the HSPQ norms, for each individual for each of

the four factors.   These will be used for additional

statistical analysis.

4. **Self-Esteem Measure**

The self-esteem measure developed and presented in Chapter Four

has twelve items which are scored 4 thru' 1.   The total self-

esteem score for each respondent will be used in correlations

in addition to the calculation of the mean and standard deviation.

5. Further exploration of friendships

We know very little about where individuals first met their friends and for how long they may have been friends. At first-level in particular, what they do together, what they particularly like about them, whether there is anything they dislike about them, the number of days each week that they see each other, and what each gives to the friendship. These questions will be explored in Section Five and besides aggregate information, differences between male and female friends will be examined.

There are already strong hints from the earlier considerations that a young person's friendship network may not be synonymous with their peer group. In the next section of the questionnaire I shall aim to determine whether individuals go around with a group in their leisure time. If in the affirmative, with whom, whether the group has a particular name, and whether they engage in activities that adults would disapprove. Perceived social class and ethnicity will also be correlated with these questions.

Besides providing valuable information for statistical purposes, it may be possible to identify leisure-time peer groups and other related factors from these questions. Sociograms drawn of the friendship network and of the peer group will be used for comparative purposes, and as a basis for

the qualitative research described below and presented in Chapter Seven.

The final section of the questionnaire will be used to determine an individual's leisure activities undertaken during the past week. It will be possible in the analysis to code individual activities and also record whether the individual undertakes these at home or outside.

The questionnaire was tested to ensure that it would take approximately forty minutes to complete (in reality, time of completion ranged from 25 to 50 minutes).

6. Administering the questionnaire

All respondents were informed that the researcher was writing a book on young people's friendships and that their co-operation was sought. An item in the HSPQ asked, "Do you try to keep up with fads of your class-mates?" It was found necessary to explain the meaning of the word "fad" prior to commencement, and individuals were invited at any time to seek explanation from the researcher or his assistant if they did not understand any question. In addition, a verbal instruction was given on how to indicate whether a friend was at "first-level", "second-level" or "third-level". Although only the first two levels of friendsip were used in the research, the supply of the third-level definition was intended to assist the young people in the grading process.

The questionnaires were coded for computer analysis with coding frames produced for the open-ended questions. The findings are presented in Chapter Six.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Consideration was given to the ways in which additional and more detailed information could be obtained to supplement that obtained from the questionnaire survey. I use the word "supplement" because that is precisely what I believe is required in a research study such as this. The macro data will provide valuable insights into the friendship and peer patterns of a large number of young people but inevitably will lack the "dynamic" quality that should be obtainable from a more intensive study of individual peer groups. This supplementing will be assisted by the questionnaire information about friendship networks and leisure-time peers. It will be possible to construct a series of initial pictures of peer groups by grouping data obtained in the questionnaires, since many leisure-time peers were in the same school classes and took part in the questionnaire survey.

With this in mind, three possible directions for the further research were considered:

1. Administering a further questionnaire in an endeavour to provide further insights into group life.

2. To use participant observation.

3.   To conduct group interviews and discussions.

In considering the relative merits of each of the approaches, one overriding viewpoint was considered - which of the approaches would lead to deeper understandings and increased knowledge concerning the adolescent peer group?   The questionnaire was eliminated first.   There would be problems about what further questions to ask and overall, I argued, only limited further information could be obtained by this method.

Participant observation has been shown in the ethnographic studies outlined in Chapter One to produce rich and abundant data on the life-styles of groups of young people.   I felt obliged to reject this approach for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was clear that in the ethnographic studies considered, researcher and young people were sufficiently close in age for the researcher to be relatively unobtrusive.   This was particularly true in Parker's "View from the Boys" although Willis used case-study work, interviewing and group discussions, in addition to participant observation.   The Williamson's adopted a more pragmatic approach, arguing that they were not engaged in sociological work.   One feature of all three studies was that they were concerned with a single group and presented as a longitudinal study covering a time span of up to three years.

I shall present data derived from two intensive group studies which used group discussion in order to provide additional information to supplement the quantitative research. These may

provide a degree of comparison and a relatively unstructured

and flexible approach to interviewing:

> "that allows the widest posible exploration of views
> and behaviour patterns." (11)

I knew from my earlier professional work as a full-time youth worker that I could establish a rapport with young people and quickly encourage them to talk about themselves. The semi-structured approach adopted could be programmed in a way that would allow the objectives to be achieved in a relatively short space of time - perhaps five school periods (3.5-4 hours). The group interview and discussion approach was in consequence adopted and it was possible before the school summer break to conduct two sets of group discussions in school-time, thanks to the co-operation of the head teachers concerned. The results of these discussions are presented in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER FIVE

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CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF THE QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

The questionnaires were completed in the five schools during
March 1983 from samples of third, fourth and fifth year pupils.
The objective was to obtain 100 pupils in each of the years,
although, as indicated in the previous chapter, it was
necessary to use existing school groupings in order to create
the least disruption to the school time-table. Schools were
asked to provide mixed ability groupings. The questionnaire
used is to be found in Appendix Five. The analysis of the data
will be initially presented within the five parts of the
questionnaire.

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Table 16 indicates the sample numbers by school and year and as
stated in the previous chapter, school names are fictitious.

The sample distribution by age was significant at the 3% level
(based on calculated chi-square) and surpassed the sample
objective in respect of the third and fourth years (see Table
17), but, due to smaller classes, the fifth year sample
reached only 94. In the Roman Way sample, a larger number of
third year pupils was included in the study and the number of
fifth years in Old Town School was greater than in the other
fifth year samples due to the pupils being in a larger fifth

year careers' group. The numbers of fifth years in The Park was correspondingly lower.

School	Year	Numbers	Total
King Henry	3	30	
	4	25	74
	5	19	
Old Town	3	24	
	4	25	78
	5	29	
Roman Way	3	50	
	4	25	91
	5	16	
Ash Grove	3	25	
	4	24	68
	5	19	
The Park	3	24	
	4	25	60
	5	11	

TOTAL = 371

Chi-square 16.71 with 8 df. Significance .0333

TABLE 16   Sample numbers by school and year

YEAR	NUMBERS
3	153
4	124
5	94
TOTAL	371

TABLE 17   Sample numbers by school year only

Consideration was given as to whether a random selection procedure should be used in order to balance the samples. This would have led to loss of data and in consequence it was

decided to proceed with the existing sample sizes, but incorporating into the statistical analysis checks to determine whether sample size by school or year had a varying effect on the output.

Table 18 gives the size of the sample by sex and the overall difference of 7.2% was not considered likely to be adverse.

Males   199 (53.6%)   Females   172 (46.4%)

TABLE 18   Sample numbers by sex

Table 19 shows that almost equal numbers intended to stay on at school, as planned to leave in the year in which they were 16.

AGE	NUMBERS	PERCENT	
16	186	50.3	
17	68	18.4}	49.8
18	116	31.4}	

TABLE 19   Age at which respondents expected to leave school

Table 20 contains the responses to the question concerning the qualifications respondents expected to have on leaving school. Only eight, (2.2%) expected to leave with no qualifications. The numbers expecting to have "A" levels was lower than those indicating that they intended to stay on at school until the age of 18. This may indicate that an uncertainty factor entered into the responses.

QUALIFICATIONS	NUMBERS	PERCENT
None	8	2.2
CSE	101	27.5
O	164	44.7
A	94	25.6

TOTAL = 367

TABLE 20   Qualifications expected when leaving
            school

A survey of young people's views commissioned by the Review
Group of the Youth Service and undertaken by Q Search was
published by the Department of Education and Science in 1983
(1).   The Report formed part of a major review of the Youth
and Community Services and provided valuable statistical
information derived from a population of 635 young people
racially divided to include 70% Caucasian, 15% West Indian and
15% Asian.

The researchers found that 71% of their sample of young people
expected to obtain "O" levels - this compared with 70% in this
present research, assuming that all those expected to gain "A"
levels would also obtain "O levels" (44.7% + 25.6%).   A
somewhat lower figure, however, was found in this present
sample in terms of those expecting to gain "A" levels - 26%
compared to Q Search's findings of 39%. This difference might
be attributable to the fact that the Roman Way School feeds
pupils to a Sixth Form College at the end of the "O" level
period where they would take "A" levels, but the pupils might
not regard this as "school."

On leaving school, 44% of the present sample indicated that they expected to go on to higher education; 12.1% to university, (Table 21).

ON LEAVING SCHOOL	NUMBERS	PERCENT
Go to University	44	12.1
Go to some other higher education	115	31.5
Be in a job	194	53.2
Be in a Government employment scheme	11	3.0

TABLE 21   Expectations on leaving school

Table 22 indicates the job that respondents *hoped to obtain*. This data was obtained by content analysis of open-ended responses and was categorised into sixteen job types and a miscellaneous category. It should be noted that the responses to this question included those who stated that they would leave school at the end of the fifth year and some of those who would be staying on. There was a relatively wide spread of choice.

CATEGORY	Numbers	Per cent.
01. ARMED FORCES: Army, Navy, Airforce, including paras, chef, engineer, Radar Officer, Officer, Marine, Military Police	13	7.0
02. ELECTRONICS AND COMPUTING: computer programmer British Telecom electrical technician	13	7.0
03. BEAUTY THERAPY, HAIRDRESSER: Model	14	7.5
04. NURSE, DENTAL ASSISTANT: including children's nurse, Nanny, work with children, mentally handicap nurse, social work	20	10.7
05. ARTISAN: Carpenter, bricklayer, joiner, plumber, roofer, glazier, electrician, fencer, painter/decorator, building trade	22	11.8
06. BANKING: Bank clerk, banker, cashier	11	5.9
07. SECRETARIAL: Bilingual secretary, typist, office worker, VDU operator	18	9.6
08. SALES: Salesman, shop-worker, florist, travel agency, receptionist	7	3.7
09. DOCTOR, VET: Surgeon	6	3.2
10. CAB DRIVER: Truck driver, courier, driver	4	2.1
11. ENGINEER: Motor mechanic, mechanic, technician, apprentice aircraft technician	17	9.1
12. ARTIST: Graphic artist, graphic designer, commercial artist, craftsman, drawing, fashion designer, photographer, designer	12	6.4
13. HOTEL: Catering, chef	5	2.7
14. AIR HOSTESS:	4	2.1
15. TEACHER: Academic job, musician	7	3.7
16. NON-MILITARY UNIFORMED: Fire, police, customs	4	2.1
17. MISCELLANEOUS: Footballer, scrap metal dealer, upholsterer, airfreight, journalist, working with horses, riding instructor	10	5.3
TOTAL	187	

TABLE 22   Job aspirations

	NUMBERS	PER CENT	
1. NUMBER OF OLDER BROTHERS			
0	201	54.2	
1	110	29.6	Mean .671
2	44	11.9	S.D. .876
3	13	3.5	
4	3	0.8.	
2. NUMBER OF OLDER SISTERS			
0	212	57.1	
1	101	27.2	
2	41	11.1	Mean .652
3	10	2.7	S.D. .927
4	6	1.6	
5	1	0.3	
3. NUMBER OF YOUNGER BROTHERS			
0	254	68.5	
1	90	24.3	Mean .410
2	22	5.9	S.D. .701
3	2	0.5	
4	3	0.8	
4. NUMBER OF YOUNGER SISTERS			
0	263	70.9	
1	83	22.4	
2	17	4.6	Mean .385
3	6	1.6	S.D. .701
4	2	0.5	
5. TOTAL SIBLINGS (including respondent)			
1	20	5.4	
2	139	37.5	
3	94	25.3	Mean 3.124
4	59	15.9	S.D.
5	33	8.9	
6	13	3.5	
7	6	1.6	
8	5	1.3	
9	2	0.5	
TOTAL	371		

TABLE 23   Siblings

Table 23 contains the response to sibling questions. These
are presented in five categories – number of older brothers,
number of older sisters, number of younger brothers, number of
younger sisters and total siblings, including respondent.
Over 60% of the total sample had one or two siblings and the
percentage of "only child" was 5.4%   The mean was 3.12.

PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS	NUMBERS	PERCENT
WORKING	155	43.3
MIDDLE	199	55.6
UPPER	4	1.1

TABLE 24   Respondents perception of their social class

43% of the sample described themselves as "working-class";   56%
"middle class", and 1% "upper class", (Table 24).

35% shared bedrooms and 39% came from homes having a "through-
lounge", (Tables 25 and 26).

RESPONSE	NUMBERS	PERCENT
YES	130	35
NO	241	65
TOTAL	371	

TABLE 25   Respondents sharing bedroom.

RESPONSE	NUMBERS	PERCENT
YES	142	39.3
NO	219	.60.7
TOTAL	361	

TABLE 26   Homes having through-lounge.

The McCann-Erickson organisation undertook a European youth

study in eleven countries during 1976 and 1977. The British

sample provided for 800 personal interviews with young people

aged 10-25, conducted throughout Britain by Marplan in the

third week of September 1976. They concluded that:

"Nearly half the youngest age group share a room, and
among the late-teens living at home, nearly a third
still share a bedroom. Even the largely wage-earning
20-25 group find themselves sharing - 17% do not have a
room of their own."

Their findings were presented in three age bands and it is not,

in consequence, possible to extrapolate for the same mean age

as with this present sample. However, their findings

suggested that approximately 37% shared bedrooms compared with

35% in this present sample. It is interesting to note that

McCann Erikson concluded that their evidence:

"... suggest(s) that some of our young people will
never enjoy a room of their own, since their first
experience of living away from home will be marriage;
and in the U.K. we tend to marry young. From a shared
room to a shared bed ..."(2)

Whilst 86% of the present sample had attended only one

secondary school, there was an insufficient sample size of

those attending more than one, for computational purposes,

(Table 27). There were a number of young people from Services'

families in the overall sample and several gypsies who were

likely to figure amongst those attending more than one

secondary school.

NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED	NUMBERS	PERCENT
1	318	86.2
2	45	12.2
3	4	1.1
4	1	0.3
6	1	0.3
TOTAL	369	

TABLE 27   Number of secondary schools attended

Table 28 indicates the period of time spent at their present school, (for those having attended more than one secondary school).

PERIOD years(s)	NUMBER	PERCENT
0 - 1	21	44.7
1 - 2	7	14.9
2 - 3	10	21.3
3 - 4	6	12.7
4 - 5	3	6.4
TOTAL	47	

TABLE 28   Period (in years) at present school for those who had attended more than one secondary school

Family movement, exemplified by the number of houses/flats lived in, indicated that almost two-thirds of the sample had moved at least once during their childhood with 6% having moved at least four times, (Table 29).

Finally, for the background information, respondents were asked whether they had a nick-name, (Table 30).

NO. OF HOUSES/FLATS	NUMBER	PERCENT
1	121	33.9
2	121	33.9
3	61	17.1
4	28	7.8
5	12	3.4
6	4	1.1
7	3	0.8
8	4	1.1
TOTAL	357	

TABLE 29   Number of houses/flats lived in

	NUMBER	PERCENT
YES	229	61.7
NO	142	38.3
TOTAL	371	

TABLE 30   Number of respondents having nick-name

62% responded "yes" with names broadly divided into two categories. The first were derivations of either the respondent's first name or surname:

Cosyfits (Cosgrove)   Hovis (Brown)
Franky (Franks)   Nappy (Knapton)
Ash (Asish)   Ferret (Merret)
Clara (Clare)   Meme (Michelle)

The remainder were names assigned, for example, to some characteristic of the individual:

Mighty Mouth   Big Ears
Cuddles   Matchstick
Titch   Muscles
Lump   Doughnut

Clearly a number of factors identified in the Background Information have the potential to affect friendship patterns and qualities, and leisure-time peer group membership. Later in the analysis variables in the Background Information (above) will be correlated with friendship, personality characteristics, self-esteem and leisure-time group membership.

2. FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

Part Two of the questionnaire examined friendship at the first and second-levels and was analysed into 13 categories. Each of these will be considered in turn.

Table 31 provides an analysis of the number of first-level friends named by respondents. The mean number of friends' named was 4.1 (s.d.=3.04) with a range from 0 to 20. The mean for girls only, was 4.0 (s.d.=2.37) and for boys 4.2 (s.d.=3.52). 12 individuals named no first-level friends.

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	12	3.6	8	9	2.7
1	45	13.4	9	10	3.0
2	56	16.7	10	4	1.2
3	62	18.5	11	3	0.9
4	45	13.4	12	4	1.2
5	31	9.3	13	1	0.3
6	28	8.4	16	1	0.3
7	21	6.3	18	1	0.3
			20	2	0.6

Mean = 4.07   s.d. = 3.04   TOTAL = 335
Mean girls only = 3.97   s.d. = 2.37
Mean boys only = 4.15   s.d. = 3.52

TABLE 31   Number of first-level friends

The number of second-level friends named is given in Table 32. The mean was higher than for first-level friends - 5.8 (s.d.=3.86) with the corresponding means for girls 6.3 (s.d.=3.8) and for boys 5.4 (s.d.=3.9). 17 individuals had no second-level friends and the maximum in this category was 24.

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	17	5.1	10	13	3.9
1	22	6.6	11	9	2.7
2	30	9.0	12	11	3.3
3	35	10.4	13	2	0.6
4	38	11.3	14	8	2.4
5	38	11.3	15	4	1.2
6	30	9.0	16	3	0.9
7	27	8.1	18	1	0.3
8	25	7.5	24	1	0.3
9	21	6.3			

Mean   = 5.8   s.d. = 3.86   TOTAL = 335
Mean girls only = 6.28   s.d. = 3.75
Mean boys only   = 5.35   s.d. = 3.92

TABLE 32   Number of second-level friends

Summary totals of Tables 31 and 32

Mean total of first and
second-level friends   = 9.85   s.d. = 4.71
For boys   = 9.50   s.d. = 5.05
For girls   = 10.25   s.d. = 4.25

The inclusion of the third-level friend definition in this part of the questionnaire enabled respondents to distinguish between second and third-level friends within their lists, although analysis has included only the first two levels. The third

level is of a more distant, less intimate relationship.

The numbers of first and second-level friends were then broken down by sex (Tables 33 to 36).

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	123	36.7	7	12	3.6
1	55	16.4	8	6	1.8
2	42	12.5	9	5	1.5
3	31	9.3	11	1	0.3
4	24	7.2	12	2	0.6
5	19	5.7	16	2	0.6
6	13	3.9			

Mean = 2.22   s.d. = 2.72   TOTAL = 335

TABLE 33   Number of male first-level friends

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	142	42.4	5	12	3.6
1	38	11.3	6	13	3.9
2	51	15.2	7	8	2.4
3	36	10.7	8	5	1.5
4	29	8.7	12	1	0.3

Mean = 1.82   s.d. = 2.15   TOTAL = 335

TABLE 34   Number of female first-level friends

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	106	31.6	8	12	3.6
1	36	10.7	9	8	2.4
2	29	8.7	10	4	1.2
3	43	12.8	11	1	0.3
4	26	7.8	12	5	1.5
5	25	7.5	14	1	0.3
6	21	6.3	15	1	0.3
7	16	4.8	16	1	0.3

Mean = 3.03   s.d. = 3.18   TOTAL = 335

TABLE 35   Number of male second-level friends

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	142	42.4	8	9	2.7
1	27	8.1	9	6	1.8
2	30	9.0	10	6	1.8
3	19	5.7	11	5	1.5
4	29	8.7	12	1	0.3
5	21	6.3	13	1	0.3
6	21	6.3	14	2	0.6
7	15	4.5	16	1	0.3

Mean = 2.70   s.d. = 3.27   TOTAL = 335

TABLE 36   Number of female second-level friends

The means and standard deviations from Tables 33 to 36 were:

Male first-level friends   Mean = 2.2   s.d. = 2.72
Female first-level friends   Mean = 1.8   s.d. = 2.15
Male second-level friends   Mean = 3.0   s.d. = 3.18
Female second-level friends   Mean = 2.7   s.d. = 3.27

We have here the first hint of the single sex nature of

friendship groups indicated by the large number of zero counts.

29% of both males and females named opposite sex friends at the

first -level. At the second-level there was a difference - males: 29%, females 38%.

The next four categories of analysis concern the number of school-only and school+leisure friends at the two levels. (Tables 37 to 40).

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	170	51.5	5	5	1.5
1	68	20.6	6	6	1.8
2	36	10.9	7	2	0.6
3	21	6.4	8	4	1.2
4	17	5.2	9	1	0.3

Mean = 1.17   s.d. = 1.73   TOTAL = 330

TABLE 37   Number of school-only first-level friends

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	89	27.1	6	9	2.7
1	76	23.2	7	4	1.2
2	64	19.5	8	2	0.6
3	41	12.5	11	1	0.3
4	27	8.2	17	1	0.3
5	13	4.0	20	1	0.3

Mean = 1.97   s.d. = 2.24   TOTAL = 328

TABLE 38   Number of school+leisure first-level friends

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	85	25.8	7	8	2.4
1	49	14.9	8	14	4.3
2	43	13.1	9	5	1.5
3	40	12.2	10	3	0.9
4	24	7.3	11	3	0.9
5	23	7.0	12	3	0.9
6	25	7.6	13	2	0.6
			14	2	0.6

Mean = 2.99   s.d. = 3.04   TOTAL = 329

TABLE   39   Number of school only second-level friends

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	143	43.7	6	10	3.1
1	65	19.9	7	3	0.9
2	44	13.5	8	4	1.2
3	23	7.0	10	1	0.3
4	14	4.3	11	2	0.6
5	17	5.2	17	1	0.3

Mean = 1.61   s.d. = 2.25   TOTAL = 326

TABLE 40   Number of school+leisure second-level friends

The means and standard deviations from Tables 37 to 40 were:

School-only first-level friend   Mean 1.17 s.d. = 1.74
School+leisure first-level friend   Mean 1.97 s.d. = 2.24
School-only second-level friend   Mean 2.99 s.d. = 3.04
School+leisure second-level friend. Mean 1.61 s.d. = 2.25

Just under 50% of the sample had friends who were seen at school only, at the first-level, and approximately 75% at the second-level. It is possible here that more intimate levels of friendship, i.e. at first-level, develop as a result of school

and leisure interactions. Contact at school alone, may not be sufficient to develop these more intimate levels of friendship.

In addition to friends seen only at school and school-friends seen in leisure-time, there were friends who were seen only in leisure-time. These may be those older who had left school or attended other schools. Tables 41 and 42 indicate the extent of leisure-only friendships at the two levels:

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	187	56.7	5	2	0.6
1	74	22.4	7	2	0.6
2	30	9.1	8	2	0.6
3	18	5.5	10	2	0.6
4	13	3.9			

Mean = 0.91   s.d. = 1.53   TOTAL = 330

TABLE 41   Leisure only first-level friends

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	182	55.3	5	6	1.9
1	49	14.9	6	5	1.5
2	44	13.4	7	4	1.2
3	20	6.1	9	1	0.3
4	18	5.5			

Mean = 1.11   s.d. = 1.65   TOTAL = 329

TABLE 42   Leisure only second-level friends

Summary of means and standard deviations from Tables 41 and 42

Leisure only first-level friends   Mean 0.91 s.d. = 1.53
Leisure only second-level friends   Mean 1.11 s.d. = 1.65

Over 40% of all the young people had friends who they saw only

in their leisure-time, who were at the first and second-levels.

58 individuals named opposite-sex leisure-only first-level

friends (Table 43). The mean was 0.32 s.d.= 0.89. Of the 58

individuals who named friends in this category, 10.5% were

girls and 6.9% boys. This may be an indication that girls

preferred older boys for friends, many of whom had already left

school.

NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	NO. OF FRIENDS	RESPONSE	PERCENT
0	273	82.5	3	7	2.1
1	33	10.0	4	3	0.9
2	13	3.9	7	2	0.6

Mean = 0.32   s.d. = 0.89   TOTAL = 331

TABLE 43   Opposite sex leisure-only first-level
            friends

Summary of males and females naming opposite sex first-level
friends

Males naming females   Mean = 0.24   s.d. = 0.78
Females naming males   Mean = 0.42   s.d. = 0.99

The evidence provided in this section presents an interesting

picture of the sample's friendship patterns. The mean number of

first-level friends was almost identical for girls and boys

(4.0 and 4.2 respectively).   At the second-level there was

also little difference 5.9 compared to 5.4 with similar

standard deviations.

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We can deduce from the evidence that there is a very large number of young people naming own-sex friends, which emphasises the evidence presented in respect of single-sex groupings in middle adolescence, (Part One).

It is clear from the evidence that many friends were seen only at school - 50% at first-level and approximately 75% at second-level. This provides us with strong evidence that school friends and leisure-time peers are constituted differently. This assertion was also backed by the evidence that 40% of all young people had friends who they saw only in their leisure-time who were at the first and second-levels, although a low mean was obtained in respect of leisure-only opposite sex friends at first-level (Mean = 0.32 s.d = 0.89). Girls were more likely to name friends in this category than boys. (10.5% and 6.9% respectively). These overall differences provide a firm basis for further computations.

3. HIGHER SCHOOLS PERSONALITY QUESTIONNAIRE AND SELECTED QUESTIONS ON FRIENDSHIP

Most of the questions in Part Three comprised the four personality factors forming part of the HSPQ. The percentage responses to all items in this Part are expressed in histogram form in Tables 44 to 46, with those questions contributing to the HSPQ marked with the factor to which they contribute.

The responses to certain items are particularly relevant to this study on friendship and the following 16 will be considered in detail.

TABLE 44   HSPQ and other friendship questions

In a group discussion, do you like to tell what you think?
a. yes
b. sometimes.
c. no

A — 49 | 45 | 6

At a picnic would you rather spend some time:
a. exploring the woods alone
b. uncertain playing around the camp
c. fire with the crowd.

A — 24 | 12 | 64

Would you say that some rules and regulations are stupid and out of date?
a. yes, and I don't bother with them if I can help it.
b. uncertain
c. no, most rules are necessary and should be obeyed.

F — 35 | 20 | 45

If you have a secret do you:
a. tell a friend
b. uncertain
c. keep it to yourself

50 | 15 | 35

Do most people have more friends than you do?
a. yes
b. uncertain
c. no

Q2 — 21 | 36 | 43

Do you try to keep up with the fads of your classmates?
a. yes
b. sometimes
c. no

Q2 — 31 | 46 | 24

Do you dislike going into narrow caves or climbing to high places?
a. yes
b. sometimes
c. no

F — 31 | 18 | 51

Do you prefer friends of the opposite sex?
a. yes
b. uncertain
c. no

40 | 41 | 19

Are there times when you feel lonely?
a. often
b. perhaps
c. never

28 | 48 | 24

Are you always ready to show in front of everyone how well you do things compared with others?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

F — 23 | 41 | 36

Can you talk to a group of strangers without stammering a little or without finding it hard to say what you want to?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

H — 38 | 27 | 36

In your leisure time do you go with:
a. friends older than yourself
b. uncertain
c. friends of the same age

20 | 17 | 63

Do you feel hurt if people borrow your things without asking you?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

A — 36 | 27 | 38

When a group of people are doing something, do you:
a. take an active part in what they are doing,
b. in between,
c. usually only watch?

Q2 — 50 | 35 | 16

Which would you rather be:
a. the most popular person in school,
b. uncertain,
c. the person who comes top of the class?

F — 27 | 42 | 31

If your best friend moved away would you:
a. find it easy to find another
b. uncertain
c. find it difficult to fill the gap

32 | 23 | 45

In a group of people, are you generally one of those who tells jokes and funny stories?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

F — 44 | 35 | 21

Would you rather:
a. stay at home doing a hobby
b. uncertain
c. go out with friends

A — 15 | 9 | 76

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TABLE 45

Row 1:

If you found you had nothing to do some evening, would you:
a. call up some friends and do something with them,
b. not sure,
c. read a good book or work on a hobby?
Q2 — 52 | 18 | 30

Are your feelings easily hurt?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no
H — 35 | 22 | 43

Are you well informed about sex?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no
82 | 16 | 2

In dancing or music, do you pick up a new rhythm easily?
a. yes
b. sometimes
c. no
A — 50 | 33 | 17

Do you like doing really unexpected and startling things to people?
a. yes
b. once in a while,
c. no
F — 27 | 64 | 10

When you are ready for a job, would you like one that:
a. is steady and safe, even if it needs hard work
b. uncertain
c. has lots of change and meetings with lively people
F — 42 | 11 | 47

Row 2:

Would you rather be:
a. a builder of bridges
b. uncertain
c. a member of a travelling circus
Q2 — 37 | 40 | 34

Can you work just as well, without feeling uncomfortable, when people are watching you?
a. yes,
b. perhaps,
c. no
H — 31 | 23 | 46

If you had a chance to do something really wild and adventurous, but also rather dangerous, would you:
a. probably not do it,
b. not sure
c. certainly do it?
F — 20 | 36 | 44

Do you go out of your way to avoid crowded buses and streets?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no
A — 15 | 16 | 68

Do you stand up before the class without looking nervous and ill at ease?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no
H — 31 | 29 | 40

When the class is discussing something, do you usually have something to say?
a. almost never,
b. once in a while,
c. always
H — 12 | 56 | 33

Row 3:

In talking with your classmates do you dislike telling your most private feelings?
a. yes
b. sometimes
c. no
A — 41 | 38 | 21

Are you, like a lot of people, slightly afraid of lightning
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no
Q2 — 21 | 10 | 69

Are you best thought of as a person who:
a. thinks
b. in between
c. acts?
F — 38 | 43 | 19

When you go into a new group do you:
a. quickly feel you know everyone
b. in between
c. take a long time to get to know people
A — 35 | 42 | 23

Do you think that often a committee of your class mates takes more time and makes poorer decisions than one person would?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no
Q2 — 38 | 36 | 26

How would you rate yourself?
a. inclined to be moody
b. in between
c. not at all moody
H — 23 | 48 | 29

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TABLE 46

If you were to work on a bus, would you rather:
a. be the conductor and talk to the passengers,
b. uncertain,
c. be the driver and drive the bus?

A — 45, 9, 54

Would you rather live:
a. in a deep forest with only song birds
b. uncertain
c. on a busy street corner where a lot happens

A — 22, 23, 55

Are you so afraid of what might happen that you avoid making decisions one way or the other?
a. often
b. sometimes
c. never

H — 19, 59, 22

Are you very careful not to hurt anyone's feelings or startle anyone, even for fun?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

F — 51, 32, 18

Which kind of friends do you like? Those who like to:
a. "play around,"
b. uncertain,
c. be more serious?

