

A STUDY OF STUDENT SUBCULTURES IN FIVE  
SELECTED NEWFOUNDLAND HIGH SCHOOLS

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A STUDY OF STUDENT SUBCULTURES IN FIVE  
SELECTED NEWFOUNDLAND HIGH SCHOOLS

by

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## ABSTRACT

Several studies in adolescent social development have yielded evidence of separate and distinct subcultures among students while at high school. In particular evidence has suggested that student attitudes and values are not conducive to academic achievement as one of the school's main goals.

This study has attempted to determine whether separate student subcultures exist in some of Newfoundland's high schools, and whether the attitudes and values prevalent among students here are at variance with the school's educational goals. The study was undertaken as a replication of one carried out in Western Canada by David Friesen and as such applies his theoretical framework and hypotheses to the Newfoundland setting. In short, the framework and hypotheses contend that if such a subculture exists, then students share and maintain their own system of activities, attitudes and values which are different from those of the larger society, and that these activities, attitudes and values are influenced more by internal (peer-group) than external (adult) sources. In addition to examining the subculture hypothesis, the study also made direct comparisons between the two samples in order to determine if the situation in local schools was comparable to that found in Western Canada.

The sample consisted of 816 students from five high schools in grades ten and eleven. The schools were selected to obtain representation from urban and rural communities; coeducational and sex-segregated institutions, and institutions administered by the

Roman Catholic and by the Integrated school board authorities.

The activities, attitudes and values of the students were depicted by means of their responses to a questionnaire developed from that used in the Western Canadian study to more appropriately fit the Newfoundland situation. The responses were examined for boys and girls separately, for individual schools, and for all schools taken together.

The responses of the Newfoundland boys and girls as in the Western Canadian sample, did not lend strong support for the separate subculture hypothesis, and students appeared not to be unaware of, or unconcerned about, the importance of academic success. Although the peer-group represented a major source of influence for students it was but one of a number of sources. Parents, the church, and school were also important.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of the problem

This study has attempted to assess the activities, attitudes and values of students in five selected high schools in Newfoundland, with the aim of documenting the existence or nonexistence of separate and distinct subcultures within them. It was undertaken as a replication of a study carried out in Western Canada, by David Friesen (1966), in order to determine if the situation in local schools was comparable to that found in the schools studied by him. The study, in addition to providing an overview of the value systems of students in these schools, has also yielded information on the sources of influence which serve to shape these attitudes and values.

Similar studies carried out in a number of American and British schools have led the investigators to conclude that separate student subcultures may exist in them, and that the values and attitudes prevalent in these subcultures may significantly influence the institution's educational process. It seems that if student values and attitudes are conducive to academic achievement then realization of school goals is facilitated, whereas if they are not conducive to achievement then school goal realization may be inhibited.

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The problem then, is the determination of whether student subcultures exist in some of Newfoundland's high schools, and if student values and attitudes here are at variance with the educational goals of the school. Since no undertaking of this kind has been attempted to date in Newfoundland, and since the validity of applying the findings of studies done elsewhere in a very different socio-historical context may be questioned, it is believed that the study could prove useful for comparative purposes, as well as being valuable in the interests of promoting a better understanding of Newfoundland youth.

#### Background of the study

James S. Coleman (1961) in reporting a study of the social life of the teen-ager and its influences upon education, has provided the impetus for much discussion, research and controversy over the phenomenon of an adolescent subculture. His study extended an area of inquiry that was started by Waller (1932) who directed attention to the school as a social system indicating that it had a "special culture" of its own. Waller pointed to the relationship between the student society and adult influence, and to the conflict between the students and teacher as the teacher endeavoured to transmit an adult culture to his class.

Talcott Parsons (1959) like Waller also speaks of the school class as a social system which functions to internalize in its members certain attitudes and values. He claims that while each school class develops its own culture, it will reinforce some of

the values developed through other agencies such as the family and church, but at the same time it will also compete with some of the values of these other agencies.

Coleman, however, in conducting what was perhaps the first major study of its kind, based his conclusions on evidence gathered from a sample of 7,500 students in ten high schools in the Midwestern United States. He comes to grips with the special problem of adolescents in a rapidly changing society and reveals his affirmative stand on the existence of a teen-age subculture when he states:

In sum, then, the general point is this: our adolescents today are cut off, probably more than ever before, from the adult society. They are still oriented towards fulfilling their parents' desires, but they look very much to their peers for approval as well. Consequently, our society has within its midst a set of small teen-age societies, which focus teen-age interests and attitudes on things far removed from adult responsibilities, and which may develop standards that lead away from those goals established by the larger society. (Coleman, 1961, p.9).

Coleman's position is more clearly revealed when he links the existence of a teen-age subculture to the school as a consequence of a rapidly changing society. He states:

With every decade, more of the jobs available in our society require a high level of training. As our industrial economy comes of age, it has less and less room for labourers and skilled workers, more and more room for engineers and managers. Thus not only do we relegate education to an institution outside the family, we must keep the child there longer before he is "processed" and fit to take his place as an adult in society.

This setting-apart of our children in schools - which take on even more functions, even 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 toward 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 has most of its important interactions within itself, and maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society. (Coleman, 1961, p.3).

~ The contention of a separate and distinct subculture is not however free of controversy and not all research supports the findings of Coleman. A strong note of opposition comes from Elkin and Wesley (1955), who found that adolescents' patterns of social life were not significantly different from those of the adult generation, and that teen-agers demonstrated "a high level of sophistication about their activities, in many respects having internalized 'responsible' and 'adult' perspectives" (p.683).