Q2 — 43, 27, 31

When things are frightening, can you laugh and not be bothered?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

H — 36, 33, 31

Do you sometimes feel, before a big party or outing, that you are not so interested in going?
a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

H — 29, 18, 53

If you were not a human-being would you rather be:
a. an eagle in a far mountain
b. uncertain
c. a seal, in a seal colony by the seashore?

Q2 — 49, 28, 23

How often do you go places or do things with a group of friends?
a. very often,
b. sometimes,
c. hardly ever

H — 49, 40, 11

Do you tend to be quiet when out with a group of friends?
a. yes
b. sometimes
c. no

Q2 — 11, 31, 58

Question 1

At a picnic would you rather spend time:

(a)	exploring the woods alone	24%
(b)	uncertain	12%
(c)	playing around the camp fire with the crowd	64%

23% preferred to be on their own compared to 64% who would play with the crowd.

Question 3

If you have a secret do you:

(a)	tell a friend	50%
(b)	uncertain	15%
(c)	keep it to yourself	35%

The importance of having friends in whom to confide was again emphasised here in the responses to this question. 50% would tell a friend their secret compared to 35% who would keep it to themselves. 15% were uncertain.

Question 5

Do you keep up with the fads of your classmates?

(a)	yes	31%
(b)	sometimes	46%
(c)	no	24%

Whilst the majority of respondents (77%) would keep up with the fads of their classmates to a certain degree, 46% overall of respondents indicated that they would only do this sometimes.

Question 6

Do most people have more friends than you do?

(a)	yes	21%
(b)	uncertain	36%
(c)	no	43%

Whilst 43% responded "no" to this question, as many as 36% were uncertain.

Question 7

Do you prefer friends of the opposite sex?

(a)	yes	40%
(b)	uncertain	41%
(c)	no	19%

Only 19% responded that they preferred friends of the same sex, although 1% more were uncertain compared to those who responded "yes".

When compared to the evidence arising from Part Two of the questionnaire, that most friendships were single sex, there may be differences between desire and the actuality (see Tables 33 to 36).

Question 10

Are there times when you feel lonely?

(a)	often	28%
(b)	perhaps	48%
(c)	never	24%

76% of the sample indicated that there were times when they felt lonely although only 28% responded "often". These responses suggest that loneliness is experienced by adolescent

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young people despite the apparent availability of peers.

Question 11

In your leisure time do you go out with:

(a)	friends older than yourself	20%
(b)	uncertain	17%
(c)	friends of the same age	63%

It is clear that the vast majority of young people in the sample preferred to go out with friends of the same age, although 20% did go around with friends older than themselves.

Question 15

If your best friend moved away, would you:

(a)	find it easy to find another	32%
(b)	uncertain	23%
(c)	find it difficult to fill the gap	45%

45% of the young people indicated that they would find it difficult to fill the gap if their best friend moved away, but 32% considered that they would find it easy to find another. NB. Only 3.6% of the sample of 371 indicated that they did not have a first-level friend.

Question 16

Which would you rather be:

(a)	the most popular person in school	27%
(b)	uncertain	42%
(c)	the person who comes top of the class	31%

In these reponses, the 42% uncertain category may indicate an ambivalence amongst young people between the desire for achievement and popularity. It is of course conceivable that the two categories (a and c) are not mutually exclusive, thus

accounting for the relatively high level of uncertainty.

Question 17

Would you rather:

(a)	stay at home doing a hobby	15%
(b)	uncertain	9%
(c)	go out with friends	76%

The overwhelming response of 76% for going out with friends indicates the importance that young people attach to this activity. However, 15% preferred to stay at home doing a hobby.

Question 18

In a group of people, are you generally one of those who tells jokes and funny stories?

(a)	yes	44%
(b)	perhaps	35%
(c)	no	21%

The responses to this question indicate the importance that young people placed on joking and being funny and this is in agreement with the evidence presented in the pilot friendship study. This fact was also emphasised in the analysis to Part Five of the questionnaire.

Question 20

If you found you had nothing to do some evening, would you:

(a)	call up some friends and do something with them	52%
(b)	not sure	18%
(c)	read a good book or work on a hobby	30%

Over 50% of the sample expressed a preference for doing

something with friends.

Question 22

Are you well informed about sex?

(a)	yes	82%
(b)	perhaps	16%
(c)	no	2%

The overwhelming response which indicated being well informed about sex suggests that young people do not feel lacking in knowledge about sexual matters.

Question 42

Which kind of friends do you like?   Those who like to:

(a)	"play around"	43%
(b)	uncertain	27%
(c)	be more serious	31%

The difference between each of the categories of response were fairly small in this question, although 12% more preferred friends who "play around" to those who were more serious, (cf. question 16).

Question 45

Do you tend to be quiet when out with a group of friends?

(a)	yes	11%
(b)	sometimes	31%
(c)	no	58%

An overwhelming majority (58%) tended not to be quiet when out with a group of friends.

Question 46

How often do you go places or do things with a group of friends?

(a)	very often	49%
(b)	sometimes	40%
(c)	hardly ever	11%

The response of 49% for "very often" confirms the importance of going out and being with friends. Only 11% indicated that they "hardly ever" went around with a group in their leisure time.

The analysis of these sixteen questions clearly gives the impression that friendship and group membership was important to the majority of the young people. This was confirmed in those questions where there was choice between "being with friends" or "being alone". The majority in all instances chose being with friends.

Preference was expressed for same-aged friends but some ambivalence was expressed concerning oppposite sex friends and whether one would rather be top of the class or popular. This ambivalence was further emphasised in relation to whether young people preferred friends who "play around" to those who "were more serious". The difference was as little as 12% although 27% were uncertain.

4. SELF ESTEEM-MEASURE

The next section analysed is the measure of self-esteem contained in Part Four of the questionnaire. An analysis of the mean self-esteem scores was undertaken to determine the

extent of differences between schools, with the following responses, Table 46a:

Whole sample (365 cases)   Mean = 35.1 (s.d.=4.87)

King Henry School   Mean = 35.3 (s.d.=3.80)

Old Town   Mean = 35.7 (s.d.=4.41)

Roman Way   Mean = 34.6 (s.d.=5.54)

Ash Grove   Mean = 35.5 (s.d.=4.41)

The Park   Mean = 34.4 (s.d.=5.88)

TABLE 46a Self-esteem means and standard deviations for the 5
           schools

In addition, the self-esteem scores were examined by a pairwise comparison of schools. This revealed that there were no significant differences (p <11%) for self-esteem between schools and in consequence analysis was undertaken on the whole sample. The pairwise comparisons, expressed as F statistic and the level of significance, are detailed below in Table 47.

	King Henry	*Roman Way*	*Ash Grove*	*The Park*
Old Town	0.02673 sig .6079	2.202 sig .1387	0.0461 sig .8301	2.591 sig .1083
Roman Way	0.0888 sig .3466	–	1.459 sig .2278	0.0789 sig .7790
Ash Grove	0.0800 sig .7775	–	–	1.849 sig .1747
The Park	1.256 sig .2632	–	–	–

F statistic has 1 and 360 degrees of freedom

TABLE 47 Pairwise comparisons of self-esteem by school

However, since this was the first major, large sample use of the self-esteem scale, a "skewness" statistic was calculated to determine the degree to which the distribution of cases approximated a normal curve. The skewness measure determines deviations from symmetry or what is sometimes called the "third moment". The value of zero corresponds to a distribution which is a completely symmetric bell-shaped curve. Positive values indicate that the cases are clustered to the left of the Mean with most of the extreme values to the right. The converse is true for a negative value. The skewness measure for this particular sample was -0.201 thus confirming that this new scale approximated a normal distribution curve in the horizontal plane.

However, a measure of "kurtosis" was also calculated to measure the relative peakedness or flatness of the curve as defined by the distribution of cases. Normal distributions have a kurtosis of zero. Positive values represent a distribution which is more peaked (narrow) than would be true for a normal distribution with the converse, negative value, indicating a flatter curve. Whereas skewness is described as "the third moment", kurtosis is referred to as the "fourth moment." The kurtosis value calculated was 0.211 which was satisfactory.

Figure 6 represents the self-esteem distribution for the sample. The values for mean, standard deviation, skewness and kurtosis confirm the adequacy of the self-esteem scale as a means of distinguishing between respondents in terms of their sense of personal worth.

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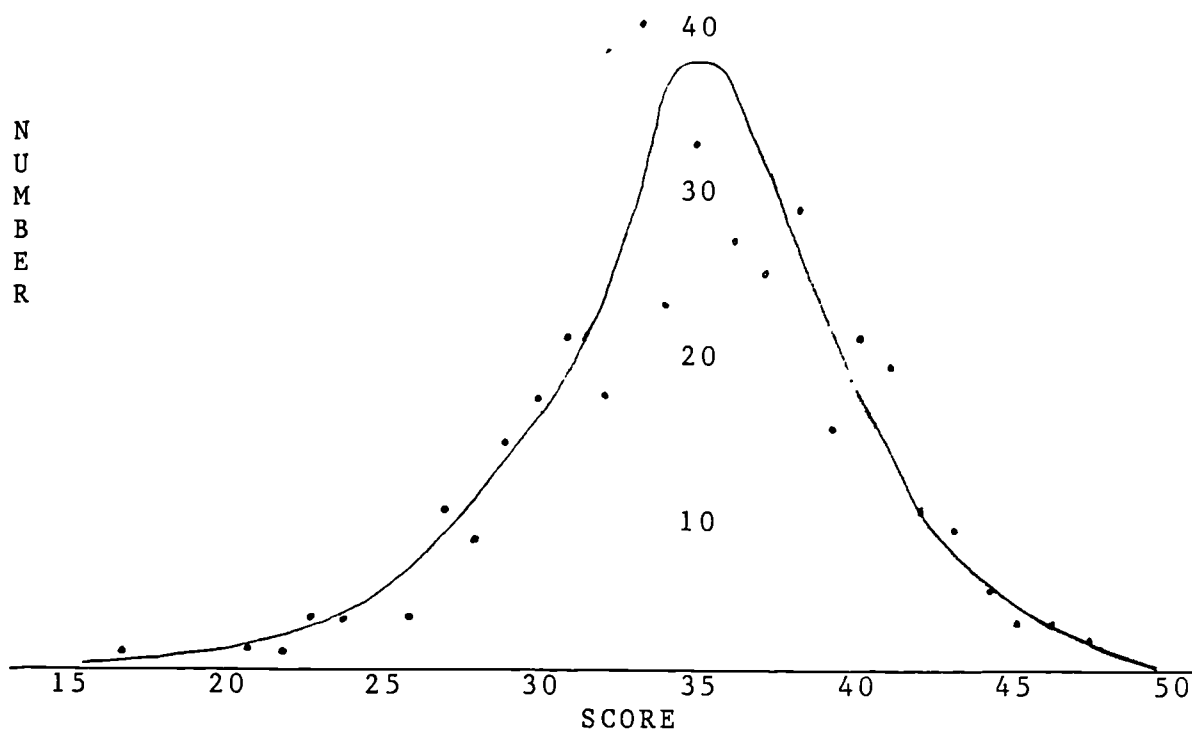
FIGURE 6   Distribution of self-esteem   N = 365

5. FURTHER EXPLORATION OF FRIENDSHIPS

The analysis of data obtained in Part Five concerns the respondents' most important first-level friend, and information on leisure-time group activities.

Table 48 contains the responses to the question, "Where did you first meet?" this most important first-level friend. Whilst almost half of the sample (48.3%) met their friend at secondary school, some friendships clearly spanned a considerable length of time, as indicated by references to nursery school (2%); infant school (8.6%); and junior/primary school (13.7%). Some, which were included in category 10 "at mother's friend", made reference to their mothers meeting in maternity hospital.   73%

of the total sample met their first-level friend in some educational establishment.

With the dominance of the secondary school as the place where most people met their most important first-level friend, it is not surprising to find that a mean of 5.4 years for the length of time that subjects had known their friend, as indicated in Table 49. There were peaks at 3, 4 and 5 years corresponding to the school year of the subjects.

As would be expected, the length of time individuals had been first-level friends was lower - Mean 4.1 (Table 50).

		NUMBERS	PER CENT.
1.	NURSERY SCHOOL	7	2.0
2.	INFANT SCHOOL	30	8.6
3.	JUNIOR, PRIMARY SCHOOL	48	13.7
4.	SECONDARY SCHOOL	169	48.3
5.	SAME STREET, AROUND CORNER	22	6.3
6.	YOUTH ORGANISATION - BOYS' BRIGADE, FIRST AID, JUDO, FOOTBALL, SPORTS CLUB, AMATEUR DRAMATICS, DANCING CLUB	10	2.9
7.	PART-TIME JOB, PAPER ROUND	2	0.6
8.	ON HOLIDAY	2	0.6
9.	AT MOTHER'S FRIEND, GRANDMOTHER'S/FATHER'S, THROUGH SISTER, FAMILY	7	2.0
10.	OVERSEAS PORTUGAL GERMANY KENYA	6	1.7
11.	PARK, RECREATION GROUP, CAR PARK SWIMMING POOL, SKATING, STABLES, AIRPORT	11	3.2
12.	PARTY, DISCO, CONCERT, DANCING	12	3.4
13.	NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOUR, NEIGHBOUR	6	1.7
14.	HOME, OWN HOUSE, SOMEONE'S HOUSE	5	1.4
15.	SCHOOL TRIP, OUTING	2	0.6
16.	OTHER (MISCELLANEOUS)	5	1.4
17.	DON'T KNOW, CAN'T REMEMBER	4	1.1
18.	PUB	2	0.6

TOTAL   350

TABLE 48   Where did you meet this most important first-level friend?

PERIOD	NUMBER	PERCENT	
less than 1 year	14	4.1 }	
1 and less than 2 years	25	7.2 }	
2 and less than 3 years	61	17.6 }	61.5%
3 and less than 4 years	69	19.9 }	
4 and less than 5 years	44	12.7 }	
5 and less than 6 years	22	6.4	
6 and less than 7 years	21	6.1	
7 and less than 8 years	16	4.6	
8 and less than 9 years	20	5.8	
9 and less than 10 years	11	3.2	
10 and less than 11 years	14	4.1	
11 and less than 12 years	11	3.2	
12 and less than 13 years	7	2.0	
13 and less than 14 years	5	1.5	
14 and less than 15 years	5	1.5	
15 and less than 16 years	1	0.3	

TOTAL = 346

Mean = 5.38   s.d. = 3.40

TABLE 49   How long have you known this friend?

PERIOD	NUMBER	PERCENT	
less than 1 year	49	14.4 }	
1 and less than 2 years	60	17.6 }	
2 and less than 3 years	65	19.1 }	76.1%
3 and less than 4 years	49	14.4 }	
4 and less than 5 years	36	10.6 }	
5 and less than 6 years	13	3.8	
6 and less than 7 years	15	4.4	
7 and less than 8 years	6	1.8	
8 and less than 9 years	15	4.4	
9 and less than 10 years	4	1.2	
10 and less than 11 years	12	3.5	
11 and less than 12 years	6	1.8	
12 and less than 13 years	5	1.5	
13 and less than 14 years	2	0.6	
14 and less than 15 years	2	0.6	
15 and less than 16 years	1	0.3	

TOTAL = 340

Mean = 4.07   s.d. = 3.22

TABLE 50   How long have you been first-level friends?

The difference between the time known and time becoming first-level friends was 1.31 years, which gives an indication of the average length of time that it takes for a close friendship to develop.

Table 51 summarises the response to the question, "What do you like about this friend?" The coding frame permitted up to three codings for each subject. The responses were recorded in terms of the "frequency of mention" rank-order, the number of mentions expressed as counts and percentages. The first in the rank order was, "laugh, good laugh, funny, joke, playing about, amusing, cheerful" with 168 mentions. (26%) This agrees and confirms the findings in the initial pilot study where similar responses were recorded.

"Trusting", "being helpful", "being good company", "nice to talk to" were rank ordered 2 thru' 5 respectively. The first 5 rankings covered almost 72% of the total responses.

Codings for up to three responses were also included for the data contained in Table 52, "What do you do together?"

"Going out", "discos", "muck around", "shopping", "chat", "round each other's houses" were the first five most frequently mentioned items respectively, with the last two tying for fifth place. There were 638 coded responses from 335 respondents.

Whilst the majority (59%) indicated that there was nothing they disliked about their friend, 41% indicated that there were dislikes which are summarised in Table 53.

	FREQUENCY OF MENTION RANK ORDER	NUMBER OF MENTIONS	PER CENT
Laugh, good laugh, funny, joke, playing about, amusing, cheerful	1	168	25.8
Trust, trusting/worthy, honest, loyal, sensible, serious, reliable, tells truth, mature, acts intelligently	2	100	15.3
Helps you, helps with problems, kind, sticks up for you, generous	3	98	15.0
Good company, good friend/mate, friendly, enjoy each other's company, like to go around with, easy to get on with	4	61	9.4
Nice to talk to, talk things over with, good listener	5	40	6.1
Like me, lot in common, same interests, hobbies, music, football, runner, swimmer, computers	6	38	5.8
Confide, share secrets, keeps secrets	7	30	4.6
Personality, popular, not moody, never moans, character, never argue, quiet, doesn't talk about you, unselfish	8	28	4.3
Adventurous, lively, daring, outrageous, gets into mischief, active, outgoing	9	17	2.6
Good looking, pretty, her body/hair style, beautiful, love, sexy	10	15	2.3
Everything	11	10	1.5
Not show-off/big headed, not a bully, doesn't make fun of others	12	9	1.3
Miscellaneous items	-	38	(5.8)

TABLE 51   What do you like about this friend?

	FREQUENCY OF MENTION	NUMBER OF MENTIONS	PER CENT.
Go out, go places, courting every night	1	94	14.7
Discos, dances	2	54	8.5
Muck around, mess around, play around	3	46	7.2
Shopping	4	40	6.2
Chat, talk)		32	5.0
Round each other's houses)	5	32	5.0
Play or watch football	7	28	4.4
Tell jokes, have a laugh, lark around	8	24	3.8
Everything, anything, a lot	9	21	3.3
Same class, tutor group at school	10	20	3.1
Ride bikes)		16	2.5
Visit town/nearby town)	11	16	2.5
Homework, school work, help others with difficult work)		16	2.5
Youth club, social club, clubs	14	13	2.0
Cinema	15	12	1.9
Work	16	11	1.7
Swimming)		10	1.6
Parties)	17	10	1.6
Ice skating)		9	1.4
Pub, drinking)	19	9	1.4
Play records, listen to music, sport)		9	1.4

OTHER: including, basketball, golf, tennis, roller skating, fishing, snooker, pool, badminton, cricket, darts, cycling, judo, boxing, carpentry, T.V., concerts, holidays, walk, meet or hunt girls, motorbikes, kiss and make love, keep fit, models, plane spotting

all 8 or less — 107 — 16.8

N = 335   TABLE 52   What do you do together?

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YES = 132 (41%)   NO = 189 (59%)   N = 321

If YES, what do you dislike about the friend?
TOTAL NUMBER OF MENTIONS 138

	FREQUENCY OF MENTION	NUMBER OF MENTIONS	PER CENT.
Moody, bad tempered, ratty, moans a lot, stubborn, jealous, easily upset, bully, quick tempered, bossy, argues	1	49	35.5
Big headed, bit cocky, shows off, over talkative	2	11	8.0
Smoker, doesn't dress well, bodily features, i.e. too tall, nose, nails. Wears glasses .	3	10	7.2
Leaves others out, pays more attention to others, hangs around with someone I dislike)	))))	9	6.5
Critical, picks holes in you, says things behind your back, bitchy, spiteful, being very frank)	4	9	6.5
unreliable, bad time-keeper, unpredictable, doesn't keep secrets, fickle, doesn't tell truth)	))	9	6.5
Childish, babyish, silly, immature, shy, lacks self-confidence	7	7	5.1
Greedy, selfish, mean, tight with money	8	5	3.6
OTHER: how she laughs, flirts, too randy, supports Chelsea, working class		27	19.6

TABLE 53   Is there anything you dislike about this friend?

The most frequently mentioned item was, "moody, bad tempered, ratty, moans a lot, stubborn, jealous, easily up, bully, quick-tempered, bossy, argues" representing 36% of all responses. None of the remaining items represented more than 8%, but overall this question gave some indication of the degree of tolerance that was given within a first-level friendship to dislikes.

In response to the question, "On how many days each week do you see each other?" 59% saw their friend on at least one week-end day, with 30% on both Saturday and Sunday. Since many first-level friends were school-friends, it is not surprising that a further 30% saw their friends on at least five days each week. The remaining 10% included friends who had either left school or attended a different school to that of the subject, (Table 54).

NUMBER	COUNT	PERCENT
1	6	1.8
2	7	2.1
3	7	2.1
4	15	4.4
5	100	29.4
6	101	29.7 }
7	101	29.7 } 59.4%

TOTAL = 337

Mean = 5.63   s.d. = 1.38

TABLE 54   On how many days each week do you see each other?

Table 55 contains the responses to two questions, "What do you give to the friendship?" and "What do they give, to the friendship?" These are presented as frequency of mention rank

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	YOU GIVE			THEY GIVE		
	RANK ORDER FREQUENCY OF MENTION	NUMBERS	PER CENT.	RANK ORDER FREQUENCY OF MENTION	NUMBERS	PER CENT.
Loyalty, trust, confide, reliability, help, keep secrets, honesty, stick up for	1	113	24.2	3	102	22.3
Sympathy, shoulder to cry on, understanding problems, cares, considerate, shows feelings, listens, talk seriously, tell what I think, good ear	2	99	21.2	1	111	24.3
Laugh, fun, happiness, enjoyment, cheerfulness, excitement, sense of humour, jokes	3	98	21.0	2	104	22.8
Friendship, company, good mate, get on well together, attachment, feel good, put up with each other	4	47	10.1	4	40	8.8
Things, a lot, most things, everything I can, quite a bit, give anything	5	31	6.6	5	14	3.1
Sex, love, quite attached, girls)		12	2.6	6	13	2.8
Credit, money, sweets, cigarettes,) 6 video, music, generous)		12	2.6	8	12	2.6
Interesting things to do, ideas, getting out and about	8	9	1.9	6	13	2.8
Try to cheer up, if she's sad I try to make happy	9	5	1.1	9	6	1.3
OTHER: Good looks, straight man, don't know, similarity, alike in our ways, not get annoyed, leadership, authority, organise		41	8.9	3	41	9.0

TOTAL MENTIONS = 467   TOTAL MENTIONS = 457

N = 290

TABLE 55   What do you give/they give, to the friendship?

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order, the number of mentions ,and percentages. The most

frequently mentioned "you give" item was "loyalty" covering

24%. This was closely followed by "sympathy" (21%) and "laugh"

(21.0%) The rank order changed with the "they give" items

where "sympathy" received 24% followed closely by "laugh" and

"loyalty". Thus, the first three rankings were repeated, but

in different orders and covered over 66% of the total mentions.

Whilst most individuals named a same sex most important first-

level friend (Table 56), 5.3% of boys and 7.9% of girls chose

opposite sex friends. This again confirms the single sex nature

of friendship in this age range.

FEMALE = 157 (45.9%) MALE = 185 (54.1%)

Males naming males	=	158 (46.2%)
Males naming females	=	18 (5.3%)
Females naming males	=	27 (7.9%)
Females naming females	=	139 (40.6%)

TABLE 56   Sex of most important first-level friend

Table 57 concerns the extent to which subjects go around in a

group in their leisure time. 68% gave a positive response and

the remainder a negative response.

YES = 240 (67%)   NO = 116 (33%)   N = 365

Males responding	YES =	125 (52.1%)
Females responding	YES =	115 (47.9%)

TABLE 57   Do you go around in a group in your leisure-time?

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Since it is the leisure time peer group that is likely to have a marked effect on adolescent "social" development this finding is particularly significant. Whilst 67% of responses indicated membership of such a group, 33% did not. This is a major finding in relation to this research and is discussed further, later in this Chapter.

Approximately 4% more girls than boys indicated that they belonged to leisure-time groups. Table 58, indicates the number of male leisure-time group members. The mean was 3.3 and for males naming males 4.7, and for females naming males, 1.9.

NUMBER	COUNT	PERCENT	NUMBER	COUNT	PERCENT
0	68	28.3	6	24	10.0
1	7	6.7	7	16	6.7
2	17	7.1	8	3	1.3
3	33	13.8	9	3	1.3
4	30	12.5	10	4	1.7
5	34	14.2	11	1	0.4

TOTAL = 240

Overall	Mean = 3.28
Males naming males	Mean = 4.7
Females naming males	Mean = 1.9

TABLE 58   Number of leisure-time group members - Male

Similar calculations were made for females, (Table 59). The mean for female group members was 2.3; for females naming females 3.9; but for males naming females was as low as .50.

NUMBER	COUNT	PERCENT	NUMBER	COUNT	PERCENT
0	101	42.3	7	3	1.3
1	12	5.0	8	2	0.8
2	21	8.8	9	3	1.3
3	31	13.0	10	1	0.4
4	29	12.1	11	1	0.4
5	24	10.0			
6	11	4.6			

TOTAL = 239

Overall	Mean = 2.23
Females naming females	Mean = 3.9
Males naming females	Mean = .50

TABLE 59   Number of leisure-time group members - Female

Overall, the mean size of these leisure-time groups was 6.5 members, (Mean = 5.49 + subject s.d. = 2.37).

Few leisure-time groups had a name (15%), but these included "Mod-Squad", "Eagles", "Monkeys", Munch-Bunch", "The Gang", "VYA", (Table 60). The groups' behaviours, clothes and other features of "style" may represent examples of youth culture but further research would be required.

YES   36 (15%)   NO   206 (85%)   TOTAL   242

TABLE 60   "Does your group have a particular name?"

The final two questions in this section aimed to determine whether the leisure-time groups were involved in behaviours that adults would disapprove. 52% responded affirmatively and responses were rank ordered in accordance with frequency of mention, (Tables 61 and 62).

YES   140 (52%)   NO   174 (44%)   TOTAL 314

TABLE 61 "Do you do things that adults would disapprove?"

11% of responses indicated that they were involved in drinking
in pubs, getting drunk/merry, and going to places where they
were not old enough.

Swearing and smoking ranked 2nd and 3rd, (11 and 10%
respectively), and "chasing girls, staying in girl's room
overnight, having sex", ranked fourth.   Only 6% were unwilling
to say. Stealing and drug taking were amongst the Other
category.   Clearly there might have been inhibitions in
expressing certain behaviours in a questionnaire completed in a
school and requiring one's name to be given.

ITEM	RANK ORDER FREQUENCY OF MENTION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Drinking, pubs, getting drunk/merry,) going places not old enough)	1	22	11.2
Swearing	2	21	10.7
Smoking	3	19	9.7
Chasing girls, staying in girl's room) overnight, having sex)	4	15	7.7
Hanging around streets, mess about,) muck around, have fun)	5	14	7.1
(Unwilling to say)	6	12	6.1
Staying out late, time to be in at night) (i.e. parties), going out at night)		10	5.1
Fighting, bundles, pretending to fight)	7	10	5.1
Going out with boys (older)/girls who) parents don't like)		10	5.1
Playing chicken, knock down ginger,) doing dangerous things. Playing tricks) on people, getting chased (by police),) being cheeky.)	10	9	4.6
Doing silly things, dressing up,) enjoying ourselves.)	11	8	4.1
Driving/riding in cars, motor cycles,) taking train rides.)	12	7	3.6
Going places not supposed to/too much)		5	2.6
Graffiti, damage, vandalism, let off) bangers in car park)	13	5	2.6
OTHER includes not telling parents where going, being noisy, making a row, dirty jokes, doing disgusting things, being a skin-head, drugs, blue films, stealing		29	14.8
TOTAL		196	

TABLE 62   Examples of adult disapproved behaviour

Finally, subjects were invited to indicate what leisure activities they had participated in the last week. These were coded for each day, firstly in terms of whether the activity was undertaken at home, or away from the home, with up to two codings per day given for activities undertaken. Where activities were undertaken "at home" and "out of the home" and mentioned on the same day, they were coded as "out of the home."

Not all subjects were able to remember what they had done over the previous six days, or they failed for one reason or another to complete the questionnaire for the full "six days". However, 79% of the total possible responses were recorded. Of these, 72% went away from their homes in order to undertake the named activity, the remainder staying in.

A summary of the activities undertaken is presented in Table 63, indicating that indoor home activities were ranked first with 24% of mentions, 46% of these being "watching television". Sport featured second with 20% with "saw friends - they came 'round, or went to friends, including seeing boy or girlfriend" ranked third. 2.4% of the sample had a part-time job. The full count of leisure activities is contained in Appendix Six.

Despite the large number of indoor home activities undertaken, approximately 75% of all activities were undertaken away from the home and, it can be inferred, were in the company of others. In an overall 28% of cases, the young people stayed at

home for the activities undertaken — this compared with 32% of

the sample who indicated that they were not a member of a

leisure-time peer group.

Days going out/staying in   GOING OUT: 1278 (72%)   STAYED IN: 491 (28%)

	FREQUENCY OF MENTION	NUMBER OF MENTIONS	PER CENT.
INDOOR HOME ACTIVITIES	1	468	23.6
SPORT	2	391	19.7
SAW FRIENDS — they came round or went to friends, including seeing boy or girl friend	3	283	14.3
SHOPPING, VISIT TOWN, AIRPORT, MARKET	4	172	8.7
WENT OUT, FIGHT, BIKES, including BMX	5	167	8.4
YOUTH CLUB, UNIFORMED YOUTH ORGANISATION	6	109	5.5
DISCO, NIGHT CLUB, CINEMA, THEATRE	7	91	4.6
NOTHING	8	67	3.4
DRINKING, PUB, FAIR, PARTY, POOL	9	50	2.5
PART-TIME JOB	10	47	2.4
SCHOOL TRIP, PLAY REHEARSAL	11	41	2.1

TOTAL NUMBER OF MENTIONS 1980

TABLE 63   Summary of leisure-time activities undertaken

Further Statistical Analysis

The data was also subjected to further statistical analysis within the following framework:

1. Examination of friendship and leisure group questions by sex and age (defined by school-year).

2. Correlations of HSPQ factors and self-esteem with friendship questions.

3. Correlations of a number of background information questions with friendship, HSPQ and leisure-time questions.

Each of these is presented in detail.

1. Examination of friendship and leisure-group questions by sex and age (defined by school year)

Table 64 indicates the means and standard deviations for friendship questions analysed by sex and school year. The findings reveal a number of interesting differences between school years which were not evident in the data presented for the whole sample.

Whilst there was little difference in the mean number of friends at first-level between male and female, except in the case of fourth years where the difference was .46, there was a difference between school years. For males the mean increased by .4 between the third and fourth year and dropped by .41 between the fourth and fifth year. For females, there was a continuous drop throughout the three years, although it was

	3		4		5	
No. of FIRST LEVEL FRIENDS	Mean	s d	Mean	s d	Mean	s d
Male	4.06	3.414	4.46	4.024	3.77	2.690
Female	4.10	2.516	4.00	2.135	3.74	2.391
No. of SECOND LEVEL FRIENDS						
Male	6.11	4.325	4.49	3.417	5.51	3.755
Female	7.25	3.555	4.98	3.474	6.07	3.945
TOTAL No. of FIRST AND SECOND LEVEL FRIENDS						
Male	10.17	5.454	8.94	5.018	9.28	4.273
Female	11.35	3.862	8.98	3.927	9.81	4.762
AT FIRST LEVEL						
Males naming males	3.62	2.944	3.66	3.078	3.26	2.403
Females naming males	0.82	1.62	0.66	1.363	0.47	0.935
Males naming females	0.44	1.131	0.73	1.918	0.51	1.211
Females naming females	3.27	1.801	3.30	1.862	3.28	1.968
AT SECOND LEVEL						
Males naming males	5.23	3.669	3.96	2.815	4.54	2.891
Females naming males	1.15	1.789	1.02	1.935	1.54	2.164
Males naming females	0.87	1.999	0.59	1.210	1.03	1.709
Females naming females	6.04	3.392	3.96	3.213	4.14	2.666
OPPOSITE SEX LEISURE-ONLY FRIENDS						
named by Males	0.19	0.629	0.16		0.14	
named by Females	0.52	1.223	0.25	0.576	0.42	0.906
MEMBER OF LEISURE-TIME GROUP						
Male	68.4%		70.4%		59.5%	
Female	65.3%		76.0%		66.6%	
FIRST LEVEL MOST-IMPORTANT FRIEND						
Male naming Male	98.6%		87.1%		85.4%	
Female naming Female	77.8%		82.6%		93.75%	

TABLE 64   Examination of friendship and leisure questions by sex and age (defined by school year)

minimal between third and fourth years and dropped by .26 between the fourth and fifth year. However, when the means were compared for second-level friends, differences were more marked. For males there was a drop of 1.12 between the third and fourth year and an increase of 1.02 between the fourth and fifth year. There was a greater drop between the third and fourth year for females - 2.27 and an increase between the fourth and fifth year of 1.09. When the total number of friends at first and second-level were considered there was an overall decline at the fourth year decreasing from the third and increasing to the fifth year. Despite these differences, females maintained a slightly larger number of friends compared to their male counterparts, except at first-level in the fourth and fifth years.

It is only posible to speculate within the limits of this study what the reasons for the difference between the years might be. The lower numbers of friends at first-level in the fifth year might be due to an increase in homework related to impending "CSE" and "O" level examinations. Another reason could be related to an increase in maturity; more courting, or a consolidation of friendships in leisure-time peer groups. The latter explanation is not backed by membership of leisure-time groups as indicated below, since the peak of membership was in the fourth year. There was little evidence to back the courting notion when the data for males naming females and females naming males at first-level was considered, although more females had opposite sex leisure-only friends compared to

males. Thus, the "O" level explanation seems the most plausible - the pressure of study leading to "CSE" and "O" levels affects the intensity of friendships at the first-level with a concomitant increase of less intense friendships at the second-level. It is possible that some other explanation accounts for the differences which has not been identified.

Whilst there was a steady drop in the number of males named by females at the first-level in the fourth and fifth years, there was a peak for males naming females, in the fourth year. Bearing in mind that males are maturing approximately one year later than females the considerably higher mean for females naming males in the third year and the corresponding peak for males in the fourth year may be directly attributable to this factor, although the data at second-level does not back this assertion.

Being a member of a leisure-time group, peaked for both males and females in the fourth year, although 3% more males and 7% more females belonged to leisure-time groups in the third and fifth years, respectively. These percentages are somewhat surprising, especially for males in the fifth year. It is possible that males are under greater pressure from parents, and perhaps within the school, to work hard towards their "CSE's" and "O" levels compared to females, and that this reduces the opportunity for leisure-time peer group involvement. Yet, in the case of the first-level most important friends, same sex friends named by females increased

in the fifth year, so that only 6.25% of females named males as their most important first-level friend. This may suggest that a particular level of intimacy is obtained between two female friends that cannot be obtained to the same extent with an opposite sex friend. Indeed, it may be this opposite sex friend that is the subject material for female-female intimate exchanges.

2. Correlations of HSPQ factors and self-esteem with friendship questions.

42 significant correlations (Pearson or Spearman) were obtained when the four HSPQ factors and self-esteem were compared with the thirteen friendship analysis categories and self-esteem, (Table 65).

The HSPQ factors and self-esteem were considered in relation to the friendship dimensions where a level of significance was $<5\%$. These are considered below:

Factor A

RESERVED, detached,   WARMHEARTED, outgoing,
critical, cool   easy going, participating

Therewere nine significant correlations obtained with this factor, five at $p <.1\%$, three at $p <1\%$, and one at $p <5\%$. All the significant correlations were positive, indicating that those who scored to the right-hand side of the scale, i.e. more warm-hearted, had more friends:

	H.S.P.Q. FACTORS				
	A RESERVED WARM-HEARTED	F SOBER ENTHUSIASTIC	H SHY ADVENTUROUS	Q2 SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT SELF-SUFFICIENT	SELF-ESTEEM
No. of FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	.1612 .002 **	.1312 .008 **	.0640 .121	-.0882 .054	.1612 .002 **
No. of SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	.1638 .001 ***	.1016 .032 *	.2084 .000 ***	-.1414 .005 **	.1627 .001 ***
No. of MALE FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	-.0407 .229	.1494 .003 **	.0596 .138	.1008 .033 *	.1058 .027 *
No. of FEMALE FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	.2768 .000 ***	-.0062 .455	.0158 .387	-.2481 .000 ***	.0926 .046
No. of MALE SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	-.0420 .222	.1864 .000 ***	.1857 .000 ***'	.1129 .019 *	.1032 .030 *
No. of FEMALE SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	.2187 .000 ***	-.0624 .127	.0747 .086	-.2730 .000 ***	.0761 .084
No. of SCHOOL-ONLY FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	.0092 .434	.0184 .370	.0254 .323	.1908 .000 ***	-.0152 .392
No. of SCHOOL + LEISURE FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	.0824 .068	.1196 .015 *	.0687 .107	-.1047 .029 *	.1372 .007 **
No. of SCHOOL-ONLY SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	.0250 .325	-.0305 .291	.0860 .060	-.0189 .366	.0681 .110
No. of SCHOOL + LEISURE SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	.1089 .025 *	.1050 .029 *	.1424 .005 **	-.1496 .003 **	.1207 .015 *
No. of LEISURE-ONLY FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	.1639 .001 ***	.0790 .076	-.0060 .457	-.1322 .008 **	.1174 .017 *
No. of LEISURE-ONLY SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	.1336 .008 **	.1107 .022 *	.0819 .069	-.1427 .005 **	.0706 .101
No. of LEISURE ONLY OPPOSITE SEX FRIENDS	.1396 .006 **	.0818 .069	.0287 .301	-.1514 .003 **	.1001 .035 *
SELF-ESTEEM	.3917 .000 ***	.3481 .000 ***	.4819 .000 ***	-.3402 .000 ***	-

TABLE 65   Correlation matrix

NEGATIVE CORRELATIONS TEND TO
LEFT-HAND-SIDE OF THE FACTOR

SIGNIFICANT LEVELS
*** p < .1%   ** p -< 1%

* p < 5%

```
Number of first-level friends        .           <1%
Number of second-level friends                   <.1%
Number of first and second-level female friends  <.1%
Number of leisure-only first-level friends       <.1%
Number of leisure-only second-level friends      <1%
Number of leisure-only opposite sex friends      <1%
Number of school+leisure second-level friends    <5%
Self-esteem                                      <.01%
```

Self-esteem positively correlated at the <.01 level - the more warmhearted the higher the self-esteem. We can also conclude that those who scored to the left of the scale, i.e. more reserved, had fewer friends. It should be noted here that it is not possible to infer about the intensity or quality of the friendships, although I have some evidence to suggest that extroverts have a larger number of friends but may not develop as close an intimacy in their relationships compared to introverts.

Factor F

SOBER, prudent, serious,   ENTHUSIASTIC, heedless
taciturn   happy-go-lucky

Although there were eight significant correlations with this factor, there were only two at the <.1% level.

```
Number of first-level friends                    <1%
Number of second-level friends                   <5%
Number of male first-level friends               <1%
Number of male second-level friends              <.1%
Number of school+leisure first-level friends     <5%
Number of school+leisure second-level friends    <5%
Number of leisure-only second-level friends      <5%
Self-esteem                                      <.1%
```

Those who were enthusiastic, heedless, happy-go-lucky, tended to have more friends at the first and second-levels <1% and <5%

respectively; the number of male first and second-level friends correlated at the <1% and <.1% respectively (the opposite of Factor A where the correlation favoured females.)   The number of school+leisure friends at both first and second -level correlated at <5% as did the number of leisure-only second-level friends.   Self -esteem correlated at the <.01% level confirming that the more "enthusiastic" had higher self-esteems.

Factor H

SHY, restrained, diffident,   ADVENTUROUS, "thick-
timid   skinned," socially bold

Number of second-level friends   <.1%
Number of male second-level friends   <.1%
Number of school+leisure second-level friends <1%
Self-esteem   <.1%

Those who were adventurous tended to have more second -level friends overall, and more male friends at this level <.1%. The only other significant correlations with this factor were for the number of school+ leisure second-level friends <1% and self-esteem <.1%.

Factor Q2

GROUP DEPENDENT   SELF-SUFFICIENT,
joiner, sound follower   prefers own, decisions
                                  resourceful

Significant correlations with this factor accounted for the largest number - 12. Self-sufficient correlated significantly and positively in three cases, namely:

```
Number of male first-level friends        <5%
Number of male second-level friends       <5%
Number of school-only first-level friends  <.1%
```

The remainder, correlated negatively, i.e. related to the low score on factor Q2, sociably group dependent:

```
Number of second-level friends                   <1%)
Number of female first-level friends             <.1%
Number of female second-level friends            <.1%
Number of school+leisure first-level friends     <5%
Number of school+leisure second-level friends    <1%
Number of leisure-only second-level friends      <1%
Number of leisure-only opposite sex friends      <1%
Self-esteem                                      <.01%
```

These correlations indicated that young people who were more self-sufficient tended to have more male friends who they saw at school only, whereas those who were sociably group dependent had more friends at:

> second-level; first and second-level who were female; school+leisure at first and second-levels; and leisure-only second-level.

The young people were also more likely to have leisure-only opposite sex friends.

Self-Esteem

Nine significant and positive correlations were obtained using self-esteem. It correlated positively with eight of the thirteen friendship items:

```
Number of first-level friends                 <1%
Number of second-level friends                <.1%
Number of male first-level friends            <5%
Number of female first-level friends          <5%
Number of male second-level friends           <5%
Number of school+leisure first-level friends  <1%
```

Number of school+leisure second-level friends <5%
Number of leisure-only first-level friends   <5%
Number of leisure-only opposite friends   <5%

Generalising, the four HSPQ factors and self-esteem distinguished powerfully between individuals on the basis of their friendship patterns, and it was, in consequence, appropriate to have chosen these particular factors together with self-esteem for use in this research. It can be concluded that the reserved, sober, shy and self-sufficient tended to have fewer friends than those who were warm-hearted, enthusiastic, adventurous, and socially group dependent. Factors A, F and H together with Factor E, which was not used, contribute to extroversion and it can, in consequence, be reasonably assumed that extroversion would have correlated positively with many of the friendship variables. Self-esteem positively correlated with the four HSPQ factors and with many of the friendship dimensions.

3.   **Correlations of a number of background information questions with friendship HSPQ and leisure-time questions.**

Ten of the general background variables were correlated with several friendship, HSPQ, self-esteem and leisure-time variables. Table 66 indicates the correlations obtained and those that were significant are detailed below:

	SEX	AGE LEAVING SCHOOL	UNIVERSITY – JOB	NO. OF SIBLINGS	SOCIAL CLASS	SHARE BEDROOM	THROUGH LOUNGE	NO. OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS ATTENDED	NO. OF HOUSES/FLATS	NICK NAME
TOTAL NO. OF FIRST AND SECOND LEVEL FRIENDS	-.1224 .013	.0813 .069	.0198 .360	.0605 .137	.0530 .172	.0097 .430	-.0106 .424	-.0698 .101	.0337 .273	.2117 .001
HSPQ FACTOR A	-.3199 .001 ***	.0147 .389	-.0265 .307	-.0337 .261	.0594 .131	-.0786 .065	.0430 .207	.0192 .357	-.0079 .441	.0928 .037 *
F	.1115 .016 *	-.0685 .094	.1305 .006 **	.0072 .446	.0420 .214	-.1208 .010 **	.0454 .195	.0560 .142	-.0646 .112	.1207 .010 **
H	.0733 .080	-.0134 .399	.0194 .356	-.0190 .359	.0995 .030 *	-.0416 .212	-.0838 .056	.0410 .216	-.0435 .206	.0150 .387
Q2	.3697 .001 ***	.1197 .011 *	-.1508 .002 **	.0828 .057	.0195 .356	.0514 .162	-.0570 .140	-.1014 .026 *	.0202 .352	-.0996 .028 *
MEMBER OF LEISURE-TIME GROUP	.0243 .321	-.0648 .107	.0243 .321	.0360 .247	.0642 .113	-.0864 .048 *	-.0133 .400	.0129 .402	-.0410 .220	.0974 .030 *
SELF-ESTEEM	-.0046 .465	.0587 .132	-.0935 .038 *	.0121 .409	.0813 .064	-.1138 .015 *	-.0844 .056	.0079 .441	.0182 .367	.1079 .020 *
TOTAL LEVEL ONE FRIENDS	-.0351 .261	.0990 .035 *	-.0234 .336	.0381 .246	.1322 .009 **	.0017 .488	-.0405 .233	.0640 .121	.0795 .077	.2528 .001 ***
TOTAL LEVEL TWO FRIENDS	-.1409 .005 **	.0402 .232	.0343 .267	.0108 .423	-.0279 .309	.0165 .382	-.0119 .415	-.1674 .001 ***	-.0311 .289	.0465 .198
DOING THINGS ADULTS WOULD DISAPPROVE	.0324 .267	.0262 .308	.0037 .472	-.0430 .207	-.0837 .057	-.0569 .137	.0311 .278	-.0184 .362	.0735 .083	.0639 .110
No. of DAYS SEEING EACH OTHER IN WEEK	.0673 .098	-.0626 .115	-.0144 .392	-.0122 .408	-.0325 .270	-.0923 .038 *	.0282 .296	.0311 .276	-.1504 .002	.0317 .271

*** p < .1%

** p < 1%

* p < 5%

TABLE 66   Correlation matrix

Sex

A negative <.1% correlation was obtained between sex and factor A. Girls were more warm-hearted than boys. On Factor Q2 boys were more self-sufficient <.1% and enthusiastic (Factor F) <5%. Girls had more second-level friends <1%, as confirmed earlier.

Age leaving school

Two significant positive correlations were obtained for age leaving school at the <5% level with Q2 and total number of first-level friends. Thus, those leaving school early were not as self-sufficient as those staying on and had fewer first-level friends.

University - Job

Those going on to work from school were more enthusiastic <1% and more sociably group-dependent <1% than those staying on, and had a lower self-esteem <5%. Since achievement is an important part of the dimension self-esteem, it is not surprising that those who intended to stay on at school, perhaps taking "A" levels and moving to university had higher self esteem than those leaving early.

Number of siblings

There were no correlations of significance with this variable which indicates that friendship and personality factors were

not related to size of family. The highest correlation was obtained with self sufficient <6% - the larger the family, the more self sufficient the individual.

Perceived Social class

There were two correlations with perceived social class, Factor H (adventurous) <5% and total number of first-level friends <1%. This suggests that the middle class young people were more adventurous and had more first-level friends. This might also suggest that they had higher self-esteem, a fact confirmed at the <6% significance level. There was also a <6% significance on adult disapproved behaviour and being working class. Further discussion of this will be included in 4 below.

Sharing a bedroom

Those who shared a bedroom were more sober and less enthusiastic (factor F) <1%, and were less likely to be a member of a leisure-time group <5%. They had a lower level of self-esteem <5% and saw their most important first-level friend less frequently <5%. This evidence suggests that young people who share bedrooms were less likely to be a member of a leisure-time group and saw their most important first-level friend less frequently than those who had their own bedroom. This was a somewhat surprising finding and worthy of follow-up research.

Through-lounge

There were no significant correlations arising from this variable. Having a through-lounge and sharing a bedroom were included in the study to test whether this might force the young people to go out more. This was manifestly not the case although I have some reservations concerning the interpretations made from this through-lounge question.

Number of secondary schools attended

A negative <.1% correlation was obtained with total second-level friends. However, there was no significant correlation with total first-level friends. This may suggest that those who had to make new friendships as a result of school changes tended to have fewer friends overall <10%. A negative correlation obtained with Factor Q2 indicated that these young people were more sociably group dependent.

Number of houses/flats

There were no significant correlations with this variable.

Nickname

The findings to this question are of particular interest. There were six significant correlations overall, as follows:

```
Factor A    -   Warmhearted                 <5%
Factor F    -   Enthusiastic                <1%
Factor Q2   -   Sociably group dependent    <5% negative
```

Member of a leisure-time group   <5%
Self-esteem   <5%
Total number of first-level friends   <.1%

Thus we can conclude that those young people who had a nickname were more warmhearted, enthusiastic, sociably group dependent and in consequence a member of a leisure-time peer group. They had higher self-esteem and more first-level friends.

4. Ethnicity and perceived social class

Ethnicity

Between the late 1950's and the latter part of the 1970's, large numbers of coloured immigrants entered Britain to stay on a permanent basis. They principally came from three regions, the Caribbean (including Jamaica, Grenada, St. Vincent, Trinidad, Guiana), the Indian sub-continent (mainly from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) and East Africa (those with Asian origins from Kenya and Uganda). They settled mainly in the towns and cities which had an industrial base and men who had arrived alone were often joined by their families as the living situation and finance permitted.

In the 1980's we have the second and third generation children in our schools. Differences from the indigenous white-British population may be marked by skin colour and by culture and religion, especially amongst those from the Indian sub-continent and East Africa, who are mostly Muslim, Sikh or Hindu. Some of these would have been born overseas. One might expect to find differences in the friendship patterns of

members of these groups. The overall sample was examined for ethnicity within the schools and three broad bands, namely:

White British

Asian

Caribbean.

The schools provided this additional information about the original sample.

Table 67 indicates the ethnicity distribution by school.

SCHOOL	WHITE BRITISH	CARIBBEAN	ASIAN
King Henry	66 (89.2)	1 (1.4)	7 (9.5)
Old Town	71 (91.0)	0 (0)	7 (9.0)
Roman Way	57 (61.3)	23 (24.7)	13 (14.0)
Ash Grove	59 (89.4)	0 (0)	7 (10.6)
The Park	31 (57.8)	11 (18.3)	18 (30.0)
TOTAL	284 (76.5)	35 (9.4)	52 (14.0) N=371

TABLE 67   ETHNICITY OF SAMPLE by School (percentages in brackets)

Inevitably there are problems associated with the
identification of ethnicity and selecting out the principle
groups. There may be first, second and beyond generations of
young people from many different ethnic sources in addition to
those chosen; East European, Irish, Middle East, Chinese, and
indeed from many other parts of the world. Such variation in
ethnic origin and generation presents a major methodological
difficulty for the researcher. Too fine a discrimination
within the present sample of 371 young people would give cell
sizes which would render meaningful statistical analysis for
significance impossible. In addition is was not possible to
gain such information from the schools and this would need to
be the subject of follow-up research. For the present it was
decided to examine the sample within the three, somewhat crude,
categories indicated above.

Perceived Social Class

Weinberg and Lyons have commented on what they call the hiatus
between theoretical positions and controversies about social
class and operational definitions used in social research.
Whilst these definitions have been extremely varied there has
been a high correlation between the indices used. (3)

I will take as given the problems associated with using class
as a social indicator, for as Roberts et al assert:

> "Anyone writing about social class faces a conceptual
> muddle and this is so despite class being one of the
> most widely used variables in social research." (4)

These authors write extensively about class awareness which

they suggest, even at a minimum level on the individual's part:

> "..that along with others he is positioned a given
> level in a hierachically organised society and without
> such a minimal degree of class awareness, needless to
> say, no social differences would count as
> inequalities." (5).

These researches use "class imagery" as a second order concept
to analyse information about class awareness.

Table 22 indicates the job aspirations of 187 members of this
present sample. These young people indicated that they would
be leaving school at the end of their fifth year. Predictably
early leavers are those who do not require higher levels of
qualification for their future careers and are likely, in
consequence, to be working class. Yet despite this,
approximately equal numbers selected working class compared to
middle class jobs. The extent to which these aspirations are
achieveable, at a time of high unemployment, is open to
speculation but as one teacher put it:

> "We would expect most of these youngsters to get a job;
> even the thickest. With the airport and many small
> industrial concerns in the area there has not been a
> problem."

Table 68 gives the significance levels obtained when Chi-
squares were computed using the three ethnic categories and the
friendship items, perceived social class, self esteem, having a
nick name, being a member of a leisure-time group and doing
things that adults would disapprove. Only two significant chi-
squares were obtained - 1. Number of female first-level friends

2. Self esteem.

VARIABLE	CHI-SQUARE	df	SIGNIFICANCE
Friendship items:			
No. of FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	34.55	32	N.S.
No. of SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	33.40	36	N.S
No. of MALE FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	16.06	24	N.S
No. of FEMALE FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	35.45	18	<1%
No. of MALE SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	30.00	30	N.S
No. of FEMALE SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	35.06	30	N.S.
No. of SCHOOL-ONLY FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	27.90	18	N.S.
No. of SCHOOL+LEISURE FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	31.49	22	N.S.
No. of SCHOOL-ONLY SECOND LEVEL FRIENDS	38.38	28	N.S.
No. of SCHOOL+LEISURE SECOND-LEVEL FRIENDS	23.84	16	N.S.
No. of LEISURE-ONLY FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	17.09	16	N.S.
No. of LEISURE-ONLY SECOND LEVEL FRIENDS	10.00	16	N.S.
No. of LEISURE-ONLY OPPOSITE SEX FIRST-LEVEL FRIENDS	19.60	12	N.S.

* * * *

VARIABLE	CHI-SQUARE	df	SIGNIFICANCE
SOCIAL CLASS (perceived)	8.84	4	N.S.
NICK NAME	.339	2	N.S.
SELF ESTEEM	86.42	52	<1%
MEMBER OF LEISURE-TIME GROUP	4.39	6	N.S.
ADULT DISAPPROVED BEHAVIOUR	14.77	10	N.S.

TABLE 68 Ethnicity with friendship, Self Esteem and other items (Expressed as Chi-Square and significance levels < 5%)

1. The mean number of female first-level friends for the three groups were as follows:

        White British   -   1.78
        Asian   -   1.43
        Caribbean   -   2.77

We can deduce from the evidence presented that there are differences in the friendship patterns of Caribbeans naming females compared to Asians and White British but it would be difficult to speculate as to why. It is of some importance to this study that this was the only statistically significant friendship item found in the study using the ethnicity categories. This suggests that, with only one exception that there is no significant difference ($< 5\%$), in the numbers of friends of White British, Asian and Caribbean young people. A more detailed study would be necessary in order to determine the affect of being born overseas compared to being a first, second and subsequent generation immigrant.

2. The self-esteem measure was the other variable which gave a significant result. Again the means of the three categories of ethnicity were examined, and were as follows:

        White British   -   35.15
        Asian   -   36.67
        Caribbean   -   35.88

It is somewhat surprising, and contrary to expectation that the White British sample produced the lowest mean self-esteem score, significant at the $< 1\%$ level. The research evidence

quoted from Rosenberg supported the view that ethnic minority youth tend to score slightly lower on self-esteem than their indigenous counterparts.

On perceived social class and despite the lack of significance, it is perhaps worthy of note that 53.6%, 71.4% and 44%, White British, Asian and Caribbean respectively identified themselves as middle class.

Chapter Six Overview

Important and significant findings have resulted from the analysis of the quantitative research. Almost without exception the objectives set for the questionnaire have been fully achieved and as a result, I would suggest, considerably more is known of the adolescent peer group and friendship in this country.

This overview presents the main findings.

1. Background information of the sample

371 young people, in mixed ability groupings and located in five comprehensive schools in Greater London were selected from the 3rd, 4th and 5th years; age range 13-16 years.

Although a sample size of 100 for each of the school years was the target, the actual numbers were 153, 124 and 94 respectively. It contained 54% male (46% female).

Equal numbers intended to stay on at school as would leave at 16 years. Of the latter, only 2% expected to leave without any qualification. 45% expected to gain at least one 'O' level and 26% one or more 'A' levels.

44% intended to go on to some form of higher education (12% to University) when they left school. There was a very wide spread in job aspirations with artisan and nursing work ranking first and second.

The mean number of siblings in families, including the respondent was 3.1. 56% of the sample considered themselves middle class compared to 43% working class (53.6% White British, 71.4% Asian and 44% Caribbean.) 35% shared a bedroom and 40% indicated that they came from homes with a through-lounge.

14% of the sample had been to more than one secondary school with one individual having attended six. There were a number of gypsies and young people from Service families in the sample who may be reflected in the "more than one" categories.

Of those who had been to more than one secondary school, 45% had been at their present school for one year or less.

Some of the young people had lived in as many as eight different homes - 14% had lived in four or more. Family movement during childhood may well affect friendship patterns

especially where this is high, as in the case of the Service families' young people who likely to move fairly regularly as a result of fathers' postings.

Finally, 62% indicated that they had a nickname. A number were either derivations of their first or last name or some characteristic assigned to them such as "cuddles" or "muscles."

2. Friendship patterns

Table 69 summarises the findings from Part Two of the questionnaire. We can conclude some important findings from the evidence. I shall refer to the friendship groupings as "networks" since they are larger than the leisure-time peer group, for most of the young people.

The relatively high standard deviations indicate considerable variability amongst individuals confirming Button's assertion that:

> "Most youngsters have close friends; some have only
> one, but more have several; a few have six or more:
> they vary very considerably in this respect" (6).

		Mean numbers	s.d.
Number of first-level friends		4.07	3.04
	females only	3.97	2.37
	males only	4.15	3.52
Number of second-level friends		5.8	3.86
	females only	6.25	3.75
	males only	5.35	3.92
Total number of first and second-level friends		9.85	4.71
	females only	10.25	4.25
	males only	9.50	5.05
First-level friends	male	2.22	2.72
	female	1.82	2.15
Second-level friends	male	3.03	3.18
	female	2.70	3.27
School only friends	first-level	1.17	1.74
	second-level	2.99	3.04
School+leisure friends	first-level	1.97	2.24
	second-level	1.61	2.25
Leisure-only friends	first-level	0.91	1.53
	second-level	1.11	1.65
Opposite sex leisure-only	first-level friends	0.32	0.89
	males naming females	0.24	0.78
	females naming males	0.42	0.99

TABLE 69   Summary of friendship items

Thus, the total number of friends at the first and second-levels was 9.85 (s.d. 4.71)

Of particular significance to this study are the contexts comprising the friendship network. The two pie charts presented below indicate the three contexts in which friends were seen and the mean numbers of friends, (Figure 7).
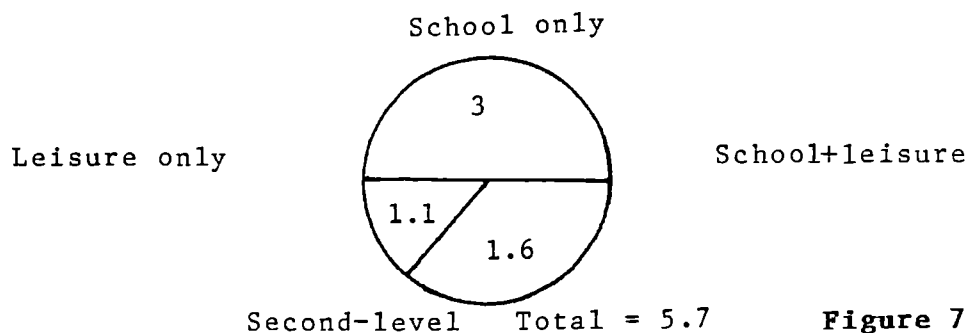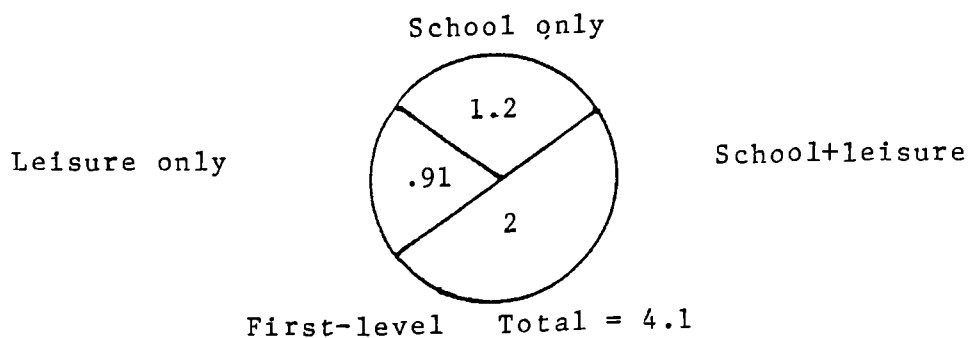
School only

Leisure only   School+leisure

1.2

.91

2

First-level   Total = 4.1

School only

Leisure only   School+leisure

3

1.1

1.6

Second-level   Total = 5.7   **Figure 7**

The evidence provided in the three contexts school only, school +leisure and leisure only suggests that first-level (more intimate) relationships are three times less likely for individuals seen only at school, whereas at the second-level there is an equal chance. These networks are mainly single sex - 37% male and 42% female at the first-level (79% total) and 32% male and 42% female at the second-level (74% total). Thus, **over 75% of all friendship networks at these ages are single sex.** Very few friends were opposite sex leisure-time only - mean 0.3 s.d. 0.89. More females named males than males, females .42 and .24 respectively. This was probably due to earlier courting patterns amongst females.

Further consideration will be given to the friendsip networks and the leisure-time groups in the final chapter.

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3. The HSPQ and selected questions on friendship

Although the HSPQ questions were used primarily for the computation of the four personality dimensions, there were several questions related to friendship. These together with the additional questions on friendship revealed that:

i. Young people preferred to be with friends rather than undertake activities such as a hobby or reading a book at home.

ii. Although 40% indicated that they preferred friends of the opposite sex, 41% were uncertain. Most went around with friends of their own age in their leisure time - 63%.

iii. If their best friend moved away 45% indicated that they would find it difficult to fill the gap whereas 32% suggested that they would find it easy.

iv. Some ambivalence was expressed in relation to a question concerning whether they would rather be the most popular person in school or the person who came top of the class. The responses were 27% and 31% respectively, but with 42% uncertain. 43%, however, likedfriends who "played around", compared to 30% who preferred the more serious.

v. 52% stated that if they had nothing to do they would "call up some friends and do something with them".

vi. 82% considered themselves well informed about sex; only 2% did not. 16% responded "perhaps".

vii. 58% responded that they were "not quiet when out with a group of friends" - 31% were "sometimes".

viii. 50% indicated that they would confide a secret to a friend, whereas 35% would keep it to themselves.

4. Self-esteem

As this scale was evolved using factor analysis it was not surprising to obtain a "near normal" distribution. The mean was 35.1 - the variation around the mean for the five schools was

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+0.7. It produced many significant correlations with both the HSPQ and a number of the friendship items, (see below.)

5. Further exploration of friendship

73% of all the young people made their most important first-level friend in some educational institution, 48% in the secondary school. The mean time they had known these friends was 5.4 years - 62% had known them between under a year and under 5 years.

Individuals had taken an average of 1.3 years to become first-level most important friends. This is a major finding.

Content analysis of the responses to the question "What do you like about this friend?" were rank ordered. The first three items were:

1.	Laugh, good laugh, funny, joke, playing about, amusing, cheerful	25.8%
2.	Trust, trusting/worthy, honest, loyal, sensible, serious, reliable, tells truth, mature, acts intelligently	15.3%
3.	Helps you, helps with problems, kind, sticks up for you, generous	15.0%

These responses bear considerable similarity to the original content analysis (pilot study) which provided the definition for the friendship levels presented in Chapter Four. However, "laugh, funny etc." (ranked first here), was given lower priority by the pilot respondents, although it was included in the second-level friendship definition.

What do these young people do together? The rank ordering

revealed a wide spread of activity -

      1. Go out, go places, courting every night   15%

      2. Discos, dances   9%

      3. Muck around, mess around, play around   7%

      4. Shopping   6%

This item does not reveal whether other young people were

involved in the stated activity, except courting.

Friendship is likely to involve a certain degree of mutual

toleration. In answer to the question "Is there anything you

dislike about this friend?" 41% responded in the affirmative.

The two most frequent items rank ordered were:

      1. Moody, bad tempered, ratty, moans a lot   36%
          stubborn, jealous, easily upset, bully,
          quick tempered, bossy, argues

      2. Big headed, bit cocky, shows off, over   8%
          talkative

Almost all items mentioned were personality or behavioural

traits of one kind or another.

59% saw their friend at least once at the weekend (30% twice)

in addition to weekdays - this related to the school+leisure

dimension of the friendship network. Mean 5.6 days/week.

The next two questions provided a qualitative shift from the

earlier question concerning "What do you like about this

friend?" The first asked "What do you give" and the second

"What do they give?" to the friendship. The responses are of

particular interest:

	RANK	YOU GIVE	RANK	THEY GIVE
Loyalty, trust, confide, reliability help, keep secrets, honesty, stick up for	1	24.2%	3	22.3%
Sympathy, shoulder to cry on, understanding problems, cares, considerate, shows feelings, listens, talk seriously, tell what I think, good ear	2	21.2%	1	24.3%
Laugh, fun, happiness, enjoyment, cheerfulness, excitement, sense of humour, jokes	3	21.0%	2	22.8%

Although there is a change in rank order in the responses to

the two questions, there is considerable congruence. They

suggest that "I give" LOYALTY and get "SYMPATHY and

UNDERSTANDING". Intimate disclosure derived from loyalty,

trust, sympathy and understanding, was highly valued.

As few as 5.3% of males and 7.9% of females named an opposite

sex friend in this most important friend category. The overall

finding was that 54% were male and 46% female.

The next question indicated the extent of membership of a

leisure-time group (peer group). 67% responded that they did

belong to one, but it is of significance that 33% did not. 4%

more females belonged than did males - 68% and 64%

respectively. What does this finding imply in relation to the

adolescent peer group? This will be discussed in Chapter

Eight. **The mean size of the leisure-time peer group was 6.5**

members.

Respondents were invited to indicate whether they engaged in "things that adults would disapprove?" These were content analysed and again rank ordered. Of the 196 responses the three highest ranked items were:

1. Drinking. pubs, getting drunk/merry   11.2%
   going places not old enough

2. Swearing   10.7%

3. Smoking   9.7%

6% were unwilling to say. Items named which were illegal included:

having sex, stealing, driving cars, drinking under age, drugs, graffiti and vandalism, riding on trains (without a ticket).

Leisure Activities

In relation to the activities undertaken during the previous week, the most frequently mentioned items were:

1. Indoor home activities   24%

2. Sport   20%

3. Saw friends   14%

During the week, individuals went out on 72% of the days, (excluding going to school). Few items were likely to have been undertaken without friends being present except for many of the indoor home activities. Watching television was the single most mentioned item (11% of all mentions).

6. Further computerisation of the data

i. Effect of age and sex on friendship and leisure time group membership

Table 64, presented earlier, indicated differences in friendship levels in each of the three school years, but these were difficult to explain. Why was there an increase of male and female friends at the first-level in the 4th year and a decrease in the 5th year?

eg.	Year	3rd	4th	5th	
	Male	4.06	4.46	3.77	First-level
	Female	4.10	4.00	3.74	
	Male	6.11	4.49	5.51	Second-level
	Female	7.25	4.98	6.07	
	Male	10.17	8.94	9.28	Total
	Female	11.35	8.98	9.81	

These differences may be due to qualitative effects in the friendship patterns as a result of social development. Differences may also be a result of impending CSE and "O" Level examinations in the 5th year, more courting or a consolidation of friendships in the peer group, since there was a peak in membership, (see below). Even the courting notion is challengeable since there were few males naming females and females naming males, at the first-level, although more females had opposite sex leisure-only first-level friends compared to males.

Being a member of a leisure time peer group peaked in the 4th year for both sexes:

	Year		
	3rd	4th	5th
Males	68%	70%	60%
Females	65%	76%	67%

ii. Correlations with the HSPQ factors and self-esteem with
     friendship questions

42 significant correlations were obtained in this Section. We

can conclude that:

Factor A The "warmhearted, out going, easy going,

participating" individuals ie. scoring high, tended to have

more friends than those scoring low - reserved, detached,

critical, cool. They had higher self-esteem.

Factor F Those who were "enthusiastic, heedless, happy go

lucky" tended to have more friends, more male friends and more

who they saw in school+leisure-time, and in leisure-time only.

Self-esteem significantly correlated with this factor.

Factor H Those who were "adventurous, "thick skinned" sociably

bold" ie. scoring high, tended to have more friends at the

second level overall, who were male and they saw in

school+leisure. Self-esteem correlated significantly. Might

it be that this personality trait lacks "sensitivity" and hence

intimacy resulting in more second and less first-level friends?

Factor Q2 There were twelve significant correlations with this

factor. Those who scored high on "self sufficient, prefers own

decisions, resourceful" had more male first and second-level

friends and school only first-level friends. The greatest

number of significancies were obtained in relation to the low

scores - "group dependent, joiner, sound follower":

        second-level friends
        female first-level friends
        female second-level friends
        school+leisure first-level friends
        school+leisure second-level friends
        leisure-only second-level friends
        leisure-only opposite sex first-level friends

Self-esteem was also negatively correlated.

Thus, this factor related group dependency with a greater

degree of heterosexual activity (in the mixed-sex sense) and

leisure-time friendships - the peer orientated young person who

enjoys the company of the opposite sex.

Self-esteem correlated positively with 3 of the 13 friendship

items. Young people who had many friends - at the first and

second-levels, who were male, at either level, who they saw at

school and in their leisure-time (at both levels), or leisure-

time only, including opposite sex friends, scored high on self-

esteem.

Friendship is related to self-esteem - the more friends one has

the greater the self-esteem.

The four HSPQ factors and self-esteem distinguish powerfully

between individuals on the basis of their friendship.

7. Correlations of background information with friendship, HSPQ and leisure time questions.

Females were more warmhearted than males (Factor A) but males were more enthusiastic (Factor F) and self sufficient (Factor Q2). Females had more second-level friends, as was shown earlier.

Those leaving school at the age of 16 were not as self sufficient as those staying on (Factor A), and had fewer first-level friends. However, those going on to work from school were more enthusiastic (Factor F) and more sociably group dependent (Factor Q2), but had lower self-esteem.

Those perceiving themselves as middle class tended to be more adventurous (Factor H) and had more first-level friends and higher self-esteems. The working class were more likely to do things adults would disapprove.

Young people who shared a bedroom were less likely to be a member of a leisure-time peer group, they saw their most important first-level friend less frequently and had lower self-esteem.

Those who had been to more than one secondary school tended to be more sociably group dependent (Factor Q2) and had fewer friends at the second-level. They also had fewer friends overall, if a 10% correlation is accepted.

Having a nickname suggests that the young person was warmhearted (Factor A), enthusiastic (Factor F) and sociably

group dependent (Factor Q2). They were a member of a leisure-time peer group, had high self -esteem and more first-level friends.

8. Ethnicity and perceived social class

Using the categories White British, Asian and Caribbean the respective sample sizes were 76.5%, 14.0% and 9.4%. Whilst all school samples had Asian pupils, 7 each, with the exception of Roman Way, 13 and The Park which had 18, the Caribbean were concentrated in Roman Way, 23 and The Park, 11. King Henry had 1.

Only one friendship item produced a significant Chi-square when compared with ethnicity - Number of female first-level friends <1% which when compared with the mean scores for this item indicated that Caribbean members had 1 more friend than their White British counterparts:

```
White British    -   1.78
Asian            -   1.43
Caribbean        -   2.77
```

It should, however, be noted that the means were computed from the resposes of both males and females, but was also the case for the other two ethnic categories.

Ethnicity was not significant with nick name, member of leisure-time group and adult disapproved behaviour. It was significant with self-esteem (<1%). The mean scores for the three categories were surprising:

```
        White British   -   35.15
        Asian           -   36.67
        Caribbean       -   35.88
```

The White British sample had mean scores over 1.5 less than the Asian sample and .65 less than the Caribbean. More research would be required to explain these variations although Jordon (7) suggested that academic self-concept is an important dimension in academic achievement and to black adolescents the role of academic self-concept in academic achievement is very crucial. Unfortunately this research and that undertaken by Mboya (8) was with blacks alone, although he too concluded that:

> ".. a significant positive relationship was found between self-concept of academic ability and academic achievement.

The self-esteem inventory used in this present research included questions related to school achievement.

Perceived social class was not significant with ethnicity.

CHAPTER SIX

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

"Fieldwork for a social science - one concerned
with learning first-hand from living people about
themselves and their society - is in itself an
application of that science. Fieldwork viewed as
applied sociology, for example, provides one way
to learn what sociology is about and what it means
in its simplest and most vital terms." (1)

This chapter provides the necessary "supplementing" of the
quantitative research undertaken and described in the previous
chapter. In this next stage of the research I aim to provide
important understandings concerning the nature of the
adolescent peer group derived from semi-structured intensive
group discussions with two peer groups identified from the
quantitative research. It is intended to provide further
insights and understandings of the adolescent peer group and
friendship which were not possible in the "macro" approach to
data gathering. This chapter is, as a result, essentially
qualitative and small-scale.

There will also be the opportunity to compare and contrast the
findings from each of the peer groups involved.

A research design was constructed for use in this second stage
of the research.

1. Identification of the groups

The responses to the question, "Do you go around with a group
in your leisure time?" and the names of people given if the

response was in the affirmative, provided a basis for identifying leisure-time groups. Where an individual named had also completed the questionnaire, it was possible to check out reciprocations and identify group membership. Some groups could be identified within single years of the schools and an initial sociogram was prepared and checked to determine whether members of the group might be readily available to the researcher. It was clear that groups comprising pupils from several schools or members who had left school and were out to work might present some difficulties in getting the whole group together in the day-time. Initially, it was decided to aim at groups located within single schools and in the same year groups, (ie.school+leisure group). Two such groups were chosen.

2. Locating the group

The time of year - June/July - was considered to be a good time to approach schools since many of the public examinations and end-of-year examinations were over and the pressure on time-tables was likely to have diminished. For this reason it was decided to approach the head teachers of King Henry and Old Town schools to determine whether it would be possible to meet with a group identified in their school for up to five periods. It was clear that such permission would only be appropriate if the pupils concerned were willing to take part. For this purpose, a preliminary meeting was arranged, to explain the objectives for the planned intensive study. This opportunity

was also used to determine whether there had been any group changes since the questionnaire study had been undertaken and to check whether individuals who had not completed a questionnaire, due to absence or because they were in a different house group, were members or not. If this was confirmed, those individuals were invited to complete a questionnaire in time for the first session. A time-table was arranged, and in the case of Old Town School, parental permission was obtained for their sons to take part and to attend the University for these sessions.

A general outline for the discussion groups was given as an exploration of leisure patterns, attitudes to school and the groups' relationships.

3. Methodology

The tape recording of sessions was considered to be essential so that the researcher could concentrate on the developing discussion. It was felt that the particular nuances of the interactions of the young people concerned needed to be monitored carefully and that detailed note-taking, in addition to leading the discussion, would be too arduous. It was also felt that actual quotations should be available for the write-up and would be best obtained from transcriptions.

The following session-by-session programme was pre-planned as a guide:

Session 1

Prepare in advance a friendship and leisure-time group sociogram. Discuss the contents with the group with particular reference to changes which had occurred since the questionnaire study; add any members who had not featured in that study. Explore the group leisure-time patterns:

> tastes and interests;
>
> part-time jobs;
>
> any particular feature of group life identified from the questionnaire.

Session 2

> Follow-up from previous session;
>
> General issues associated with school.

Session 3

> Any matters arising from the previous session;
>
> Relationships with parents, brothers and sisters, other friends.

Session 4

> Any follow-up from previous sessions;
>
> Exploration of attitudes.

Session 5

> Content to be arranged, as appropriate.

The Old Town School group

This group comprised seven fourth-year boys, six of whom had completed the young people's friendship questionnaire. The

seventh member was absent on the day the questionnaires were completed.

It was possible to construct sociograms of both the friendship patterns and leisure-time group. Subsequently, the information provided by the seventh member was added to complete both sociograms.

In addition, the questionnaires provided considerable information concerning the context of the friendship patterns, personality factors, derived from the HSPQ for A,F,H and Q2, details of the subject's first-level most important friend, and leisure-time diary. From these, an initial profile of each member was prepared together with a list of queries which would help to clarify issues raised in the questionnaires.

The members of the group were John, Francis, Peter, Michael, Andrew, David and Philip.

The Group

General – all seven members of the group stated that they were middle class and had been to only one secondary school – Old Town. Four of the group had lived in more than one house or flat – Michael – 4, Andrew – 3, Peter and David – 2. All members of the group named John as their most important first-level friend, but he named a girl called Paula, whom he met on holiday.

Brief member profile

JOHN

Had three older brothers; intended to stay on at school and
take "A" levels, but didn't know what he wanted to do, other
than it had to be "interesting." He shared a bedroom and
named nine first-level and two second-level friends with Dean
and Ian at first-level and Gary at second-level, all attended
different secondary schools, (see friendship sociogram - Figure
8).

Paula, whom he met on holiday, was a close friend and he had
known her for 2 years 4 months. He felt that she was sexy and
good looking and they kissed, hugged, and did other things,
"wink, wink!" and had fun. During the week's activities he
saw Paula on three nights, twice at her house and once out to
town. (This, however, turned out to be more of a fantasy
relationship - see later analysis).

FRANCIS

Had two younger sisters, both of whom attended Old Town School.
He named seven first-level and three second-level friends, with
David and Andrew at the second-level who he saw only in his
leisure-time. He stated that he had known John for 4 years 6
months and had been a first-level friend for 4 years 2 months.
He liked John because he was fairly sensible but also a "good
laugh." They played, mucked around, talked and did school work
together. During the week Francis went fishing, played
darts, snooker and football, in addition to watching T.V. and

mucking around.

PETER

Had one younger sister and intended to leave school after
taking his "O" levels and then to take up work which might
include joining a government training scheme. He named no
first-level friend but 11 at second-level, three of whom were
leisure-only and female. In naming John as his most
important friend (at second-level in this case) he indicated
that they had known each other for 5 years 4 months and been
friends for four years. They met at Goulds Green stables. He
liked John because he was funny, honest and tidy. During the
week his leisure pattern included football, cards and going
out.

MICHAEL (Mike)

Michael also had one younger sister and intended to stay on at
school until 18, taking "A" levels and going on to university.
He named nine first-level and four second-level friends; some
attending a different secondary school. He met John at
secondary school and had been a first-level friend for three
years. He named their joint activities as play, work and
leisure.

The week's activities included playing football, listening to
records, watching TV and video and his hobby (disco).

ANDREW

He too had one younger sister and intended to leave school

after taking "O" levels and going on to some form of higher education. He named four first-level and four second-level friends two of whom were girls. He had been friends with John for 3 years 6 months having met him on the first day of coming to secondary school. He liked John because John was both funny and serious, and they were interested in the same things. This involved football, shooting, swimming, riding bikes -"just about everything."

One criticism he had of John was the fact that he didn't stand up for him enough. In addition to football and shooting he stated that he was involved in "messing about" on three nights during the week.

DAVID

He had both an older and younger brother and a sister and in consequence had to share a bedroom. He intended to stay on at school and take "A" levels and go on to either university or some other form of higher education. He named four first-level and four second-level friends, two of whom did not go to Old Town School. He first knew John in Oak Farm Primary School and they had been friends for six years and at first-level for four years. He indicated that he could confide in John, but also joke about and have fun. "He has a good personality." During the week he played tennis on two evenings, went swimming and used his CB rig on four occasions.

PHILIP

Philip, the remaining member of the group had an older and a

younger sister. He expected to gain CSE's and to leave school at the age of 16 to do artistic work. He named three first-level and three second-level friends. In naming John as his most important first-level friend he indicated that they met at secondary school and that he had known him for three years and been close friends for 2 years 10 months. He liked John for his honesty and helpfulness. His sole activity for the week was football.

A detailed examination of the self-esteem and HSPQ Factors obtained from the questionnaires will be undertaken later, (see Tables 70 to 76).

The Friendship Sociogram

The Friendship Sociogram Figure 8 clearly indicates a very close association between the seven members of the group with only one out-of-group relationship shared by more than one member, that of Ron, named by David and John. Whilst not all the friendships of the group members were of equal level there were a number of unequal reciprocations. Philip did not name Andrew nor Mike as a first or second-level friend and neither Mike or Andrew named each other. Andrew stated that "we are friends but we are always arguing." "Taff (Andrew) does something and Michael moans about it." - Francis.

In part, differences in levels were accounted for by the fact that the group lived in two distinct areas of Old Town. The Lakers group comprised Francis, Philip and Mike and the Beech

Area of Study

Frances

Andrew

Philip

John

Michael

Nichola

Pam

Peter

David

Ron

Paula

Simon

First-Level

Second-Level

Reciprocations
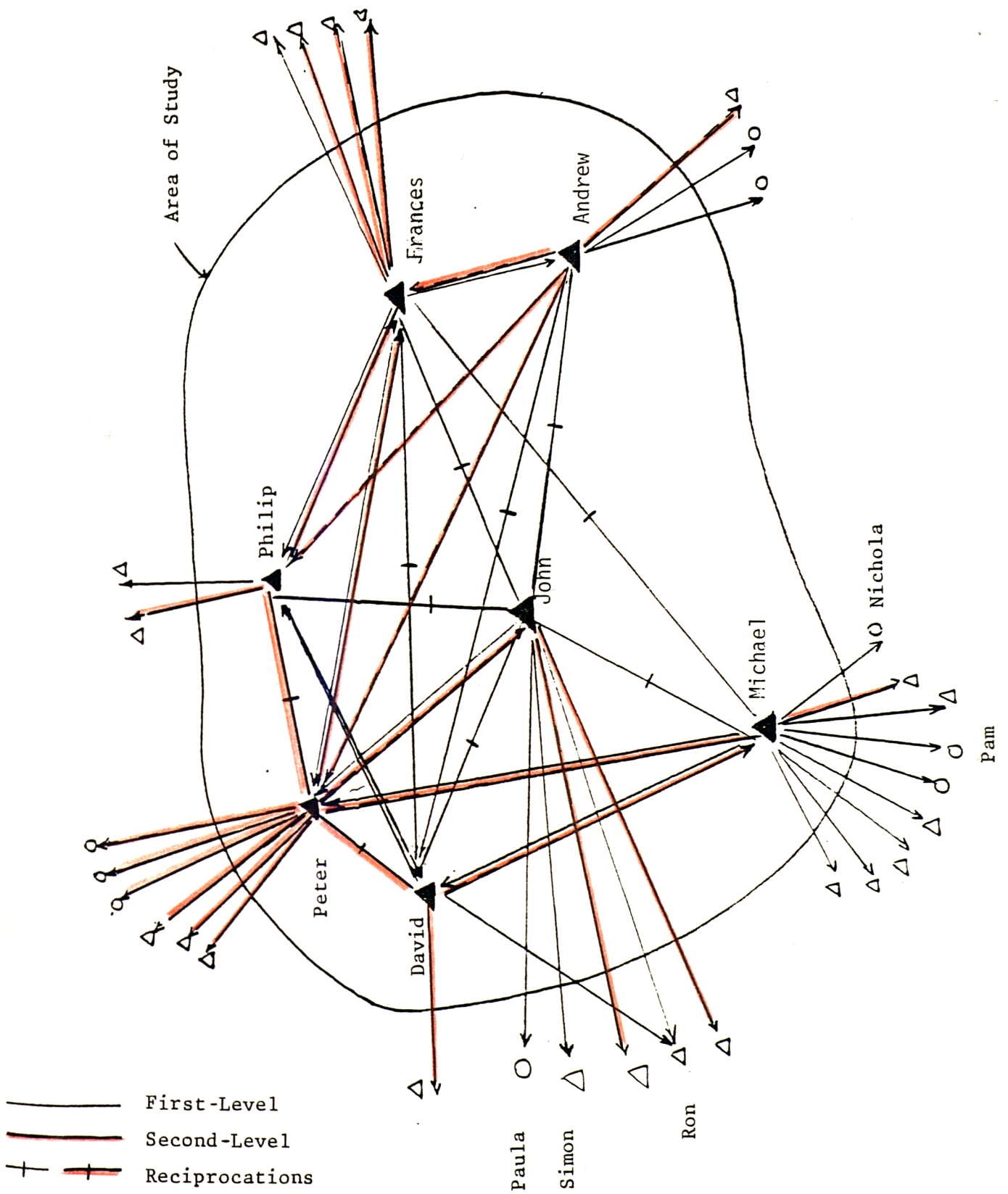
FIGURE 8   Old Town friendship group

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Hill group John, David and Andrew. The distance between the
two groups was approximately 2.5 miles with Peter living half
way between. The out-of-group friends were either school
friends or neighbourhood friends and few were at first-level
except for those named by Mike who was, perhaps, more on the
fringe of the group than other members.

The leisure-time group Figure 9 was marked by the large number
of reciprocations between members and many fewer out-of-group
connections; Simon named by John and Andrew, and Ron by David
and Mike. The only other persons were Ian and Kevin named by
Mike. There was no reciprocation between Andrew and Francis
and between John and Philip. Since the leisure-time sociogram
was completed, Simon had ceased to be a friend of John and
Andrew "He used to call for John every day - we used to see
him out but he denied we had seen him ... he drifted away from
us." - Andrew.

Leisure time activities
The leisure time activities of group members were to a certain
extent limited by where they lived and on certain nights
members associated in their sub- groups. Football was the main
total group activity which took place on Sunday mornings and
occasionally on Sunday afternoons as well. Members more
frequently used Sunday afternoon to clear the backlog of
homework which had been left to pile up during the week.
Francis and Philip went fishing on Sundays although not
together, but recently Francis obtained a part-time job at
Western International, a Sunday market, which had curtailed
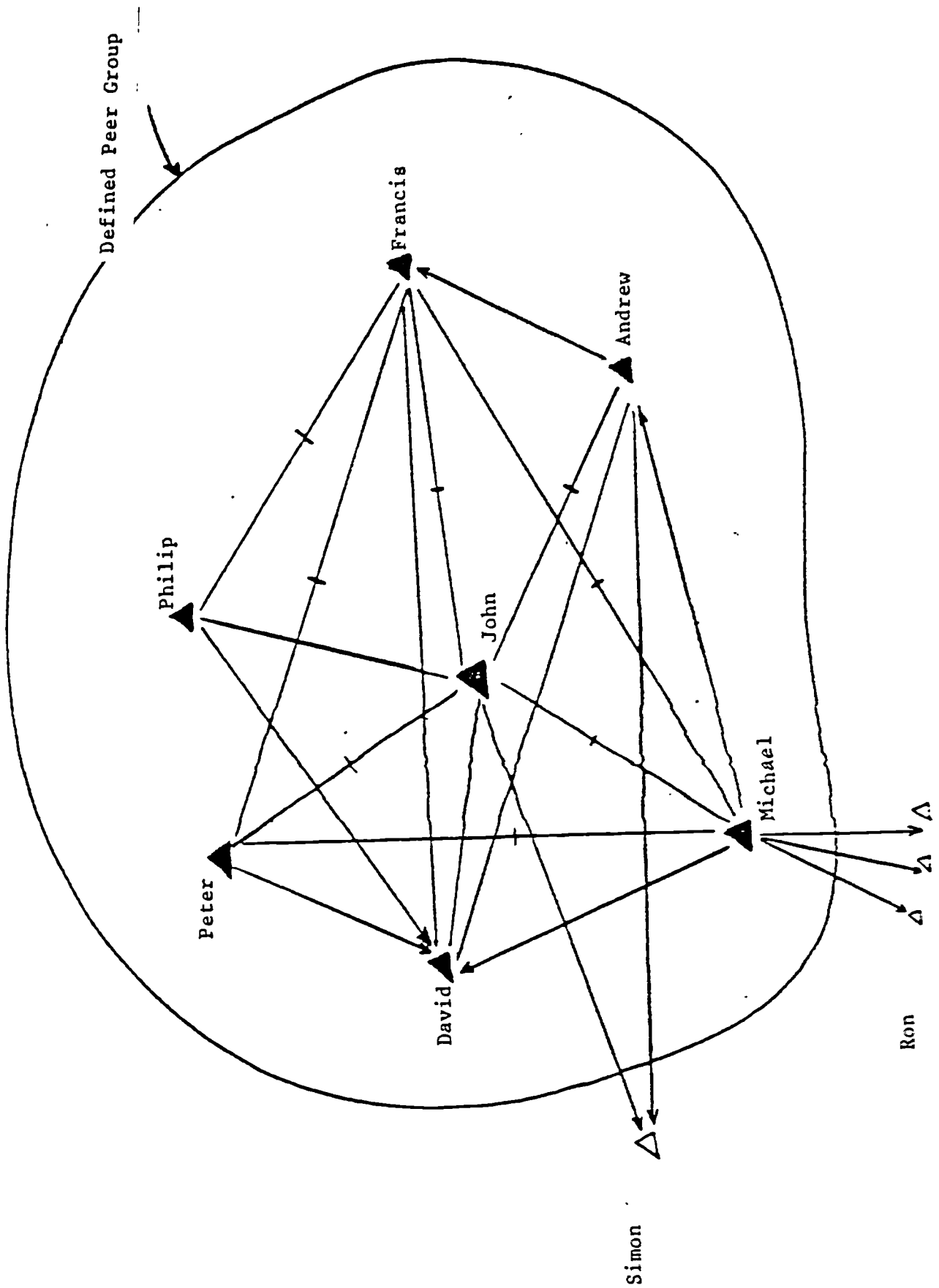
FIGURE 9   Old Town leisure-time peer group

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these activities for him. During the summer months, tennis featured among the activities of the Beech Hill group and during the previous week to the study they had participated on Monday, Wednesday and Friday when they were joined by Tariq. Tuesday featured a whole group activity when they attended school youth club and again on Thursday the group was involved with a football club. Saturday featured several activities - Andrew worked in a shop selling toys and bikes and since members supported different football teams they travelled to certain matches. Tottenham involved Peter, Andrew and Tariq; Arsenal, John and David; West Ham, Philip; Queens Park Rangers, Mike.

Additional activities undertaken by the group members included shopping in Old Town - John and David; watching videos at Francis' and linking up CB rigs - David, John and Ron; shooting Andrew and sometimes John. Peter had a Welsh Cob pony which involved him in daily feeding and grooming. This brought him in touch with a number of associates, mainly girls, with whom he rode.

Several members of the group had done paper rounds, John earned £6 a week but David and Francis had given them up. Francis was sacked when he left a large section of his round out and "they found out."

Girls and courting patterns

Several girls were mentioned in the friendship study and an attempt was made to locate them in group life.

A girl named Nichola was identified as a first-level friend by Mike, she reciprocated and also named John as a first-level friend and David and Philip at the second-level, but received no reciprocation.

I asked the group "Tell me about Nichola?"

> There was an immediate response of "Ugh!" (all round) ...."No"

> "David will tell you this better"... protest from David.

> "That's about it."

> "Stirrer."

I mentioned that one or two named her in the friendship study.

> "It can't be me, he hasn't got mine." - David (David had not at this stage completed the questionnaire).

> "It'll be Michael." - Francis.

> Researcher - "She mentioned one or two of you."

> "What, put us down as friends?" - Francis.

> "She noses around ..." - Andrew.

> "She stirs with me." - John.

> "She becomes friends with this girl ... stirs things about you that aren't nice - just tries to get in on things - just noses around." - Andrew.

> "Tries to be popular." - Peter

> "She tries to win us as well - because at youth club and everything she brings masses of sweets to get our attention." - Andrew

> "... we eat the sweets!" (laughter all round) - Francis.

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Researcher - "So there is no particular relationship with her then?"

"I did go out with her once." - Andrew

" ... she fancies Philip!" (more laughs).

Whilst members of the group had been out with girls on a number of occasions no one seemed to have sustained a lengthy relationship.

"There's this girl in a sweet shop that Andrew likes."

"Julia, the girl whose name you wrote on the maths book." - Francis.

"I'm seeing one on Thursday, but I am not going out with her." - Peter.

She was a girl considerably older than Peter who was reputed to be engaged.

"John has had a couple of bad experiences with girls .... turned out sour." - Andrew.

John reacted strongly to this:

"You loony."

I recalled that John named a girl called Paula as his most important first-level friend but after a short discussion, which was somewhat embarrassing to John, I was left with a distinct impression that although she existed, and he saw her in the shop where she worked, she had given little encouragement.

Francis asked:

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"Have you got Pam Andrews down for Michael? ....
he has been wanting to go out with her for a few
years ... he can't deny it, can he? ... the whole
school knows!"

(She was named by him as a first-level friend). The group

agreed that:

"She will never go out with him." (He was absent
from school on this occasion.)

There was a certain amount of disapproval in the group if a

member decided to go out with a girl considerably younger than

himself. The group recalled how John had shown himself up by

going out with a second year girl. Philip was reputed to be

even worse but he retorted:

"I've only done it twice."

Disapproving laughter had led to one second year girl being

packed up.

The group talked quite a bit about girls although they agreed

that about 50% was sheer fantacising. They talked about them

in lessons but there was a tendency not to go out with girls of

their own age.

"It's not right for a fourth year boy to go out
with a second year girl, although no-one thinks
twice about a fourth year girl going out with an
eighteen year old boy." - David.

A behaviour pattern which I recognised as being quite typical

of fourth year boys was recalled by one of the group members;

he described how John, protesting, had been dragged by the

group to a certain girl that he had expressed an interest in.

Behaviour

As the discussions proceeded I got the impression that the members were a particularly well behaved group who did not draw much attention to themselves in school by forms of behaviour such as those featured in the ethnographic studies described earlier. There were, however, times when they did get into trouble.

> "We used to go to Old Town on bikes and race around in the precinct and get chased by the police" - David.

They also described how they would:

> "Knock on doors and ride away on our bikes and get chased - if they got really angry they would come in cars after us" - John.

The group did not see any one individual acting as the clown.

> "I think we all do." - David.

I suggested to the group that a number of them looked towards John when I mentioned the clown. They then recalled a number of incidents in which the group had been involved in having fun. They agreed that John's contribution to the group was:

> "a good laugh"

but not leading the fun -

> "everyone does."

But then:

> "everything that tends to be funny seems to involve John." - Francis.

Other incidents were recalled.

> "Do you remember Alton Towers?" -laughs all round.

Although in the questionnaire John stated that the group called themselves "cool guys" it was admitted that this was not a serious name:

> "We are sort of "casuals" - they're kind of mods."
> - David.

School

Most of the group were doing reasonably well at school and several had aspirations to stay on beyond the "O" level stage. Attitudes to staying on depended, according to Francis, on whether:

> " .. you think you could do a bit more, you might stay on. If you've done as much as you can you might leave .. I want to stay on and get some more passes, it gives you a bit more chance. If someone is going to choose between "O" and "A" levels, they will choose those with A levels."

Most of the group had already made decisions about staying on or leaving and what job they wanted to do:

David - to stay on at school and hoping to work in computers or technical drawing.

Michael - stay on at school and then go to college to train as a German teacher or to go abroad.

Peter - didn't know whether he would stay on but would like to work on a stud farm.

John - was unsure what he wanted to do but would stay on and take A levels.

Philip - didn't want to stay on at school and would like to work in art or become a mechanic.

Francis - intended to stay on at school and then work in an office:

> "I wouldn't do a manual job, in an office there is more chance of promotion and more money."

Andrew - didn't want to stay on at school nor go to the local technical college:

> "because people go there who have got nothing."

He preferred to go to another institution.

Members of the group held very strong attitudes towards certain features of their school and local education policy.

> "Our form teacher moans about what you wear."

> "You can't get away with a grey jumper - others can get away with a tatty jumper but he (the Housemaster) says you can't wear it ... he says "pull up your tie." - Francis.

Peter had been in trouble with the teacher that morning prior to the session:

> "Oh, I had got trainers on - I haven't got them on now, I have changed into my shoes."

> "Other Houses do." -David.

I asked whether they thought they were hard done by:

> "Yes - well its not badly done by but compared to other Houses, they get away with it." - David.

"The school's badly done by - at Bowesmeadow they
get away with everything ... they wear different
colours .... yellow jumpers, cords, lots of
different colours, we can't get away with casual
gear - they get away with it." - Andrew.

"In this school you could accept it if the other
Houses were treated the same." - David.

"Andrew is in a different House - he can get away
with three lates in a week and yet if we are late
more than once in a term we get a detention." -
Francis.

I invited comment on what they thought about this particular

school.

"Sometimes you get bored with it, we have been
here four years! " -David

"We keep swopping the teachers over too often -
like French. We have had four teachers. We just
get used to one of them then you get another one -
we had a good teacher in the third year so I
thought I could do it, then we changed teacher and
I can't do any of it .... the teacher had a swop
with this French teacher and she doesn't explain
anything." - Francis.

"Bowesmeadow have got garages, car mechanics,
tennis courts - we haven't got anything." -
Andrew.

"Talk about wasting money - we raised all that
money and they bought a yacht. Only six people
can use a yacht - its not education or nothing, is
it?" - Francis

"They bought computers, I haven't even seen one."
- Peter.

"The mini bus has broken down."

"They have taken away the coffee machine - we used

to come in in the winter mornings all cold, you
like a cup of coffee - now its gone because
chocolate got knocked over so they got rid of it."
- David.

More generally, injustice was also felt towards the allocation

of places in secondary schools.

"I live 100 yards from Bowesmeadow. My brother
went there - it is stupid the way they do it." -
John.

"Can't get a bus pass, I live within the three
mile radius - must be 100 yards inside that three
mile radius - we bike now anyway." -David.

Parents

Discussion of their attitude towards parents was initiated when

consideration was given to the changes which had occurred as a

result of puberty. The group saw this very much in terms of

behavioural changes:

"It happened about a year ago ..physical changes -
it happened about the end of the second year. You
don't feel like mucking about and that." - David.

"Just be more sensible ... in the first year you
are looking for fights and stuff." - Francis.

"Parents treat you differently after your
thirteenth birthday." - Andrew. "You go out and
buy your own clothes."

This discussion developed further on the theme of parents and I

asked "So parents are adjusting - but not perhaps as fast as

you like?"

"No" all round.

"My Dad's strict - Mum's okay. Last year I wanted
to go to Tottenham but my Dad wouldn't let me -I
can go this year because I made a big fuss about
it last year - he has seen all those pictures -
they would let me go with an older person. The
joke was that we went with the youth club, but
when we got there we all split up." - Francis.

"My step-dad doesn't let me do things that I think
my real Dad would." -David.

In this respect David recalled how he had first learned of the

break-up of his parents' marriage:

"I was too young to understand it - it was when I
started Junior School - my Mum went on holiday and
my step-dad took us there. I didn't know anything
was going on. Then one night, the last night of
the holiday, my sister came up and said we weren't
going back to our Dad - I didn't really understand
it then - I don't really like my Dad (step),
sometimes I do, sometimes I think I get a rough
deal - my sister, she is 18, ever since she is 15
she has had a go."

Peter responded to this:

"I live with my Mum."

I ask "Where's your Pa?"

Peter's response was:

"Dunno, somewhere around - I see him every day.
He comes around every day. He is moving into a
house. He has just bought a shop and he is living
upstairs. He sees her every day - she gives him
money. He goes to football with her."

"There is no another man on the scene?" - Researcher.

"No, I don't know why."

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Francis expressed some ambivalence towards his father.

> "He is alright most of the time – then he sulks
> for some silly reason – the chips are all fatty.
> Or when we play snooker, every time I pot one he
> says "lucky" .... or "cheating" or something ...
> the balls always rolling in if I beat him and he
> spends about 10 minutes altering the table."

Francis also disliked his Dad smoking:

> "My Dad smokes, he gets on my nerves –I hate
> sitting behind him in the car – Francis

This prompted others to comment on smoking:

> "I really felt sick. I think that's the best way-
> try, then feel sick." – David

HSPQ, Self-esteem related to group behaviour

FACTOR	Lo SCORE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hi SCORE
							SCORE Sten					
A	RESERVED								X			WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER						X					ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY						X					ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT							X				SELF-SUFFICIENT
SELF-ESTEEM						 41						

TABLE 70   John

| FACTOR | Lo SCORE | SCORE Sten | | | | | | | | | | Hi SCORE |
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED									X		WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER				X							ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY								X			ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF-SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM . ...**40**..........

TABLE 71   Francis

| FACTOR | Lo SCORE | SCORE Sten | | | | | | | | | | Hi SCORE |
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED					X						WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER					X						ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY							X				ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT					X						SELF-SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM   ....**31**.........

TABLE 72   Peter

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FACTOR	Lo SCORE	SCORE Sten										Hi SCORE
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED						X					WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER						X					ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY				X							ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT						X					SELF- SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM   37   ....

TABLE 73   Michael

FACTOR	Lo SCORE	SCORE Sten										Hi SCORE
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED					X						WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER					X						ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY				X							ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF- SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM   31   ....

TABLE 74   Andrew

FACTOR	Lo SCORE	SCORE Sten										Hi SCORE
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED						X					WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER									X		ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY							X				ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT	X										SELF-SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM ....:........ 42

TABLE 75 David

FACTOR	Lo SCORE	SCORE Sten										Hi SCORE
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED				X							WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER						X					ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY						X					ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF-SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM 38

TABLE 76 Philip

During group sessions David, Andrew and Francis were the most talkative and this is reflected in part in their scores on

Factor A, (see Tables 71, 74 and 75).

John, however, who scored the second highest at 8, tended to hold back more often. He undoubtedly influenced the group and its behaviour quite considerably and was the most popular member of the group, as indicated by the number of people who named him as their most important first-level friend. But, at the same time John was reported as being shy although again this was not reflected in his score on Factor H. Andrew felt that John was the shyest member of the group and stated that:

> "John comes into our shop, David says "Hello" and talks to my Mum and Dad, John says nothing, he just can't talk to her ... I think we are all shy in a way - if we were applying for a job and that - we would feel shy."

Andrew, along with Mike scored only 4 on this factor with Francis scoring the highest at the opposite pole labelled Adventurous. Philip, although taking an interest in the discussions said very little and scored the lowest on Factor A of 3, although his shyness factor was 6, (above average).

On Factor F, the sober-enthusiastic continuum, all members scored either 5 or 6 with the exception of David. His score of 10 aligns him with only 2.3% of the population scoring at this level.

On Q2, the socially group dependent - self-sufficient continuum, David again scored at the extreme with a score of 1 making him the most "sociably group dependent, a "joiner" and sound follower" with John scoring the highest at 7 - "self-

sufficient, prefers own decisions, resourceful". This may at first seem somewhat surprising since he was the most popular member of the group but in reality he had to make little effort to be a member of the group, since the group came to him! He could, in consequence, afford to be self-sufficient.

David, who was considered to be the most intelligent member of the group scored the highest on self-esteem followed closely by John and Francis. The lowest scores were obtained by Peter and Andrew at 31.

The final session concluded with a brief consideration of factors which made members of the group feel uneasy.. David identified being on his own:

> "I am not left alone very often because usually my sisters are in when my parents are out. But when I am left alone I don't like it at all."

Andrew agreed:

> "There is a pub near our shop and when my parents are out I don't like it. I keep my shotgun by my side because there is quite a rowdy element who use the pub."

Francis, too expressed anxiety in this respect.

During the sessions members of the group relaxed and were more willing to be open about their activities. It transpired that the video tapes watched by members included "blue" ones which were obtained from a neighbour or Tariq, who seemed to have

many connections!   Francis mentioned that his mother knew

about it but his father did not.   Whenever he misbehaved his

mother threatened to tell his father about it.   Usually however

she:

> "gets cross with me and chases me around the
> kitchen with a frying pan, but she never really
> hurts when she hits me."

* * * * *

The King Henry School Group

The fourth year group initially identified in King Henry School

had nine members:

Debbie	Julie	Kate
Fiona	Denise	Sarah
Brenda	Julia	Jean

In addition, the questionnaire data suggested that four girls

who did not participate might also be members:

Jocelyn	Claire
Sarah	Caroline

In the preliminary meeting with the group it was confirmed that

Denise, who stated that she only saw the group on Tuesdays was

no longer a member - she had gone into "heavy metal" music, an

interest not shared by the rest.

Sarah and Julie were confirmed as members but Jocelyn, Sarah,

Claire and Caroline, who were friends were not members of the

leisure-time group, although several went around with them at times.

Unlike the Old Town group, there were a number of pairs of friends identified from the questionnaires as a result of the "most important first-level friends" question. They revealed that the pairs were:

Fiona   - Jean   Julia   - Kate
Kate   - Jean

Only in the case of Kate and Jean was there reciprocation.

Sarah and Julie were invited to complete the questionnaire and dates for the group sessions were agreed. These would be delayed one week until after several members had attended a school geography field course at Llandudno.

The following initial profile was prepared on each of the members.

Three considered themselves working class - Julia, Jean and Kate; three middle class, Fiona, Debbie and Brenda, with Sarah unsure. Four members of the group had lived in more than one house or flat - Fiona, Kate and Debbie - 2 and Jean - 4.

Brief Member Profile

DEBBIE

Had one older and one young brother. She intended to stay on at school to take "A" levels and then go on to higher

education.   She named five first-level and five second-level

friends, all attending King Henry School, (see friendship

sociogram Figure 10.) She named Julie as her most important

first-level friend and had known her for 3 years 7 months, but

they had only been first-level friends for one year. Debbie

stated:

> "She is good to talk to and cheers me up when
> feeling down."

They went shopping, to discos, youth club and around each

other's houses. Debbie, who admitted to swearing, drinking,

smoking and staying out late, attended keep fit classes!

FIONA

Had one younger brother.   She intended to stay on at school to

take "A" levels after which she hoped to become a bilingual

secretary. She named six first-level friends whom she saw in

both school and in her leisure-time, and this included a boy

named Jon.   In addition, she named four second-level friends

and these she only saw at school.   She named Jean as her most

important first-level friend who she had known for 4 years 7

months and as first-level for 4 years 4 months.   She stated

that:

> "I can trust her and find her very easy to talk
> to - we usually go out in a group to discos, youth
> club, keep fit and each other's houses."

Her week activities include seeing her boyfriend, going to

work, doing homework, keep fit and attending a disco.

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BRENDA

Had one older brother. She intended to say on at school and take "A" levels and named five first-level and 6 second-level friends. She saw all first-level friends in school and in leisure-time whereas two of her second-level friends were seen only in school. She also named a pen-friend. Sarah was named as her most important first-level friend who she had known for 1 year 2 months, and at first-level for 1 year.

"She is funny and dependable"

and they went to:

"shops, discos, youth clubs and keep fit classes."

She admitted to drinking, smoking, swearing and staying out late, and attended a market on Sunday mornings.

(She did not attend subsequent meetings.)

JULIA

Was the youngest of her family with three older brothers and two older sisters. She intended to leave school after taking "O" levels and named four first-level and one second-level friends, all being seen at school and in leisure-time. She named Kate as her most important first-level friend having known her for 3 years 7 months, and at first level for 2 years. She was:

"a good laugh, but can be serious."

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They went shopping and to discos.   Her leisure activities
included going out with her boy friend, playing records and
watching television.

SARAH

Had one older sister and intended to leave school at the age of
sixteen having taken "O" levels.   She named six first-level
friends, four of whom she saw at school and in leisure-time.
In addition, seven second-level friends were named, three of
whom were seen only at school.   She named Sarah, who was not a
member of the group, as her most important first-level friend
having known her for 2 years 6 months and at first-level for 2
years 5 months.

> "She is kind and fun to be with and I can trust
> her.   We go to discos, shopping, youth club,
> sports centre."

During the week her activities included shopping, market, sport
centre, youth club and discos, in addition to going to Sarah's
house.

JEAN

She had one younger brother and intended to leave school after
taking "A" levels and named three first-level and seven second-
level friends, with only one (at second-level) not seen in
leisure-time.   She named Kate as her most important first-
level friend and had known her since primary school over a

period of 7 years 6 months. They had been first-level friends
for 3 years 6 months.

> "She is friendly, easy to talk to and funny.
> (We) go out shopping, to discos and swimming."

During the week she stayed in to do homework, went 'round her
friend's house or her friend came to her, attended a disco,
and on the previous weekend had visited the Hendon Aircraft
Museum, and worked.

KATE

Had one younger sister and she too intended to stay on and take
"A" levels. She named three first-level and five second-level
friends, all of whom she saw in both school and leisure-time.
She reciprocated in naming Jean as her most important first-
level friend and again confirmed that she had known her for 7
years 6 months and at first-level for 3 years 6 months. She
was:

> "easy to talk to, and get on with, funny. (We) go
> out to discos and clubs or go around each other's
> houses."

During the previous week she had gone to her grandmother's,
went around Jean's and entertained Jean, worked and went to a
disco.

The friendship sociogram

It became apparent in the preliminary meeting and was confirmed
in the first group session that several changes in friendship
patterns and group membership had resulted since the

questionnaire enquiry was completed. It was necessary in consequence to revise the friendship sociogram, exclude Brenda, Denise and Julie and include Sarah. This gave the group six members and nine first-level and two second-level and one unequal reciprocations, (see Figure 10.)

It was reported that Brenda went around with Sarah quite a lot until they had an argument and she joined up with the main group.

>"She always sort of tagged along - she has never been with us ... not that we minded ... "We were on a higher level, more mature - we are out of ankle socks ...." - Debbie.

>"She keeps on nattering, you could never get a word in." - Julia.

>"She wasn't very mature." - Jean.

Researcher - "When you talk about maturity, do you mean this in a behavioural rather than a physical sense?"

>"Yes, but she is a bit tiny, very small - she didn't know how to take a joke, she would turn round at ya." - Julia.

Researcher - "Was she small because she was a late developer or because her Mum and Dad were small?"

>"She was adopted anyway." - Fiona.

This condemnatory vein continued when Denise was considered:

>"She's got a boyfriend at the moment." - Jean.

>"She is a bit on the molly side but not as bad as Brenda." - Debbie.

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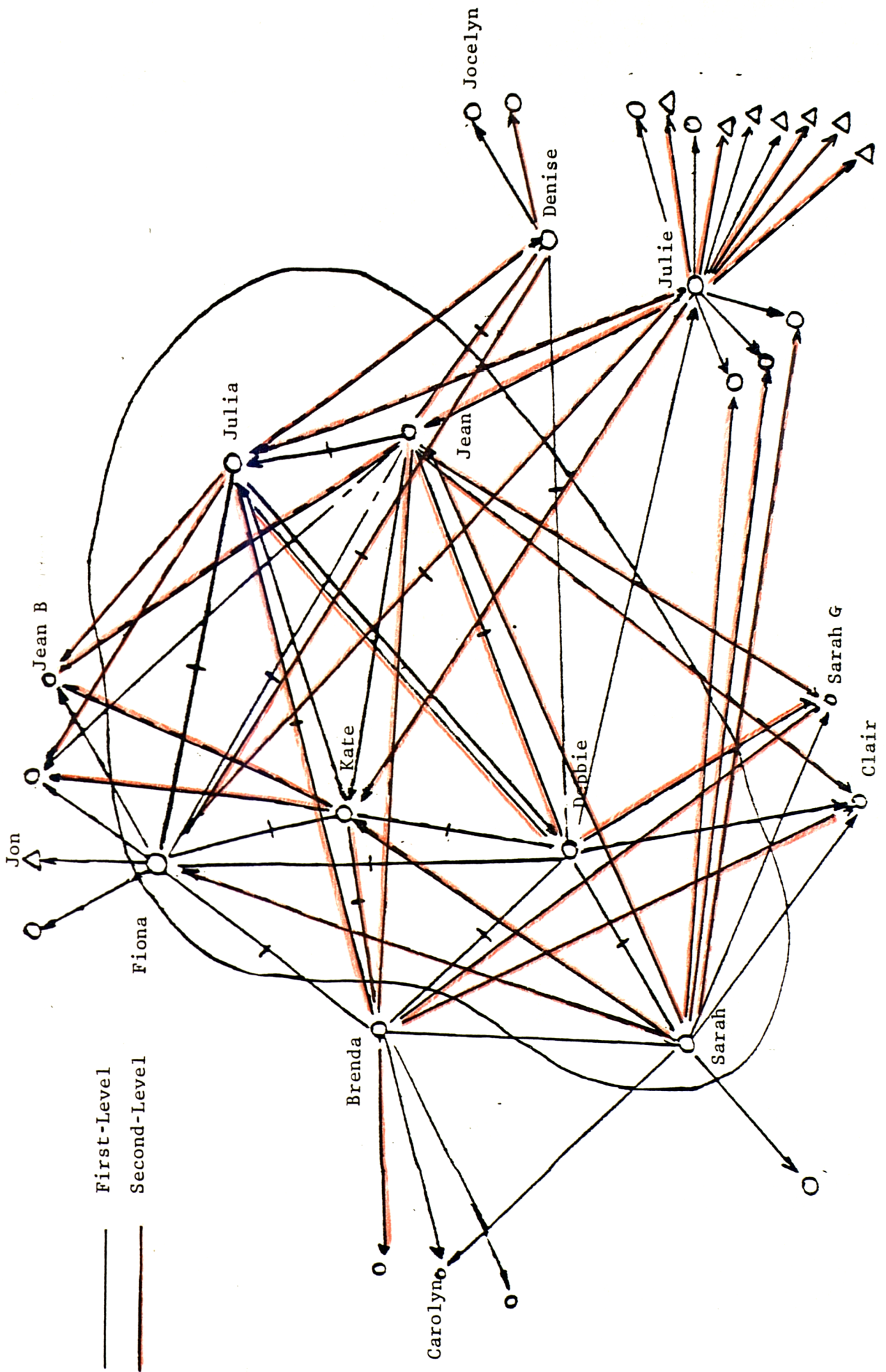
FIGURE 10   The King Henry friendship group

Jocelyn

Denise

Julie

Julia

Jean

Jean B

Sarah G

Kate

Debbie

Clair

Jon

Fiona

Brenda

Sarah

Carolyn

First-Level

Second-Level

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"She's out of ankle stocks but into brown tights."
- Julia. (laughs all round.) "Wearing things
that were in fashion 20 year ago .. she has a long
list of boyfriends ... she takes them home to see
her Dad."

Researcher - "What is meant by "molly?"

"Old fashioned - only applies to girls."

"I remember once when I went to the disco she had
got a kilt on, brown socks and ...." - Kate.

"Her brown cords."

"She wasn't really into heavy metal though - it
was when she was going out with Jocelyn." "I
haven't really had anything to do with Jocelyn." -
Kate.

"Joc with the hair!.... she had it straightened,
it goes straight across like that, and she has had
it black, dyed brown, blond, then its red; at the
moment its blond - I suppose you'd call it blond."

Jean and Kate live at Larkendale some 2 miles from King Henry

School and even further from where the rest of the group live.

Julie was absent from school for most of the sessions and when

she returned the group went to great lengths to ensure that she

did not join them indicating that they never saw her out of

school except at "the disco - we all go to that" on Fridays.

In relation to the length of time that members had known each

other, Jean and Kate confirmed that they met in Primary School

and Sarah and Debbie knew each other for 10 years after

starting Infant School. All the rest met and made friends at

Secondary School.

A number of boys featured in the friendship study, some of whom
were in their year at school.

The friendship sociogram presented was drawn to take into
account changes identified since the questionnaire study.
Sarah was added but Julie, Denise and Brenda, although left in
the sociogram have been drawn outside the immediate group. By
so doing, it is clear that there were less out-of-group
friendships with a considerable number of reciprocations,
especially when the leisure-time group sociogram is considered
(Figure 11).

Despite the group's insistence that Sarah was a member of the
group she maintained a close link with three of the girls -
Carol, Sarah and Claire who were, at the time of the
questionnaire, friends of Brenda. The leisure-time group
membership was clearly identified by total reciprocations
between group members.
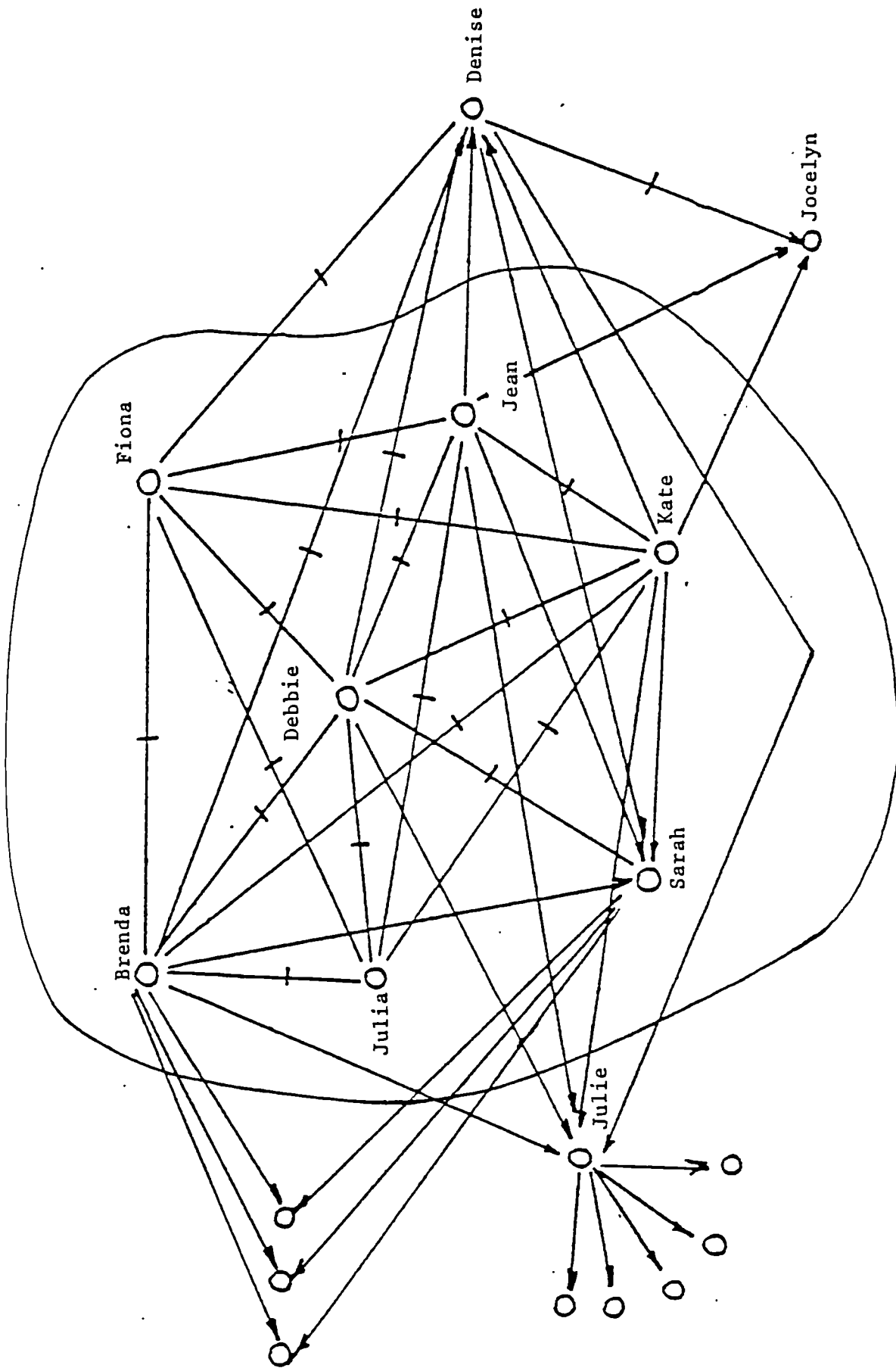
FIGURE 11　　King Henry leisure-time peer group

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Leisure time activities

Sunday

Morning - Jean, Kate, Sarah and Debbie all attended the Western International Market, but never together.

> "We don't go up together but see each other there."

Fiona stayed in bed.

> "I don't get up 'til dinner time on Sunday."

Afternoon - Sarah and Debbie went to the sports centre to watch and Jean went to her grandmother's and also did her homework.

Evening - Fiona saw her boyfriend Jon who had moved from another school recently - he should be in the fifth year but had been placed in the fourth year because:

> "He's behind."

The other members of the group finished homework, had baths and got ready for school.

Monday

In the evening Fiona saw Jon; Debbie saw her new boyfriend Mark - Sarah was with them.

Researcher - "What are these smiles, Sarah?"

> "I know her mind." - Debbie.

Julia stayed in to do homework, Jean worked at a pub, and Kate

did nothing.

Tuesday

This was keep-fit night attended by Debbie, Fiona, Julia, and sometimes Jean and Kate. This was a "girls'only" night and no boys were involved.

Wednesday

All except Sarah and Jean went to a disco or to the youth club. Jon attended the disco. Jean worked at the pub.

Thursday

This was also a disco night held at the lower school. Jon attended along with the rest of the group.

Friday

Christchurch held a disco on this night, but not everyone could go. Julia worked at the Wimpy and Fiona at a hairdressers where she shampooed and coloured hair, but went on to the disco afterwards.

Saturday

Nothing much happened on Saturday night. Julia worked at the Wimpy bar; Jean, Fiona and Kate at hairdressers (Kate at a different one from the other two), Sarah went shopping and later Fiona saw Jon.

Boys and courting patterns

At the time of the sessions two members of the group were

courting, Fiona for several months with Jon, and Debbie more
recently. They felt that boys were:

> "really nice on their own, but in a group... the
> mods are always fighting."

When a courting pattern started to develop with members of the
group it was Fiona who didn't have many boyfriends at first.

> "Every other week they had someone different ... I
> didn't have anyone. I didn't know anything about
> Jon so I kept saying "No" when he asked me to go
> out with him, but the first day I saw him I knew I
> wanted to go out with him."

When Fiona first started going out with Jon some unrest was
created in the group.

> "We have had arguments, but they don't last very
> long... we have had one this year ... can't even
> remember what it was about." - Fiona.

> "Fiona and Jean at first, and we all sort of
> joined in ... Kate tends to stick with Jean in an
> argument ... she sees more of Jean's side than she
> does of Fionas'. In that case I see more of
> Fiona's side than I did theirs... it started off
> in English over Jon." - Julia.

> "Jean knows more about it than I do ... I just
> found out about it from other people." - Fiona.

> He was always there every break-time, most
> evenings, we never got to see Fiona."

Here was a clear indication of how courting must fit in around
group life, rather than be a substitute to it in this group.

> "It just gets bad if they want to see their
> boyfriend and not come out with us anymore." -
> Julia.

"It's alright for one or two weeks, but if it goes
on and on as it was happening with me ..." -
Fiona.

"But now he sort of comes in the group more than
just go off with Fiona ... we all get on with him
now don't we? He has fitted in really well in
this school I reckon. He gets on well with
everyone ... there is a couple of people he
doesn't get on with."

"We did have a stage where they were getting fed
up with me because I was trying to be mature all
the time, as if I was older than anyone else ... I
think we muck around more than we used to." -
Fiona.

This developed into a brief consideration of how far they were

prepared to go with boys.

"Don't all look at me! ... you have to like them
don't you" - Fiona.

"I wouldn't go out with boys who were only after
one thing." -Fiona.

We have been out with older boys."

With regard to having sex at their age:

"There is nothing wrong with it. If you just did
it to get a kick out of it, then its not."

I asked whether it was the girl's responsibility or the boy's

...?

"No, its both ... I think one of them should at
least ...." - Jean.

A strong norm of the group was that members did not go around

telling each other about boyfriends.

"We keep it to ourselves"

- a taboo on this area of intimate disclosure.

School

Group members found a difference when they transferred from the lower school to the upper school at the end of the third year.

"You can get away with so much more up here ... homework-wise, they don't push you to get it in. If you don't hand it in they'll give you a couple of warnings - after that they put 0 down in their mark books."

On the whole the group was not particularly badly behaved in school, although:

"We have our moments." - Fiona.

As a fourth year group they were not together all of the time as they were taking different "O" level options. Kate and Julia took several lessons together. Kate was described as the instigator of trouble by getting a situation going and then sitting back and letting others take the blame. This was particularly true of Julia who got involved in arguments with teachers, initiated by Kate, and was often sent out of the room.

The recent geography field trip to Llandudno seemed to have been quite enjoyable, although in free time Fiona:

"Didn't do anything, I stayed in every night."

Debbie, on the other hand:

"Went to the pub."

Officially they weren't supposed to smoke on the field course
unless they had permission from parents, and certainly not in
their single bedrooms. Hair lacquer was used to suppress the
smell.

One of the male teachers said that he wanted to see Debbie
about smoking and she reported that she:

"Spent the whole day worrying."

All of the group smoked, some fairly heavily - up to ten a day
over the weekend, but fewer during the week. Smoking rules
were very strict in the school and could lead to suspension,
even if caught for the first time. They had seen films at
school on drinking, smoking and drugs, but as far as smoking
was concerned, this had not really affected their behaviour.

Debbie and Sarah intended to leave school after taking "O"
levels, and hoped to enrol for a children's nursing course at
the local technical college. Fiona intended to stay on at
school but Kate would be leaving and already had a job in
hairdressing.

Julia stated that:

"I'd like to be an air hostess, but I am not very
good at languages."

Jean also intended to stay on at school.

With regard to the school parents' evening, Debbie stated that:

> "I have an early night,"

so as not to be around when her parents returned. She stated: however, that:

> "My mum usually comes upstairs and tells me what
> they have said. She usually ends up by saying,
> "you should try a bit harder!""

Julia's parents didn't go to parents' evenings because they did not like the teachers.

Jean reported:

> "I am the only one who is taking physics - there's
> only five girls."

Parents

In commenting on parents, some consideration was also given to brothers and sisters.

Debbie got on well with her mother,

> "My mum's alright. I wish my dad would go ...
> My dad's a bit old fashioned, not old fashioned as
> such, he just doesn't see the modern way of things
> ... If my mum and two brothers are at home we get
> on fine, but when he gets in he makes my older
> brother ratty, and they don't get on well, that's
> when the arguments start ... He's a bit upper
> class, my dad ... he's an electrical engineer ...
> he went to boarding school and he expects a lot of
> us... When I was younger I only saw my dad every
> two or three weeks - he was abroad and that.
> That's why no-one in my family is close to him.

When my friends come around he shows a different
kind of personality. He's nice to my friends and
he shows off."

"I think he's nice." - Sarah.

Despite this, Debbie reported that her eighteen year old

brother was:

"Unemployed"

and   "a bit slow... We hate each other. He's not
grown up ... he's been in trouble with the
police.... he's been thieving things, nicking, he
got the blame for it. He's got to do community
work but he's got to go back to court."

She also had an eight year old brother.

"He can be quite trying at times. He's alright ..
at other times he can be annoying. He'll show off
and he'll call me names."

Julia was the youngest of a family of two sisters and three

brothers. Her oldest brother had left home when he was

eighteen or nineteen and was living with her "Nan".

"There was this big ruck over my Nan's and she
chucked him out and he came back home ... there
was a big ruck at home too and he got chucked and
he was living on his own, but now the people he's
got a room with ... they're evicting him. He's
going to move out."

In his last job he was doing something with sailing and had a

girlfriend and a little baby.

"Her mum and dad don't like him and they are going
to get a place together."

Julia's oldest sister was in America, her other sister was
pregnant and, at the time of the discussion, was waiting for
her army boyfriend to return from the Falklands. There were
also twin brothers, one was big and the other small.

> "They are always fighting - the big one's a tough
> guy, they end up hitting each other. The big one
> wants to join the army."

Julia is a catholic and attended church on Sundays.

Kate had a sister in the lower school who she described as:

> "Terrible." "She winds me up and I get into
> trouble with my mum ... She won't leave my things
> alone ... she doesn't ask and just uses my
> makeup."

Jean, had a young brother of eleven who was the same age as
Fiona's brother. They met recently and were both about to
join the lower school in September. Jean and Fiona hoped that
they would get on.

Jean stated that:

> "I don't get on with him - we hate each other ...
> at one time he didn't hit me, now he hits me and
> it hurts!"

Fiona reported that:

> "I never used to get on with him but he seems to
> have grown up just lately.... his whole sort of
> approach to the way he is, has changed - he's much
> more grown up ... I think the gap in age is far
> too large anyway."

Fiona, during the previous months had had a really traumatic

experience with her parents. She stated that her relationship

with parents was:

> "Awful." "At the moment I get on alright but I
> went through a stage earlier this year when I
> first started going out with Jon ... all I could
> talk about was Jon... it got so bad my dad
> chucked me out in the end. I went home and they
> were really getting on to me saying that they were
> going to put me on probation and that, and I took
> some tablets in the end. After I had done that I
> realised how stupid I'd been ... I got in with the
> wrong group as well ... getting myself a
> reputation."

After taking the pills, Fiona turned to Jean and their two

mothers agreed that she should stay 'round Jean's house that

night.

I asked Fiona whether the pills could have done some damage:

> "They sent me to sleep - they were sleeping
> tablets."

You weren't intending ...? - Researcher

> "Yes, I was."

Jean joined in.

> "I didn't realise what she had done...that's what
> friends are for. We rang her mum up and her mum
> and my mum agreed that if she stayed around my
> house that night she might have a different view
> the next morning."

> "Jean's mum talked to me ... I think it helped ...
> I was trying to grow up too fast." - Fiona.

Fiona added that:

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"Certain people knew about my trouble in school,
but the group kept it to themselves. They helped
by not talking about it ... My mum was going to
tell the school welfare department .... I still
don't get on so well with my mum. I get on
better with my dad. They kept asking why I did
it. I don't know. My mum hits me quite a bit."

General comments about parents included:

"My dad's always got to criticise. When I bring
a friend back he's always got something to say
about them."

"I don't get on with my mum."

"I get on better with my mum than I do with my
dad."

"I think I get on better with my dad, really."

"My dad's always on about what time I should come
in at night. He'll say, you're not going out.
He clamps down on a time, but he won't keep me in
for a week or a fortnight."

"I was going to be late, I tried to 'phone up but
my mum was on the 'phone. She was still on the
'phone when I got in."

HSPQ AND SELF-ESTEEM RELATED TO GROUP BEHAVIOUR

Julia and Debbie tended to contribute more to the sessions than

the others, and this was reflected in their scores of 9 and 10

respectively on Factor A. Sarah's score of 7 was matched by 4

on Factor H, tending to the shy end of the continuum. This

was consistent with her low level of contribution in the group.

FACTOR	Lo SCORE	SCORE Sten										Hi SCORE
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED									X		WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER					X						ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY							X				ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF- SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM   ....
                                40

TABLE 77   Debbie

FACTOR	Lo SCORE	SCORE Sten										Hi SCORE
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED							X				WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER								X			ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY							X				ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF- SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM   ....
                              39

TABLE 78 Fiona

		SCORE Sten										
FACTOR	Lo SCORE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hi SCORE
A	RESERVED							X				WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER									X		ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY									X		ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF-SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM   42

TABLE 79   Brenda

		SCORE Sten										
FACTOR	Lo SCORE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hi SCORE
A	RESERVED									X		WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER				X							ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY					X						ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT			X								SELF-SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM   35

TABLE 80   Julia

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FACTOR	Lo SCORE	1	2	3	SCORE Sten 4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hi SCORE
A	RESERVED							X				WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER		X									ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY				X							ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF-SUFFICIENT

		39
SELF-ESTEEM		....

TABLE 81   Sarah

FACTOR	Lo SCORE	1	2	3	SCORE Sten 4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hi SCORE
A	RESERVED						X					WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER		X									ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY			X								ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF-SUFFICIENT

		37
SELF-ESTEEM		....

TABLE 82   Jean

FACTOR	Lo SCORE	SCORE Sten										Hi SCORE
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A	RESERVED							X				WARMHEARTED
F	SOBER			X								ENTHUSIASTIC
H	SHY						X					ADVENTUROUS
Q2	SOCIABLY GROUP DEPENDENT				X							SELF- SUFFICIENT

SELF-ESTEEM   35
....

TABLE 83   Kate

Members of the group described Debbie as a person who couldn't

keep still, was outgoing and enjoyed life but took things as

they come.   At times she was stupid but could achieve a lot

when she wanted to (she didn't do as well in school as she

could).   Julia was a good laugh, and quite outspoken.   She

often answered teachers back and some liked her for that.   She

too was described as outgoing by group members, but she agreed

that she could:

> "say a bit too much at times and also be
> sarcastic.   I get moody over different things to
> Jean."

On Factor F the sober-enthusistic continuum, Fiona was the most

enthusiastic with a score of 8 which was perhaps reflected in

the influence she had on the group.

> "If anyone's being serious, it's Fiona. She's
> grown-up. She calms the group down if we are
> going over the top too much. If she says she'll
> do something, she'll do it. She is trustworthy
> and honest."

The lowest score on this Factor was 2, for Sarah, "sober,

taciturn and serious". She was described by the group as:

> "Quiet, shy, always giggles and not very outgoing
> - gets into moods. If someone's having a go at
> her, she might say the odd word back but she
> mainly takes it, whereas others wouldn't."

As already mentioned Sarah also scored lowest in Factor H, with

Debbie and Fiona scoring 8 and 7 respectively - "adventurous,

thick skinned, socially bold." These related strongly to the

views expressed by group members.

On factor Q2 all members scored around the mean with the

exception of Debbie and Kate who scored 2 and 3 respectively.

These were the most sociably group-dependent of the members.

On self-esteem, Debbie scored 40, Fiona and Sarah 39, with Jean

at 37 and Kate and Julia at 35. The score for Sarah was, in

the light of the evidence, somewhat surprising.

Overall, members felt that Kate had been particularly quiet in

the sessions, but that she could be carefree, quite giggly and

"a laugh". On the other hand, if she came to school in a

mood:

> "She's got it all day...she tends to whisper to
> Jean when she's in a mood...She likes annoying
> another people but she hates it when we annoy
> her...She'll kill us when we get out of here!"

Jean, Kate's "most important first-level friend" was described as:

> "Easy-going, trustworthy, gets in a temper and when angry, swears a lot."

and particularly determined:

> "She knows what she wants to do and sets out to do it - ambitious.   Thinks a lot of herself."

> "I am looking forward to getting married and having children, but I want a career first. I don't want kids until I'm 24 or 25." -Jean.

Further behaviour issues

It became very clear that the group took a very critical view of people who were not in their set and particularly girls with whom they had been friends in the past.

Referring to Jean they stated:

> "If she's going out with someone, she makes sure everyone knows... its her legs - coke cans and tree trunks. We don't make up the names we just stir it. It's one of our hobbies. We have got to put one in." - Kate.

> "We haven't got a bad reputation, we are not known for going around causing trouble. It's important to be true to each other ... it's no good talking behind each others backs, it always gets back ...it doesn't last very long ... we can be very bitchy to each other ....you really can go...I can be really nasty and not mean it ... this lot knows not to take much notice of me, other people do ... we stick together because we know each other too well." - Julia

> "We pick up all the strays ... Brenda, she was

there for a couple of weeks (after breaking with
Sarah). It was alright for a couple of weeks but
then we couldn't stick her anymore ... maybe its
us, but they never seem to fit in with us." -
Julia.

"You get cross with groups who stand and look at
you .... she is short, that Debbie, got black hair
and a sister in the third year ... that's Angela
... I can't stand her."

"If someone started on me, I would have a good go
back at her." - Debbie.

"Do you remember Laura Green? .. Yeah ... you hit
her in the head ... she was the one with the
mouth. She started to be mouthy ... she said go
on hit me, so Jean did." -' Debbie

Jean then recalled an incident where she hit a woman on a bus.

"Kate and I were coming home by the 140 bus. We
were by the traffic lights on the Bath Road by the
Police Station. Kate and I were just sitting
there and we turned round and there was this lady.
She was about 30... she was just staring at me ...
I had a bit of a mess around my neck (a love
bite). I said to Kate, she is staring at me. Kate
turned round and she gave Kate a dirty look.
Anyway, Kate and I got up. Kate got off the bus
first, and so Kate went past ... she kicked her."

Intervention by Kate;

"No, she kicked you, she just gave me a dirty
look."

"No, she said ....she stuck her foot out. Next
time we will bring a photo so that you won't have
to stare. When I walked by she kicked me. I
said, "you kick me again ...""

Intervention, this time by Fiona:

"And a bit more, Jean"

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"She said, "Don't you swear at my baby" I said,"I
wasn't swearing at your baby, I was swearing at
you!" She threw her baby down and came up and she
hit me in the face for no reason. I hit her
around the head or around the face ... I hadn't
done anything at all. She called me a few names
like "slag" and "whore" ... all the boys on the
bus were shouting "Come on Jean." The bus
conductor was just saying "Sit down, sit down.""

Conclusions

In the conclusion to this Chapter a comparison is made between

the two leisure-time peer groups presented. Before doing this,

however, it is appropriate to state that whilst the groups were

randomly selected from those peer groups identified in the

sample as a whole, only two were used in this qualitative

research. Whereas they may be typical, it may not be

appropriate to view them as representative of the total

spectrum of peer groups of this age.

Despite this, it may be possible to make some preliminary

generalisations from these two leisure-time peer groups to

produce a sociological theory of leisure-time peer groups and

friendship.

In terms of size, the boys' group had been stable since they

joined the secondary school. It had seven members and the

girls group, which was subject to changes in membership, had

six at the time of the study. These constituted the core

membership of the girl's group, although certain "hangers on"

became members for short periods of time. In terms of

friendship, both groups were marked by a high level of

reciprocation but with certain individuals who were friends, but were not shared with other group members.

The boys indicated that they were "casuals" which they described as a kind of "mod". Their activities and general behaviour pattern did not suggest that they were strongly involved in youth cultural activities. The girls did not identify themselves with any particular "fad" but were fashion conscious. Both groups went to youth clubs and were clearly not deterred or alienated from attending school clubs and discos.

The sociogram for the girls' group was modified to take account of changes which had occurred since the questionnaire study was undertaken. Both the leisure-time peer group sociograms indicated almost total reciprocation between members although in the case of Sarah, in the girls' group, there still remained doubts as to whether she was a full member of that group. She spent leisure-time with other friends when she was not with Debbie.

Both groups had sub-divisions based largely on local neighbourhood groupings but this did not prevent members from seeing each other at certain times of the week. Besides school, discos represented a total group activity for both groups, although the Christchurch disco held on Friday, attended by the girls' group, was affected by work patterns since Julia was unable to attend and Fiona arrived late after

completing her part-time job in a hairdressers.

These geographical patterns affecting the groups' friendship provides some initial insight into what sociologist refer to as "territorality". Perhaps related to social competence or to the territory of other groups, it seems to be quite important in understanding the boundaries of leisure activity and, as has been shown here, peer group influences. The territories seem to differ not only by age, but also by individual, as shown in the leisure time activities presented in the previous chapter .

The boys met for sporting activities and their football was substituted by keepfit for most of the girls. Trips to football matches were undertaken by the boys and Western International market by the girls.

Courting had been undertaken by individuals from both groups at various times and these had, in the main, been brief encounters. Fiona, who stated that she first started courting sometime after other group members, brought her boyfriend Jon into the group for such activities as the discos. At first this was resented by the other members but now he was fully accepted, although they did not regard him as a member of the leisure-time peer group as such. Whereas the girls tended to go out with boys of similar age there were group pressures on the boys not to go out with girls who were very much younger than themselves. They stated that it was acceptable for girls to go out with boys older than themselves.

Most of the evidence presented, perhaps marked by the differing levels of maturity between boys and girls at age 15, suggested that the girls were more into "physical sex" than the boys and were fully aware of the need to take precautions. They argued that it was the responsibility of both the boy and the girl. They were not in favour of casual sex.

In terms of misbehaviour all the incidents quoted ocurred in the company of at least one other person. There appeared to be a greater degree of swearing in the girls' group, and they also smoked fairly heavily.

Relationships with parents varied considerably. Although David's mother left his father when he was very young he believed he got a "worse deal" from his stepfather than he would have from his real father. The girls tended to highlight problems with both parents and brothers and sisters, more frequently than the boys. Fiona's vivid description of her problems earlier in the year which led to attempted suicide, and the fact that her mother still hit her, suggested that for some the "storm and stress" of adolescence is very much in evidence.

Motivation towards school and school work was marked to some extent by whether the individual was intending to stay on to take 'A' levels or leave at the end of the 5th year having taken CSEs and 'O' levels. It was clear that aspirations were, to a degree, governed by gender as was the type of work they hoped to do.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REFERENCE

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PART FOUR

"The fluidity of the adolescent's self-image, his changing aims
and aspirations, his sex drives, his unstable powers of
repression, his struggle to readapt his childhood standards of
right and wrong to the needs of maturity bring into sharp focus
every conflict, past and present, that he has failed to solve.
The protective coloring of the personality is stripped off, and
the deeper emotional currents are laid bare."

Ackerman, The Psychodynamics of family life

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

An attempt has been made in this thesis to examine adolescence with particular reference to the importance of the peer group and friendship. The purpose has been to increase existing knowledge and to test, in relation the British situation, the validity of reliance on overseas research, especially that emanating from the United States.

Adolescence has been shown to be a period of transition between childhood and adulthood. In less developed societies this has been marked by a simple transition or "rites de passage". In modern urban-industrial societies the adolescent period has lengthened as a consequence of social-structural factors such as schooling, increased leisure and affluence and the associated and complex division of labour. Over the last 100-150 years the period steadily lengthened due to these social-structural factors and has resulted in a cultural non-specificity giving rise to a kind of anomie as social controls have been relaxed.

This gives the adolescent greater freedom to engage in leisure-time activities away from the home and out of the immediate influence of parents. However, parents, teachers and youth workers still exert a considerable influence on the young person's behaviour and social patterning. Since young people,

in compulsory education, spend upwards of seven hours each weekday in school, its influence in loco parentis, is considerable and influential.

However, both parents may work and whilst this has generally increased family affluence, it has also increased the leisure-time of young people in non-adult controlled environments. It has been shown, both in terms of the theories associated with the peer group and in the evidence cited in this thesis, that peer association is greatly valued by the adolescent.

Cultural non-specificity may give rise to strains in the relationship between a young person and his/her parents. However, both parties are adjusting to the demands of modern society. For the young there is a release from the dependency of childhood - but with the lack of either clear goals or a distinct boundary between adolescence and adulthood. Parents cannot fully transpose their own childhood experiences with their parents, to the relationship they have with their own teenagers.

Whilst much research has been undertaken into the influence of parents, teachers and peers on a young person's development the research presented in this thesis is confined to peer and friendship relationships, an area which is still under-researched in sociology.

In order to reduce the reliance on overseas research studies of

adolescence, it has been found necessary to organise the research programme to provide a data base in order to increase our knowledge regarding the peer group and friendship. This required the development of a manageable research methodology for examining friendship and the peer group at some depth. To achieve this, a macro quantitative programme was organised and undertaken in five comprehensive secondary schools in Greater London. This was supplemented by a more intensive qualitative study of two leisure-time peer groups, using group discussion techniques.

The study has concentrated on the last three years of compulsory schooling, corresponding to the third, fourth and fifth years and covering early and mid-adolescence. By undertaking the research in comprehensive schools it has been possible to examine school and leisure-time influences on friendship for a relatively large sample of adolescents - 371 in total.

As a preliminary to the preparation of the research design a major literature review, a pilot study on friendship and the development of a self-esteem inventory, were undertaken.

The research overall concentrated on two main themes - the peer group and friendship. The findings from both the quantitative and qualitative research are discussed here in detail.

The peer group

In this century, and covering a span of three generations, the end of compulsory schooling has advanced from 12 years to 16 years during a time of rapid social change. As the period of transition between childhood and adulthood has lengthened, so the significance of the peer group has increased. The three facets, home and parents; school; and leisure which surround most adolescents have provided the context for the development of the intimate primary group we call the peer group. It is characterised by permissiveness and what Erikson described as "provocative playfulness" marking the delay, albeit an imposed one, prior to the achievement of adult status.

The ethnographic studies, in particular, cited in Chapter One clearly emphasised the scope for extreme forms of deviant peer group behaviour. The peer group provides a separate and private existence for the young people involved which is a "laboratory" for exploring a whole range of behaviours, often in opposition to the values held by adults.

In the General Introduction to this Thesis the following arguments were proposed in relation to the peer group and friendship patterns of young people in the 3rd, 4th and 5th years of secondary school:

1. **General issues**

    a) The peer group and adolescent friendship can be researched in a systematic way.

b) It is appropriate to ·distinguish between young people's peer groups as essentially leisure-time small groups, and friendship in terms of a network of relationships.

2. In relation to the peer group specifically

c) The leisure-time peer group (and the friendship network) is predominantly uni-sex.

d) Less than 70% of the young people belong to a leisure-time peer group.

e) It is possible to identify certain deviant behaviours undertaken by young people which adults would disapprove.

3. On friendship

f) Young people's friendship network is larger than their leisure-time peer group.

g) Friendship is important to young people and their most important friendship is persistent over time.

h) It is possible to identify young people's likes and dislikes concerning their most important first-level friend.

i) There are three contexts in which young people's friendship operates:

- school only
- school and leisure
- leisure only (some friends attend other schools due to catchment area overlap, or have left school).

j) Educational institutions in general, and the secondary schools, in particular, are the most powerful contexts in which young people make friends.

k) Self-esteem and certain personality factors (measured using the Junior and Senior High School Personality Questionnaire) are powerful indicators of friendship repertoires.

l) Social class differences do not figure in any major way to distinguish friendship characteristics and the peer group.

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m) Friendship and peer group membership patterns
do not seem to be significantly affected by
ethnic origin, although self-esteem scores
vary.

In relation to the evidence collected in the study, each of
these propositions is carefully examined below:

1. General Issues

a) The peer group and adolescent friendship can
be researched in a systematic way.

The evidence provided in Part One shows a distinct tendency for
social scientists to examine the adolescent peer group and
friendship in terms of isolated factors or traits. In this
research I have attempted to broaden the base of the research
and provide a coherent and systematic approach to facilitate
new insights and knowledge concerning the peer group and
friendship. A macro *quantitative and micro qualitative*
approach were used. The research schema followed this
sequence:

1 Literature review and identification of
significant features of existing research on
the peer group and friendship.

2 Development of a research approach and
research instrumentation.

3 A systematic programme of research at both
quantitative and qualitative levels.

4 Tentative establishment of general
conclusions based on evidence accrued as a
result of the research.

I believe these objectives have been achieved.

b) It is appropriate to distinguish between
young people's peer groups as essentially
leisure-time small groups and friendship, in
terms of a network of relationships.

The evidence provided by the research clearly suggests that many young people who are friends see each other only at school, some are seen at school and in leisure-time and a few in leisure-time only. These contexts, school, school+ leisure and leisure only account for the **friendship network** - it is not a group as such, rather a set of friendships and contexts of a set of particular individuals.

The qualitative research provided some interesting examples of friendship networks and leisure-time peer groups as illustrated below.

School+leisure

School
only

first-level
second-level
Leisure only

Mean males   9.9
Mean females 10.3
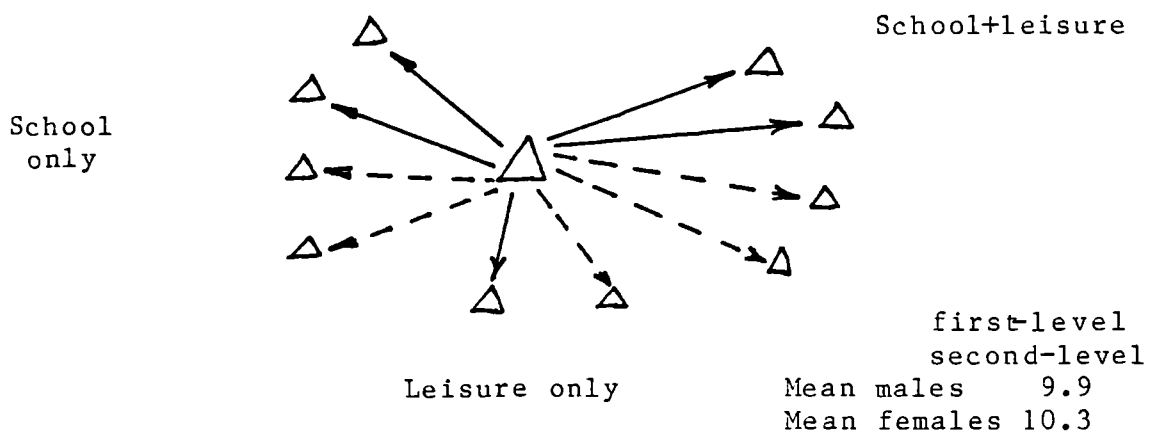
Figure 12   Typical friendship network based on means for
total research sample

0 female
male
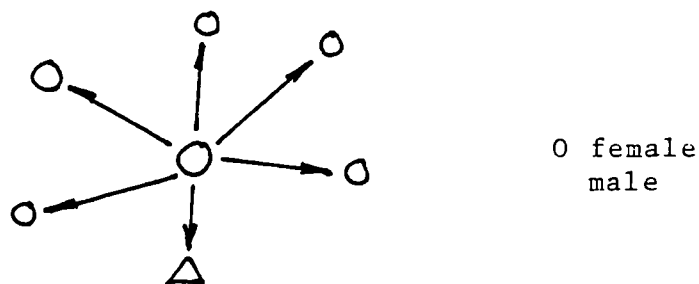
Figure 13
Leisure-time peer group based on
sample mean

Mean 5.5   s.d. 2.37
(6.6 including subject)
N = 239

This appears to be a major finding of the research. Previous research has tended to take the friendship group and the peer group as synonymous. This is clearly not the case, from the evidence presented here. It is for this reason that the term "friendship network" has been used.

In order to illustrate this distinction further, a sample of 18 young people were selected using random numbers generated by the computer in order to provide a 1:20 sampling. Figure 14 provides the key to the presentation of the friendship networks which are presented for the 18 subjects Figures 15 to 17.

What can be inferred from the Figures?

No. 171, an Asian 3rd year girl, is the only member of the sample who has no leisure-time friends.

Several indicate that they do not go around with a group in their leisure-time Numbers 119, 171, 115, 173, 88, 332, 24 and 166. Of the remainder, each stated that they belonged to a leisure-time group and it will be seen that there are friends in this category that are either school+leisure or leisure only. (See Numbers 40 and 75 for the contrast, the former having 1 first-level and 6 second-level friends, exclusively leisure-only. On the other hand Number 75 has 3 first-level and 3 second-level, all school+leisure friends.)

These Figures clearly show the distinction between the two contexts - school and leisure. The micro research presented in Chapter Seven illustrated, in the case of the boys' group

FRIENDS WITHIN
MEMBERS OF LEISURE-TIME
PEER GROUP

second-level
school only
friend

first-level
school & leisure
friend

SCHOOL
FRIENDS

first-level
leisure only
friend

first-level
school only
friend

LEISURE
FRIENDS

second-level
school & leisure
friend

second-level
leisure only
friend
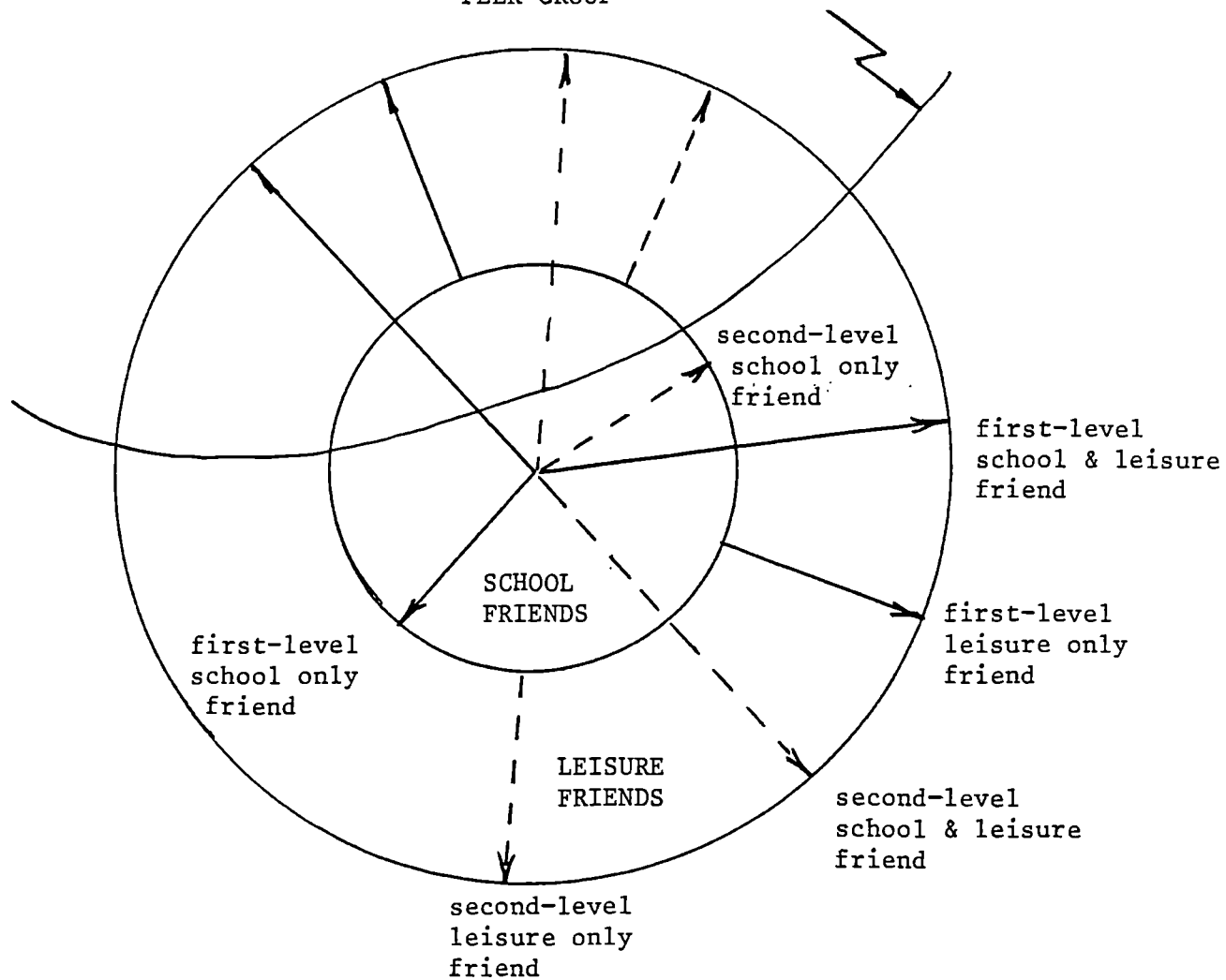
FIGURE 14.   KEY TO PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP STYLES

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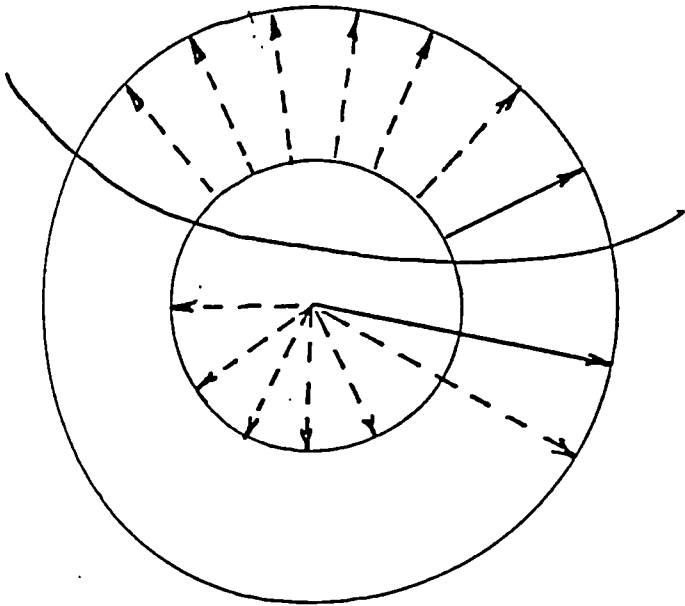
Case No. 40. 3rd year girl King Henry
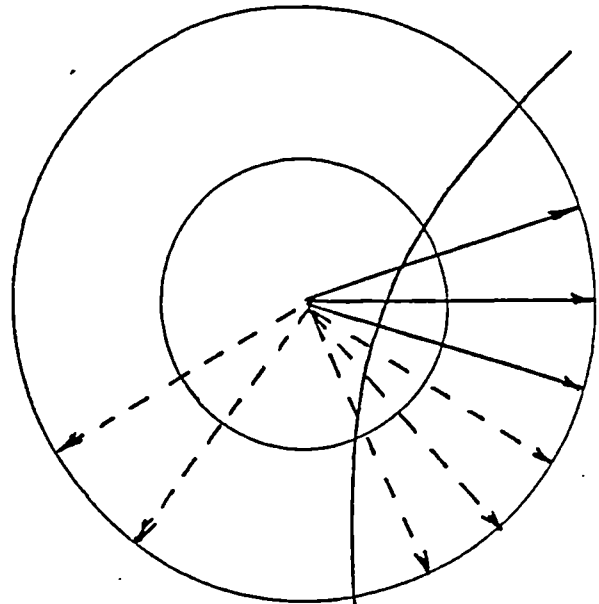
Case No. 75 4th year girl King Henry
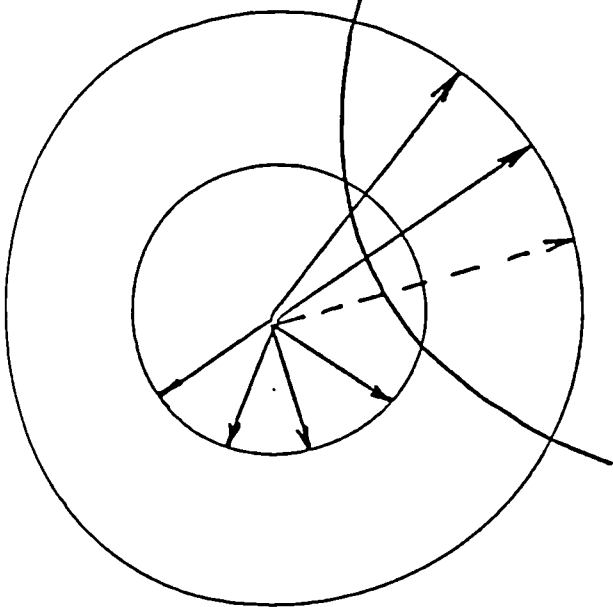
Case No. 91 3rd year boy Old Town
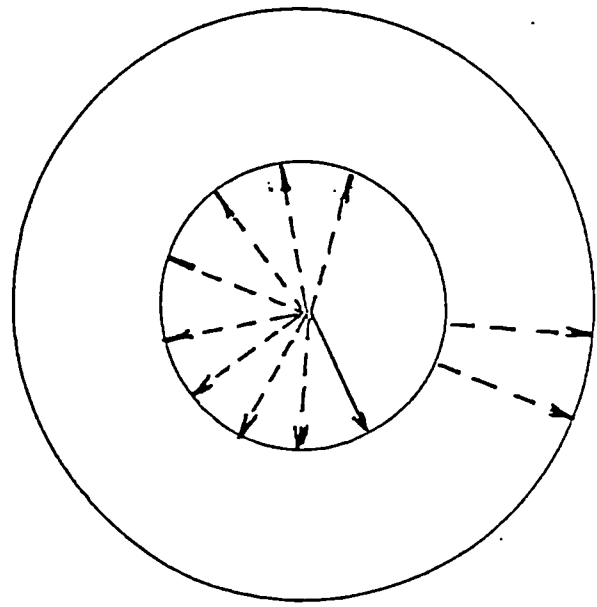
Case No. 119 5th year boy (Asian) Ash Grove
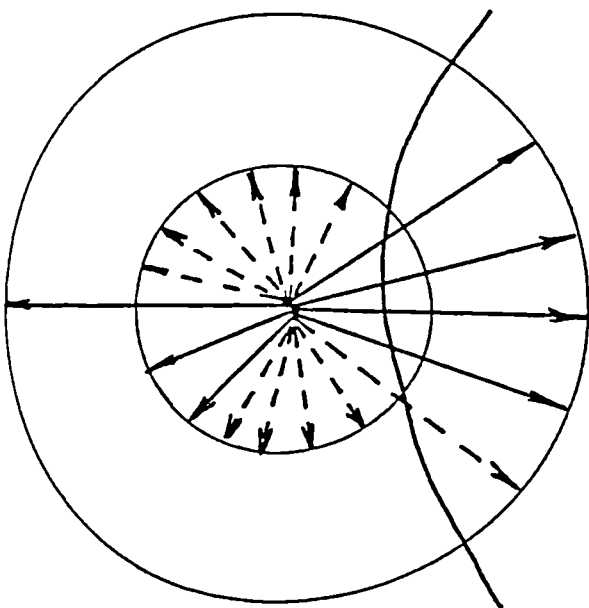
Case No. 395 4th year girl Roman Way
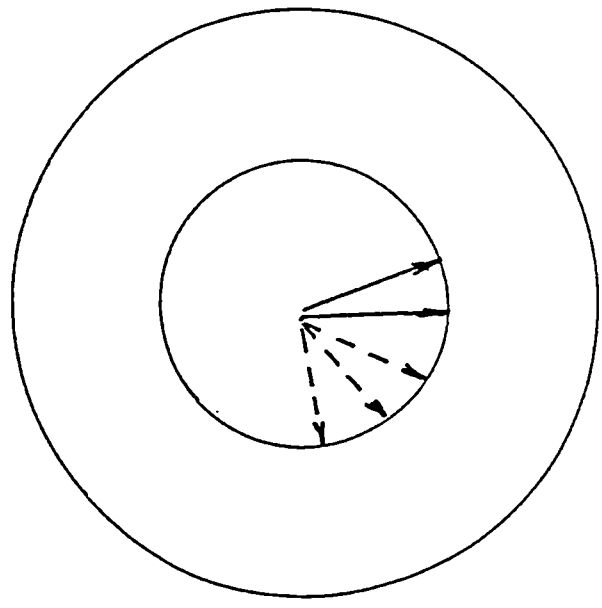
Case No. 171 3rd year girl (Asian) The Park

FIGURE 15

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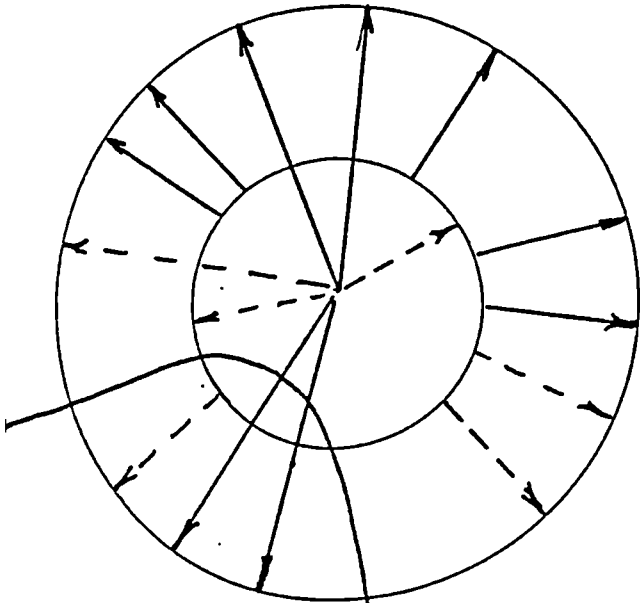
Case No. 16 5th year girl King Henry
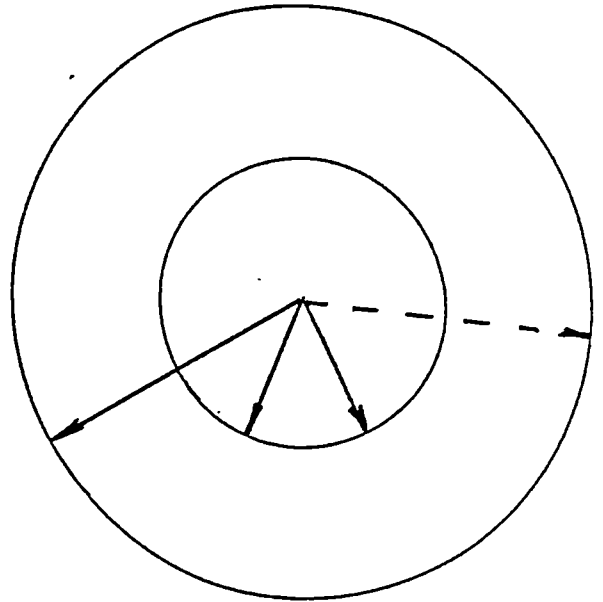
Case No. 115 5th year girl Ash Grove
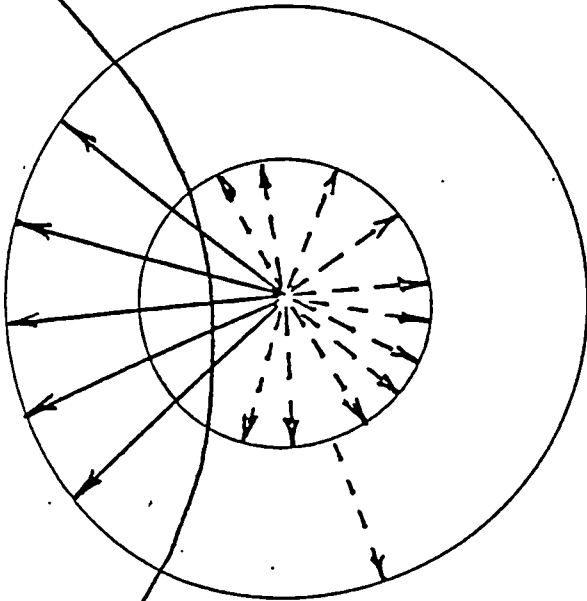
Case No. 147 5th year boy (Caribbean)
                The Park
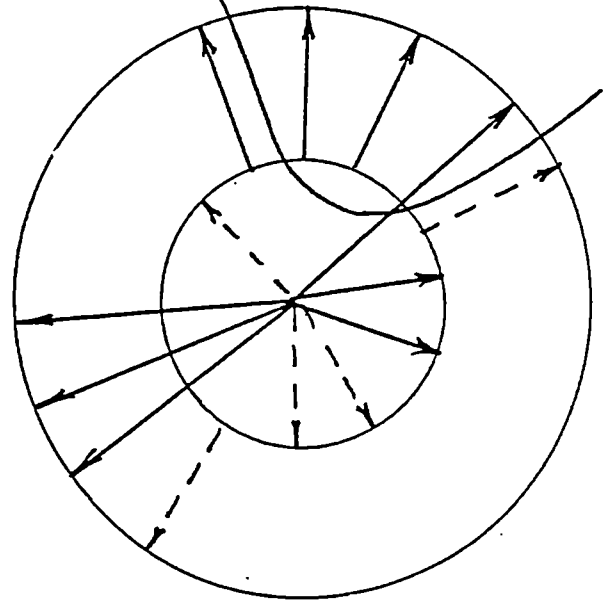
Case No. 47 3rd year boy (Asian) King Henry
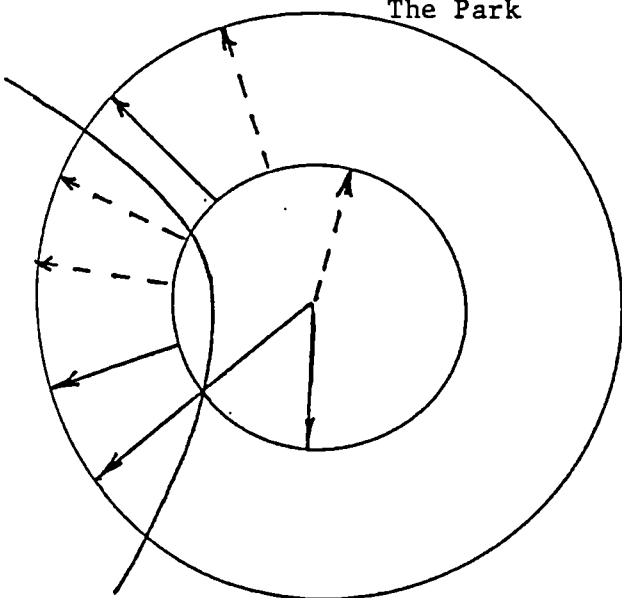
Case No. 212 4th year girl Ash Grove
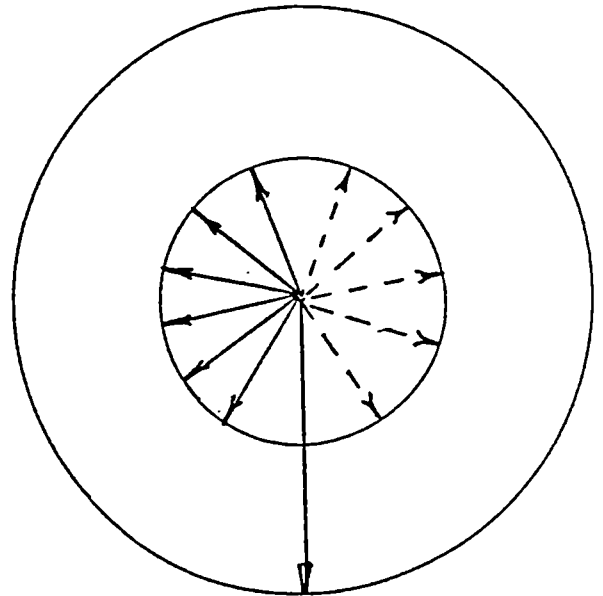
Case No. 173 5th year boy The Park

FIGURE 16
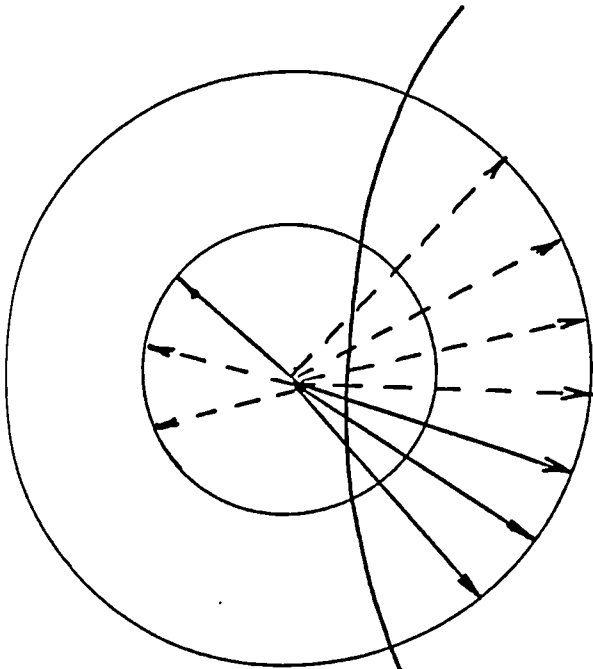
Case No. 215   3rd year boy Ash Grove
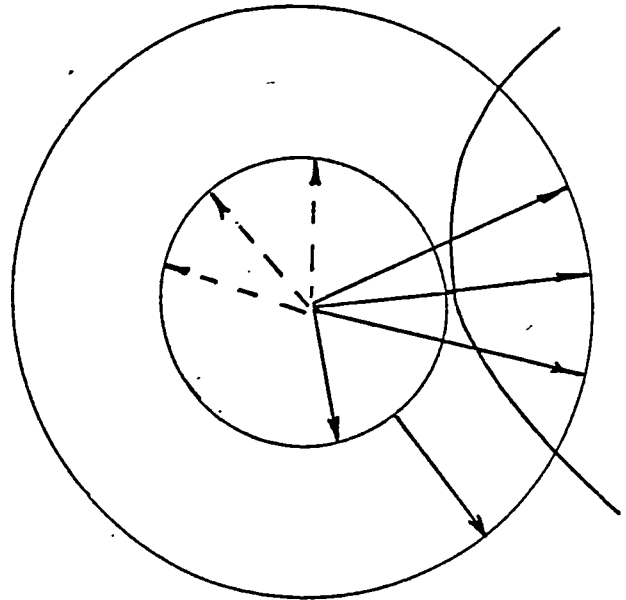
Case No. 374   4th year girl Roman Way
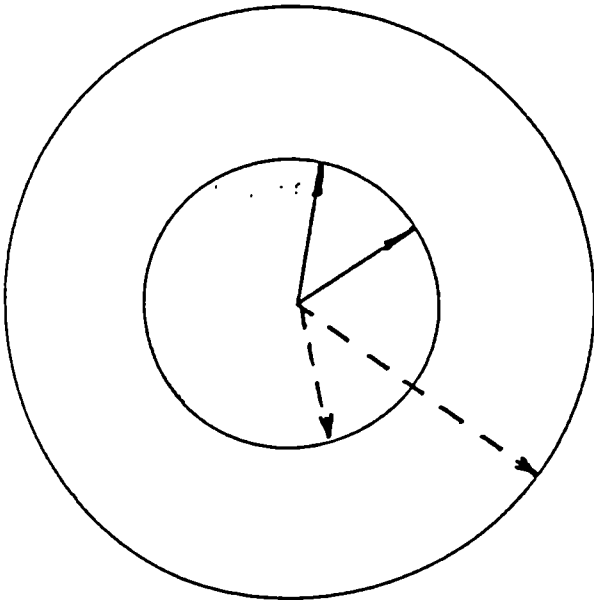
Case No. 88   4th year girl King Henry
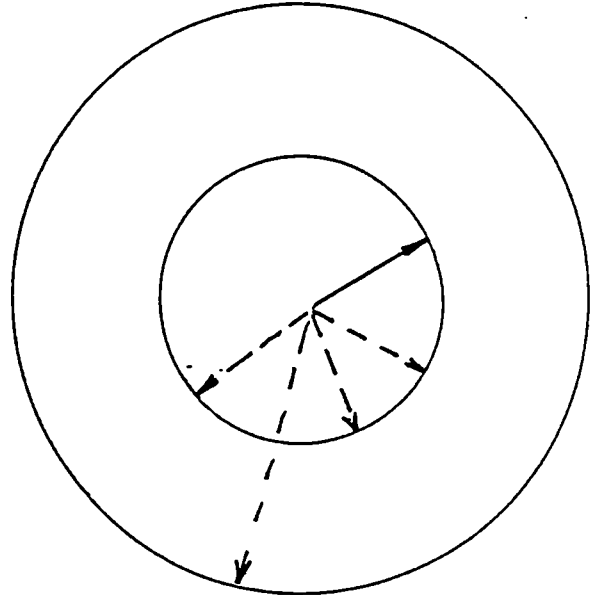
Case No. 332   3rd year boy (Asian) Roman Way
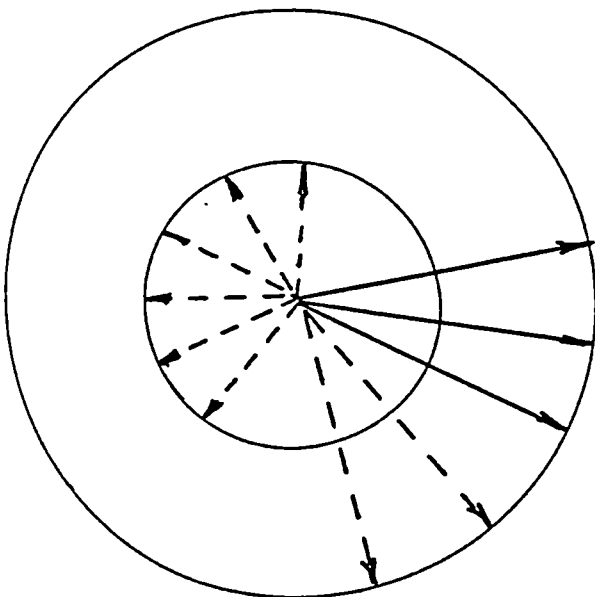
Case No. 24   3rd year girl King Henry
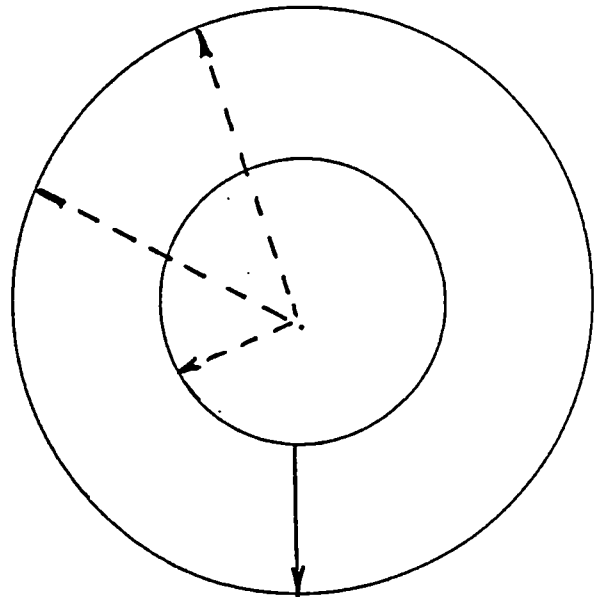
Case No. 166   3rd year boy (Asian) The Park

FIGURE 17

especially, the geographical effect of friendship patterns brought about by the large catchment area of the Old Town comprehensive school. Some friends were difficult to see in leisure-time because they lived several miles away, a fact likely to be generalisable to the other schools.

Thus, the distinction has been made between the friendship network which is the total friendship pattern of a particular individual and the specific contexts of school, leisure and the overlap between the two. By inference, the network of friends does not exist as a dynamic entity and it is possible to speculate that an immediacy of availabilty of leisure-time friends is necessary for the leisure-time peer group. Geographical factors or "territorality" featured prominently here.

Several of this sample who stated that they did not go around with a group in their leisure-time, had friends in this context. (See Nos. 119, 115, 24 and 66. Numbers 88, 173 and 362 had just one friend who they saw in their leisure-time and these were exclusively school+leisure friends.)

2. **In relation to the peer group specifically:**

   c)   The leisure-time peer group (and the friendship network) is predominantly uni-sex.

The evidence provided in the leisure-time peer group research reveals the following mean number of individuals mentioned:

Mean size of the group   =   5.5 (6.5 including subject)
Males naming males   =   4.7
Males naming females   =   0.5
Females naming females   =   3.9

Females naming males   =   1.·9

Clearly many of the leisure-time peer groups are uni-sex but some female groups may comprise up to 50% males in this age range. However, there is no significant correlation between sex and being a member of a leisure-time peer group. Thus, the assertion holds for males, but not for females. In the case of friendship networks, the evidence is that 79% of friends named at the first-level, and 74% at the second-level, are of the same sex as the respondents, which confirms the proposition. The Old Town and the King Henry School groups, used in the qualitative research *were both uni-sex.*

> d) *Less than 70% of the young people belong to*
>   a leisure-time peer group.

This evidence is somewhat surprising - 67% of the sample indicate that they are a member of a leisure-time peer group. Research has emphasised the universal existence of the adolescent peer group in modern societies; a consequence of the changing social conditions which have brought about the "lengthening" of the period of adolescence. Indeed, not to belong to such a group might be perceived as evidence of some degree of maladjustment. The evidence presented here suggest that the absence of friendship in adolescence may be a cause for concern, even when there are exclusively school only friends named.

More girls belong to a leisure-time peer group than boys, especially in the fifth year, (67% and 58% respectively).

There is some variation in the three school years -

	3rd	4th	5th
Male:	66.0%	71.4%	58.1%
Female:	65.3%	75.0%	66.7%

Membership of a leisure-time peer group by school year

The greatest involvement in peer group activity occurs in the 4th year.

An attempt was made to explain the changes in membership in the different school years. However, the issue cannot be resolved directly from the evidence available. There is a surprising drop in the overall number of friends in the fourth year corresponding to the increase in peer group membership, but there is an increase of first-level friends in that year. This may suggest that increased peer activity reduces the number of friends in the friendship network and that the drop in the fifth year can be attributed to examination pressures from both school and home. More research is clearly need here.

What can be inferred from the position of those young people (one third of the sample) who do not belong to leisure-time peer groups? A perusal of the questionnaire data does not suggest that young people who do not belong to a leisure-time peer group fail to engage in activities with a friend or friends. This is confirmed in the evidence presented in relation to most important first-level friends and in the

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Figures 15 - 17 above. These friends are seen in leisure-time and this seems to be a pre-condition of friendship at this level. They undertake activities together, some of which may be more appropriate in dyads - computers, shopping and courting etc.

This perhaps suggests the need for more research to examine the significance of the "paired" relationship, in the leisure-time patterns of those who do not belong to a leisure-time peer group. Clearly, the socialising effects of relationships other than those in the leisure-time peer group may be of considerable consequence during the period of youth. Might it be that we have been too influenced by American-based group and gang studies and have failed to account adequately for cultural differences?

e) It is possible to identify certain deviant
    behaviours undertaken by young people which
    adults would disapprove?

52% of the young people responded in the affirmative to the question "Do you do things that adults would disapprove?"

The rank ordering of the first four items gives:

1. Drinking, pubs, getting drunk/merry
    going places not old enough   11.2%

2. Swearing   10.7%

3. Smoking   9.7%

4. Chasing girls, staying in girl's room
    overnight, having sex   7.7%

Other items included staying out late, various pranks, watching blue films and a number of illegal activities including vandalism, drugs, stealing, driving cars and motorcycles and riding on trains without a ticket. All were under the legal age for sex. The full list, presented in Table 62, confirms that it is possible to identify deviant behaviours. Drinking, swearing and smoking accounted for 32% of all the activities mentioned. Clearly there are methodological difficulties associated with such a question. Have the subjects answered truthfully? Did they exaggerate? What did they leave out? The range of responses suggest that an element of the truth may have been given and that even in ethnograhic accounts of groups the same problems may occur.

3. On friendship

> f) Young people's friendship network is larger than their leisure-time peer group.

This evidence was discussed in b. above. The mean size of the friendship network of an individual is 9.85 (s.d.4.71) made up of 4.07 (s.d. 3.04) first-level and 5.8 (s.d. 3.86) second-level friends. The relatively high standard deviations indicate considerable variation. There are differences between the sexes - 9.50 for males and 10.25 for females for the total number of friends at the two levels. The mean size of the leisure-time peer group was 6.5 but, as has been indicated earlier membership was confined to approximately 70% of the sample. These findings are corroborated in the two sociograms presented in the report of qualitative research in Chapter

Eight (Figures 8 to 11), and in the random samples (Figures 15 to 17.)

g) Friendship is important to young people and their most important friendship is persistent over time.

The preliminary study confirmed the first part of this proposition - 94% of all young people regard having friends as very important or important, 69% and 25% respectively. 5% were neutral and only 1% thought it unimportant. **We can be left in no doubt of the universal importance of friendship to young people.**

Besides confirming that educational institutions in general, and secondary schools in particular, provide the main context in which the most important first-level friendships are made (73%) the length of time the two individuals had been friends and at the first-level was also examined. The means are as follows:

Length of time being friends Mean = 5.38 years (s.d. 3.4)

At first-level Mean = 4.07 years (s.d. 3.22)

This gives the mean time for becoming first-level friends as 1.31 years.

Thus, we can conclude that at this level of friendship (most important first-level friend), friendship is persistent over time, to a considerable degree.

h)   It is possible to identify young people's
     likes and dislikes concerning their most
     important first-level friend.

Table 51 rank ordered the responses to the question "What do

you like about this (most important first-level) friend?" The

first four items in the rank ordering were:

1.   Laugh, good laugh, joke, playing about,
     amusing, cheerful   25.8%

2.   Trust, trusting/worthy, honest, loyal,
     sensible, serious, reliable, tells truth,
     mature, acts intelligently   15.3%

3.   Helps you, helps with problems, kind,
     sticks up for you, generous   15.0%

4.   Good company, good friend/mate, friendly,
     enjoy each other's company, like to go
     around with, easy to get on with   9.4%

Clearly, identification of young people's likes provides

interesting insights into the nature of this level of

friendship bond: humour, trust, help and good company

represent major friendship qualities.

In relation to the question "Is there anything you dislike

about this friend?" (Table 53) 41% of the respondents indicated

that they did have dislikes. The rank ordering gave:

     Moody, bad tempered, ratty, moans a lot, stubborn,
     jealous, easily upset, bully, quick tempered, bossy,
     argues,

as the principle set of dislikes and these accounted for 35.5%

of all mentions. All other rankings were 8% or lower.

For both "likes" and "dislikes" we can conclude that it is

possible to identify them. They indicate the "give" and "take"
in a relationship; a tolerance of each other's bad features and
a level of understanding which may represent essential
ingredients of the relationship. The research does not
indicate how far the bond can be strained before a break
occurs.

i)   There are three contexts in which young
       people's friendship operates.

This proposition was discussed in detail in b. above. The
contexts are school only, school+leisure and leisure only.
These contexts also account for the "network" of friendships.
The two Figures presented at the beginning of this chapter
indicate the mean number of friends in each context for each
of the two levels. The evidence from both the quantitative and
qualitative research confirms the proposition, along with the
randomly selected examples.

j.   Educational institutions in general, and
      secondary schools, in particular, are the
      most powerful contexts in which young people
      make friends.

1. Nursery School   2.0% ¾
2. Infant School   8.6% ¾
3. Junior/Primary School   13.7% ¾   72.6%
4. Secondary School   48.3% ¾

Thus we can conclude from the evidence that 72.6% of all
friendships, within the sample, were made in an educational
establishment, with 48.3% having been made in the secondary
school. Hargreaves confirmed in his study of a boys secondary

modern school that:

> "In each form the majority of boys choose their friends
> from their own form. This is hardly surprising, *since*
> it is with his class-mates that each individual
> interacts most frequently during school hours, and
> often outside school as well." (1)

In the majority of cases in this present research these friendships had formed either in the primary school or in the first year of secondary school and before "setting" or "streaming" had taken place.

> k. Self-esteem and certain personality factors
> (measured using the Junior and Senior High
> Schools Personality Questionnaire) are
> powerful indicators of friendship
> repertoires.

The self esteem measure, comprising twelve questions and scored on a 4 point Likert-type scale, was developed and used in the research.

Four of the HSPQ factors were selected to identify certain personality characteristics and were as follows:

LOW STEN SCORE DESCRIPTION (1 – 3) *A boy or girl with low score is:*	ALPHABETIC DESIGNATION OF FACTOR	HIGH STEN SCORE DESCRIPTION (8 – 10) *A boy or girl with high score is:*
RESERVED, DETACHED, CRITICAL, ALOOF, STIFF	A	WARMHEARTED, OUTGOING, EASY-GOING, PARTICIPATING
SOBER, TACITURN, SERIOUS	F	ENTHUSIASTIC, HEEDLESS, HAPPY-GO-LUCKY
SHY, TIMID, THREAT-SENSITIVE	H	ADVENTUROUS, "THICK-SKINNED," SOCIALLY BOLD
SOCIABLY GROUP-DEPENDENT, A "JOINER" AND SOUND FOLLOWER	Q2	SELF-SUFFICIENT, PREFERS OWN DECISIONS, RESOURCEFUL

A large number of significant correlations were discovered both with self-esteem and the HSPQ items. (< 5%)

1 Self-esteem

The positive correlations with friendship confirm that those with a high self-esteem have more friends:

- at the first and second-levels.

- who are male at both first and second-levels.

- whom they see in both school and leisure time.

- in leisure time only, including those of the opposite sex.

Friendship patterns are related to self-esteem - the more friends one has the higher is *one's self-esteem. Presumably the two factors are mutually reinforcing.*

Self-esteem also correlates highly with Factor A Warmhearted, Factor F Enthusiastic, Factor H Adventurous and negatively with Factor Q_2 i.e. Group dependent.

Middle class young people had higher self-esteems than working class and in terms of ethnicity the scores were Asian, Caribbean and White British in descending order. Sharing a bedroom is correlated with a lower self-esteem and having a nick name with high self-esteem.

2 HSPQ factors.

With thirty significant correlations between the HSPQ and friendship (the maximum posible was 52) there are clearly

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strong relationships.

Factor A Warmhearted correlated positively with:

Number of first-level friends	>	1%
" " second-level friends	>	.1%
" " female first-level friends	>	.1%
" " " second-level friends	>	.1%
" " school+leisure second-level friends	>	5%
" " leisure only first-level friends	>	.1%
" " " " second-level friends	>	1%
" " leisure only opposite sex friends	>	1%

Thus, the warmhearted (more outgoing) had more first and second-level friends, more female first and second-level friends, more school+leisure second-level, more leisure only first and second-level friends and opposite sex leisure only first-level friends.

Friendship is clearly related to this Factor. It should be noted that we cannot infer anything about the intensity or quality of such relationships from this evidence.

Factor F Enthusiastic, correlated with seven of the friendship dimensions:

Number of first-level friends	<	1%
" " second-level friends	<	5%
" " male first-level friends	<	1%
" " male second-level friends	<	.1%
" " school+leisure first-level friends	<	5%
" " " " " second-level friends	<	5%
" " leisure only second-level friends	<	5%

Again we can conclude that the more enthusiastic (happy-go-lucky) young people have more friends in the categories listed.

Factor H. Adventurous

Although there were only three correlations for this factor,

two were at the < .1% level -

Number of second-level friends	< .1%
" " male second-level friends	< .1%
" " school+leisure second-level friends	< 1%

Thus, the number of second-level friends correlates positively

with Adventurous and also with the number of male and school

+leisure, second-level friends.

Factor Q_2 Self-sufficient

With two exceptions, Factor Q_2 correlated negatively with

several friendship items - indicating that the other pole of

this factor is dominant i.e. *sociably group-dependent. They*

were:

Number of second-level friends	< 1%
" " female first-level friends	< .1%
" " female second-level friends	< .1%
" " school+leisure first-level friends	< 5%
" " " " " second-level friends	< 1%
" " leisure only first-level friends	< 1%
" " " " second-level friends	< 1%

Thus, the sociably group dependent have more friends at the

level stated above.

The following friendship items correlated positively:

Number of male first-level friends	< 5%
" " " second-level friends	< 5%
" " school only first level friends	< .1%

We can conclude that the greater the number of male first and second-level friends, the more self-sufficient the individual. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the number of school only, first-level friends.

Overall it is clear that self-esteem and the personality factors A, F, H and Q_2 powerfully distinguish between friendship repertoires.

1) Social class differences do not figure in any major way to distinguish friendship characteristics and the peer group.

Perceived social class correlates positively with four friendship items and negatively with one, but only at the < 6% level. They are:

```
Number of friends at first-level                    <   1%
   "     "  male first-level friends                <   1%
   "     "  school only first-level                 <   5%
   "     "  leisure only first-level friends        <   5%

Number of female second-level friends               <   6%(-ve)
```

Thus, working class young people have fewer friends at first-level overall. They also have fewer friends who:

> are male,
> they see at school only
> are seen in leisure-time only.

They have more female friends at second-level.

There was also a correlation at the < 6% level with behaviour that adults would disapprove i.e. working class young people are more involved in such behaviours, (or admit to it).

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They are not more likely to be a member of a leisure-time peer group. There was no significant correlation between ethnicity and perceived social class.

The evidence suggests that perceived social class does distinguish several friendship and peer behaviour characteristics. Thus, in this aspect, the argument must be rejected. It is clear, however that social class, at least for this sample of school age youths, is not as significant as the neo-Marxists would have us believe.

> m) Friendship and peer group membership patterns do not seem to be significantly affected by ethnic origin, although self-esteem scores vary.

Only one significant correlation was found when ethnicity (White British, Asian and Caribbean) was compared with friendship and peer group items:

Number of female first-level friends <1%.

Self-esteem, as stated in k. above correlated at the <1% level with ethnicity and when the means were compared it showed that scores decreased for the categories in the order Asian, Caribbean and White British, although the mean differences were not great.

CONCLUSION

The overall objective of this thesis has been to make a

contribution to the sociological understanding of **Adolescence:**
the importance of the peer group and friendship. The research
has been undertaken within a research model developed in Part
Two of the thesis. I hope that the objective has been achieved
successfully. Inevitably the research has identified areas
where further research and development is required. I hope
that my work may encourage others to take up this challenge.

REFERENCE

1. HARGREAVES, David   Social relations in a secondary school
                                 Routledge and Kegan Paul 1967.

APPENDICES

BRUNEL UNIVERSITY   REGIONAL TRAINING CONSULTATIVE UNIT
                                              (YOUTH SERVICES)

DIPLOMA IN YOUTH AND COMMUNITY STUDIES

This short questionnaire is about friends and friendship. Your answers will
be treated in the strictest confidence and no names will be used in the research.

1. How important to you is having friends?

        Very Important Important Neutral Unimportant Very Unimportant

Tick
Appropriate
Box

2. Does friendship exist at different levels – different kinds of

    friend? | YES | | NO | Tick one box

    If YES, would you please state the names you would use to describe the levels.

3. Could you state briefly what friendship at the different levels means to you?

        Level (as above) | Meaning

4. In the space below would you list your friends in order of importance and divide up according to <u>your own levels</u>. (Remember that teenagers vary greatly in their number of friends - it is in this variation that we are interested.)

5. Are there teenagers who you see in your school or leisure time who you would

   not describe as friends? |YES| |NO|

   If YES how would you describe them?

Completed by _____ Date_____

	5 cases and over
Best friend, mate	01
close friend	02
good friend, very good friend	03
school friend	04
friends, friendship, friendly	05
very close, really close	06
acquaintances	07
mates	08
girl friend	09
boy friend	10
talking friend, talk to	11
youth club friend	12
play, social, leisure friend	13
trusting friend	14
casual friend	15
family friend	16
ordinary friend	17
working friend	18
others	19
not applicable	88
non response	99

TABLE 1   Definitions used − Codings

	Code	Count
close, know really well	00	6
trust	01	5
secrets, tell things to	02	1
confide, confidant	03	2
problems, sharing problems	04	4
important	05	3
talk to, chat	06	26
help if in trouble, help out, turn to if troubled	07	9
get on well with, nice, like, love, special	08	15
laugh, have fun, joke	09	10
rely, reliable	10	7
like to be with, go around, out with, hang around with, fond of	11	31
see frequently, a lot most of the time, spend spare time	12	11
don't argue	13	1
same interests, activities	14	2
nod of head, hello	15	4
know by sight, barely know	.16	2
see occasionally, sometimes, not often	17	9
share	18	2
secrets (don't tell) not confide, not share	19	17
see at school, work	20	14
won't use eg for money	21	1
confides in (reciprocation of 03)	22	1
do everything together, things together	23	1
friend, mate of opposite sex	24	10
hang around with	25	5
understanding	26	1
dislike	28	1

TABLE 2 List of key words used in definitions – codings

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE ON THE WHOLE	DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.				
2. At times I think I am no good at all.				
3. I make friends very easily				
4. I feel that teachers are always picking on me.				
5. I get on well with my family.				
6. I just sit and watch T.V. while the rest are out doing interesting things.				
7. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.				
8. Teachers tend to treat me as if I am no good at all.				
9. I am able to do things as well as most other people.				
10. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.				
11. I enjoy my own company.				
12. Hardly anyone would miss me if I left school today.				
13. I am good at most things I do.				
14. I certainly feel useless at times.				
15. In school my friends take a lot of notice of me.				
16. I wish I could have more respect for myself.				
17. I go out a lot, compared with most people my age.				
18. The opposite sex don't seem to find me very attractive.				
19. I am a very popular person.				

..../....

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE ON THE WHOLE	DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE.	STRONGLY DISAGREE
20. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.				
21. I am good at making people laugh.				
22. I wish I could feel more relaxed with people than I usually do.				
23. I deserve my parents' trust and love.				
24. I don't think I'm all that bright.				
25. I'm pretty good at school work, compared with others.				
26. No wonder people blame me: I deserve it.				
27. I'd really be missed if I moved out of my street.				
28. I play a very important part in my school.				
29. I seem to spend more time by myself than I want.				
30. I'd be good at leading a school team or project.				
31. I don't think I'll ever make much of a success of my life.				
32. I'm pretty satisfied with my own appearance.				
33. I wish I could get on better with my teachers.				
34. People think I'm fun to be with.				
35. Most people seem to be much better than me at most things.				
36. No one seems to like me much.				

Below you will find a series of statements in which we are trying to discover how you feel about yourself.   Please read them carefully and put a tick in the 'box' which most applies to you.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE ON THE WHOLE	DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. I make friends very easily				
2. I just sit and watch T.V. while the rest are out doing interesting things.				
3. Hardly anyone would miss me if I left school today.				
4. In school my friends take a lot of notice of me.				
5. I go out a lot, compared with most people my age				
6. I am a very popular person				
7. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure				
8. I wish I could feel more relaxed with people than I usually do				
9. I'm pretty good at school work, compared with others				
10. I'd be good at leading a school team or project				
11. I don't think I'll ever make much of a success of my life				
12. No one seems to like me much				

YOUNG PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP

PART ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Do not write
in here

CODE [   ]

1. FIRST NAME .... LAST NAME .... 2. AGE ..... Yrs. ..... Months

2. SEX: MALE ☐   FEMALE ☐ (tick)

4. SCHOOL ....

5. AT WHAT AGE DO YOU EXPECT TO LEAVE SCHOOL?   16 ☐   17 ☐   18 ☐   (tick)

6. WHEN YOU LEAVE SCHOOL DO YOU EXPECT TO HAVE:

    i.   C.S.E.'s? ☐   ii.   'O' levels/RSA/CEE? ☐   iii.   'A' levels? ☐

    iv.   Other (please state) ....

                    ....

7. ARE YOU LIKELY TO:

    i.   Go to university? ☐

    ii.   Go to some other higher education? ☐

    iii.   Be in a job? ☐   What would you like it to be? ....

    iv.   Join a government Job Training Scheme? ☐

8. DO YOU HAVE BROTHERS AND SISTERS?   Please state:

    i.   Number of older brothers   ....

    ii.   Number of older sisters   ....

    iii.   Number of younger brothers ....

    iv.   Number of younger sisters   ....

9. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOURSELF?

    i. Working Class   ☐ (tick)
    ii. Middle Class   ☐
    iii. Upper Class   ☐

10. DO YOU SHARE A BEDROOM AT HOME?   YES ☐   NO ☐   (tick)

11. DOES YOUR HOME HAVE A THROUGH LOUNGE?   YES ☐   NO ☐   (tick)

12. NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS ATTENDED: ....

13. IF YOU HAVE BEEN TO MORE THAN ONE SECONDARY SCHOOL, HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN
    AT THIS SCHOOL?   .... Yrs. .... Months

14. IN HOW MANY DIFFERENT HOUSES/FLATS, ETC. HAVE YOUR LIVED? ....

15. IF YOU HAVE A NICK-NAME, PLEASE STATE IT HERE ....

PART TWO: FRIENDSHIPS

1. Would you please list below the first and last names of your friends <u>in order of</u>
   <u>importance to you</u>; please remember that we differ in the number of friends we have
   so you may not wish to fill up every line. Put a tick in the column appropriate to
   where you see these friends, or if asked, make a statement.

FIRST NAME LAST (SUR)NAME	SCHOOL	LEISURE	OTHER (please state)

2. PLEASE DO NOT PROCEED BEYOND HERE UNTIL YOU HAVE RECEIVED A VERBAL INSTRUCTION:

FIRST LEVEL FRIEND: "Someone you see a lot, who is close to you and you like to be
with. You can trust and confide your secrets and share problems
with them and you could rely on them to help you out if you were
in trouble."

SECOND LEVEL FRIEND: "Someone who is not as close as a first level friend but you like
them, talk, joike and go around with them, but would not trust
them with your secrets."

THIRD LEVEL FRIEND: "Someone you talk to, give a nod of the head or say hello to, and
although you may get on with them you probably see them less
frequently than your first and second level friends."

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PART THREE:

In this part we shall be asking you questions about your interests, likes and dislikes. Here is an example:

1. Which would you rather do?

   a. visit a zoo
   b. uncertain
   c. go up in an aeroplane

Place an X in the box which applies to you. There are no right or wrong answers - each person is different and has only to say what is true for him/her.

Always try to avoid the middle answer unless it is absolutely impossible to choose one of the others. · Please answer all the questions and give the first natural answer and don't spend time puzzling over them. If you are unclear, please ask now, otherwise carry on with the questions.

1. At a picnic would you rather spend some time:

   a. exploring the woods alone
   b. uncertain
   c. playing around the camp fire with the crowd.

2. In a group discussion, do you like to tell what you think?

   a. yes,
   b. sometimes,
   c. no

3. If you have a secret do you:

   a. tell a friend
   b. uncertain
   c. keep it to yourself

4. Would you say that some rules and regulations are stupid and out of date?

   a. yes, and I don't bother with them if I can help it,
   b. uncertain
   c. no, most rules are necessary and should be obeyed.

5. Do you try to keep up with the fads of your classmates?

   a. yes
   b. sometimes
   c. no

6. Do most people have more friends than you do?

   a. yes
   b. uncertain
   c. no

7. Do you prefer friends of the opposite sex?

   a. yes
   b. uncertain
   c. no

8. Do you dislike going into narrow caves or climbing to high places?

   a. yes
   b. sometimes
   c. no

9. Are you always ready to show in front of everyone how well you can do things compared with others?

   a. yes
   b. perhaps
   c. no

10. Are there times when you feel lonely?

   a. often
   b. perhaps
   c. never

11. In your leisure time do you go out with:

   a. friends older than yourself
   b. uncertain
   c. friends of the same age

12. Can you talk to a group of strangers without stammering a little or without finding it hard to say what you want to?

   a. yes
   b. perhaps
   c. no

13. When a group of people are doing something, do you:

   a. take an active part in what they are doing,
   b. in between,
   c. usually only watch?

14. Do you feel hurt if people borrow your things without asking you?

   a. yes
   b. perhaps
   c. no

15. If your best friend moved away
    would you:
    a. find it easy to find
       another
    b. uncertain
    c. find it difficult to
       fill the gap

16. Which would you rather be:
    a. the most popular person
       in school,
    b. uncertain,
    c. the person who comes top
       of the class?

17. Would you rather:
    a. stay at home doing a
       hobby
    b. uncertain
    c. go out with friends

18. In a group of people, are you generally
    one of those who tells jokes and funny
    stories?
    a. yes
    b. perhaps
    c. no

19. Are your feelings easily hurt?
    a. yes
    b. perhaps
    c. no

20. If you found you had nothing to do
    some evening, would you:
    a. call up some friends and do
       something with them,
    b. not sure,
    c. read a good book or work on a
       hobby?

21. In dancing or music, do you
    pick up a new rhythm easily?
    a. yes
    b. sometimes
    c. no

22. Are you well informed about sex?
    a. yes
    b. perhaps
    c. no

23. When you are ready for a job,
    would you like one that:
    a. is steady and safe, even
       if it needs hard work
    b. uncertain
    c. has lots of change and
       meetings with lively
       people

24. Do you like doing really unexpected
    and startling things to people?
    a. yes,
    b. once in a while,
    c. no

25. Can you work just as well, without
    feeling uncomfortable, when people
    are watching you?
    a. yes,
    b. perhaps,
    c. no

26. Would you rather be:
    a. a builder of bridges
    b. uncertain
    c. a member of a travelling
       circus

27. Do you go out of your way to
    avoid crowded buses and streets?
    a. yes
    b. perhaps
    c. no

28. If you had a chance to do something
    really wild and adventurous, but also
    rather dangerous, would you:
    a. probably not do it,
    b. not sure,
    c. certainly do it?

29. When the class is discussing something,
    do you usually have something to say?
    a. almost never,
    b. once in a while,
    c. always

30. Do you stand up before the class
    without looking nervous and ill
    at ease?
    a. yes
    b. perhaps
    c. no

31. Are you, like a lot of people,
    slightly afraid of lightning
    a. yes
    b. perhaps
    c. no

32. In talking with your classmates do
    you dislike telling your most private
    feelings?
    a. yes
    b. sometimes
    c. no

.33. When you go into a new group
do you:

a. quickly feel you know
   everyone
b. in between
c. take a long time to get
   to know people

35. How would you rate yourself?

a. inclined to be moody
b. in between
c. not at all moody

37. Would you rather live:

a. in a deep forest with only
   song birds
b. uncertain
c. on a busy street corner
   where a lot happens

39. Are you very careful not to hurt
anyone's feelings or startle
anyone, even for fun?

a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

41. When things are frightening, can you
laugh and not be bothered?

a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

43. If you were not a human-being
would you rather be:

a. an eagle in a far mountain
b. uncertain
c. a seal, in a seal colony
   by the seashore?

45. Do you tend to be quiet when out
with a group of friends?

a. yes
b. sometimes
c. no

34. Are you best thought of as a person
who:

a. thinks
b. in between
c. acts?

36. Do you think that often a committee of
your classmates takes more time and makes
poorer decisions than one person would?

a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

38. If you were to work on a bus,
would you rather:

a. be the conductor and talk
   to the passengers,
b. uncertain,
c. be the driver and drive
   the bus?

40. Are you so afraid of what might
happen that you avoid making
decisions one way or the other?

a. often
b. sometimes
c. never

42. Which kind of friends do you like?
Those who like to:

a. "play around,"
b. uncertain,
c. be more serious?

44. Do you sometimes feel, before a big
party or outing, that you are not so
interested in going?

a. yes
b. perhaps
c. no

46. How often do you go places or do
things with a group of friends?

a. very often,
b. sometimes,
c. hardly ever

PLEASE BE SURE YOU HAVE ANSWERED ALL THE QUESTIONS
IN PART THREE BEFORE TURNING OVER

PART FOUR

Below you will find a series of statements in which we are trying to discover how you feel about yourself. Please read them carefully and put a tick in the 'box' which most applies to you.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE ON THE WHOLE	DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. I make friends very easily				
2. I just sit and watch T.V. while the rest are out doing interesting things.				
3. Hardly anyone would miss me if I left school today.				
4. In school my friends take a lot of notice of me.				
5. I go out a lot, compared with most people my age				
6. I am a very popular person				
7. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure				
8. I wish I could feel more relaxed with people than I usually do				
9. I'm pretty good at school work, compared with others				
10. I'd be good at leading a school team or project				
11. I don't think I'll every make much of a success of my life				
12. No one seems to like me much				

PART FIVE

Do not write
in here

In relation to your most important first-level friend, please give detailed answers to:

1. Where did you first meet:...

    ....

2. How long have you known this friend?   .... Years .... Months

3. How long have you been first-level friends? .... Years .... Months

4. What do you particularly like about this friend? ....

    ....

5. What do you do together? ....

    ....

6. Is there anything you dislike about this friend? ...... Say what: ....

    ....

7. On how many days each week do you see each other?   .... days

8. What do you think you give to the friendship? ....

    ....

9. What does he/she give to this friendship? ....

    ....

10. Which friend have you been describing? First name ....

    Last name ....

11. Do you go around with a group in your leisure time?   YES ☐   NO ☐

12. If YES, please give their names below:

    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....
    First name .... Last name ....

13. Does your group have a particular name? ....

14. Do you do things together that adults would disapprove? YES ☐   NO ☐

15. If YES, Please give examples:

    ....
    ....
    ....

16. What leisure activities have you done in the last week?

DAY	LEISURE ACTIVITIES
..... DAY	
..... DAY	
..... DAY	
..... DAY	
..... DAY	
YESTERDAY	
TODAY	

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

CODE	ACTIVITY	FREQUENCY
01	BASKETBALL	17
02	BADMINTON	26
03	BOXING	10
04	CB	2
05	DANCING/BALLET	9
06	KEEP FIT	11
07	FISHING	8
08	SNOOKER	22
09	KENDO,KUNG FU,JUDO,KARATE	22
10	NETBALL	26
11	WEIGHT TRAINING	9
12	FOOTBALL, including 5 A SIDE	104
13	BIRDWATCHING	2
14	BIKES, including BMX, DIRT TRACK	76
15	RUNNING, JOGGING	19
16	HOCKEY	6
17	HORSERIDING	17
18	TRISKATING	2
19	FAIR	4
20	MARKET	7
21	DISCO, NIGHT CLUB	69
22	CINEMA, THEATRE	22
23	HAIRCUT, WASHED HAIR	3
24	WATCHED FOOTBALL	12
25	WALKED DOG	11
26	YOUTH CLUB/YOUTH THEATRE	76
27	DOING UP MOTOR CYCLE, FIXING BIKE	7
28	VISIT TO, OR FROM GIRL/BOY FRIEND	68
29	SAW OR VISITED FRIEND AT THEIR HOME	195
30	FRIEND CAME TO HOME	14
31	VISITED TOWN/AIRPORT	97
32	FIGHT	15
33	SCHOOL PLAY REHEARSAL	31
34	MODELLING	1
35	CLEANED HOUSE, TIDIED BEDROOM	9
36	HUNG ABOUT, MESSED AROUND PLAYED	20
37	SHOPPING	68
38	PLAYED COMPUTERS	16
39	PLAYED RECORDS, LISTENED TO RADIO	65
40	WATCHED TV	214
41	VIDEO, VIDEO GAMES, SPACE INVADERS	43
42	HOMEWORK, READ	91
43	WALKING	12
44	WENT OUT	33
45	IDEAL HOME EXHIBITION	2

CODE	ACTIVITY	FREQUENCY
46	SCHOOL TRIP	10
47	WORK, PART-TIME JOB	47
48	GREEK/PORTUGESE SCHOOL	4
49	BOYS' BRIGADE	2
50	GIRLS' BRIGADE	5
51	ACF/ATC	10
52	ILL	3
53	NOTHING	67
54	SAW RELATIONS, OUT WITH PARENTS	43
55	ICE/ROLLER SKATING	12
56	TENNIS	12
57	PARTY, MAKE-UP PARTY	15
58	TABLE TENNIS	5
59	ROUNDERS, BASEBALL	3
60	SWIMMING	21
61	OTHER	80
62	SLEPT, STAYED AT FRIENDS	6
63	CANOEING, BOATING	6
64	DRINKING, PUB	23
65	SQUASH	1
66	GOLF	0
67	POOL	8
68	BABYSITTING	21
69		
70	SHOOTING	1
71	CHURCH, MOSQUE	2
72	COOKING	3
73	EMBROIDERY	1
74	SCOUTS, CUBS	11
75	RUGBY	4
76	BOWLING	3
77	ARCHERY	1
78	TRAMPOLINE	2
79	BROWNIES, GUIDES	5
88	NOT APPLICABLE	
99	NO ANSWER	

Leisure-time activities under-
taken in past week

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CODE	ACTIVITY	FREQUENCY
01	BASKETBALL	17
02	BADMINTON	26
03	BOXING	10
04	CB	2
05	DANCING/BALLET	9
06	KEEP FIT	11
07	FISHING	8
08	SNOOKER	22
09	KENDO,KUNG FU,JUDO,KARATE	22
10	NETBALL	26
11	WEIGHT TRAINING	9
12	FOOTBALL, including 5 A SIDE	104
13	BIRDWATCHING	2
14	BIKES, including BMX, DIRT TRACK	76
15	RUNNING, JOGGING	19
16	HOCKEY	6
17	HORSERIDING	17
18	TRISKATING	2
19	FAIR	4
20	MARKET	7
21	DISCO, NIGHT CLUB	69
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50	GIRLS' BRIGADE	5
51	ACF/ATC	10
52	ILL	3
53	NOTHING	67
54	SAW RELATIONS, OUT WITH PARENTS	43
55	ICE/ROLLER SKATING	12
56	TENNIS	12
57	PARTY, MAKE-UP PARTY	15
58	TABLE TENNIS	5
59	ROUNDERS, BASEBALL	3
60	SWIMMING	21
61	OTHER	80
62	SLEPT, STAYED AT FRIENDS	6
63	CANOEING, BOATING	6
64	DRINKING, PUB	23
65	SQUASH	1
66	GOLF	0
67	POOL	8
68	BABYSITTING	21
69		
70	SHOOTING	1
71	CHURCH, MOSQUE	2
72	COOKING	3
73	EMBROIDERY	1
74	SCOUTS, CUBS	11
75	RUGBY	4
76	BOWLING	3
77	ARCHERY	1
78	TRAMPOLINE	2
79	BROWNIES, GUIDES	5
88	NOT APPLICABLE	
99	NO ANSWER	

Leisure-time activities under-
taken in past week

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