More pertinent to this study however are the findings of Friesen (1966) who applied the contention of a distinct youth culture to eight schools in the Canadian setting. In rejecting the separate subculture hypothesis he concludes that the "Adolescent societies in these schools were an intrinsic part, a continuum, of the adult society towards which the high school students move. Often the activities and attitudes of the adolescents were in conflict with those of the larger society, but, on the whole, the peer-group supported the values and customs of the adult society" (p.114).

An examination of the literature then, as will be shown more clearly in the next chapter, reveals a great deal of uncertainty regarding the existence of a separate adolescent subculture. The research varies from general acceptance to genuine questioning of the phenomenon, with some investigators taking more moderate positions between the two extremes. This study will attempt to

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add to the growing body of evidence concerning the existence of such a subculture as it pertains to some of Newfoundland's high school youth.

#### Hypotheses to be tested

This study, like the one carried out in Western Canada, has the aim of documenting the existence or nonexistence of a separate teen-age subculture by way of assessing student attitudes and values and the sources of influence serving to shape these attitudes and values. In the process it has endeavoured to picture the activities and interests of students in the schools selected. Since the study is intended to be a replication of Friesen's Western Canadian study, it applies his theoretical framework and hypotheses to the Newfoundland setting. Friesen derives and states his hypotheses as follows:

Whether such a "world apart" exists in the high school is partly dependent on the definition given to the term. Havighurst's definition of culture and subculture may help clarify the concepts as they are generally accepted for this study.

By culture, we refer to the patterns and products of learned behavior: etiquette, language, food habits, religious and moral beliefs, systems of knowledge, attitudes, and values; as well as material things and artifacts produced - the technology - by the people. By culture, we refer, in short, to the patterned way of life of a society...

A complex society ... has both an over-all culture, a way of life shared by all...; and a set of subcultures, ways of life that differ from one subgroup to another. Whenever a smaller group of people within a society have certain ways of behavior, certain attitudes and beliefs, that constitute a variant of the over-all culture, we say they have a subculture of their own.

From the above it becomes clear that when a subculture exists within a larger culture it has certain characteristics entirely its own. Three attributes of a subculture need to be clearly understood before examining its presence in a larger society.

1. There is a "social group" or social system composed of a number of individuals who operate as a cohesive group in regard to the specifics of its culture. The people in this society share certain common practices, beliefs, and attitudes.

2. There are influences within this smaller society which force the members of such society into activities, status, and role relations in keeping with the value systems of the social group.

3. The influences from outside the social system will be less pronounced to the core of accepted values and attitudes than the influences from within the smaller society.

The purpose of this study was to test the hypothesis that there are distinct and separate adolescent cultures in the eight Western Canadian high schools. This required the testing of three hypotheses derived from the definition.

Hypothesis 1: There is a high school society or social system which shares, develops, and maintains its own system of activities, values and attitudes different from those of the adult society.

Hypothesis 2: The peer-group pressure of this social system is the force compelling the students to conform to the standards of the high school society.

Hypothesis 3: External influences have less power over members of the high school society than internal forces. (Friesen, 1966, p.110-112).

As indicated previously, the present study will adopt these hypotheses and apply them to the Newfoundland setting. They will be examined by an analysis of student responses to the High School Student Values Inventory, a questionnaire similar to the one used by Friesen, but modified somewhat to more appropriately fit the Newfoundland situation.

The similarity of the two instruments however, and the fact



that this study follows the same general outline used by Friesen, provides that the present study can assume an additional comparative dimension whereby similarities and differences between the Newfoundland and Western Canadian students may be examined. Accordingly, the interests and activities of Newfoundland students as well as their degree of conformity to adult rules and regulations, and their attitudes and values in the areas of religion, sports, and academics, are compared to those of their Western Canadian counterparts. Since it is expected that peer-group pressures among the Newfoundland students operate in a similar manner as among Western Canadian students, no significant differences between the two samples are anticipated.

#### Limitations of the study

Since the schools were not selected at random, and since the sample of schools was so limited, on the strictest level any conclusions and generalizations arising from the findings must be restricted to the schools selected for observation. Thus, although the study, being based on a sample of just over 800 students in five Newfoundland high schools, can hardly claim to be representative of all high schools in the province, it is nevertheless believed to be of sufficient magnitude to warrant placing credence in its findings. Certainly it is believed that the schools selected for study were not atypical of those in the province.

It is also believed that the results of this study must be restricted to the activities, attitudes and values actually selected for study, and that generalizations to areas not covered

in the questionnaire may be in error.

## CHAPTER II

### THEORY AND RELATED LITERATURE

#### Introduction

In the review of the literature this study will follow the same general outline used by Friesen, and it will consider pertinent research conducted since his investigation in 1966. It seems appropriate to adopt Friesen's outline since this study replicates his in the Newfoundland setting, and since direct comparisons are to be made between students in each of the samples.

The review of the literature then, is divided into two major sections, the first of which pertains to the major hypothesis of a separate and distinct adolescent subculture. This contention, as was indicated earlier, does not receive the consensus of all researchers in the area, and in fact is surrounded by a great deal of controversy. Accordingly, the first section of the literature review will examine the different points of view as to whether a subculture exists, and how each point of view is supported by the research.

The second section, following the procedure used by Friesen, will reveal the research pertinent to the various aspects of the study which will be examined topically under the headings of: athletics, popularity and academic achievement; religion of the


students; conformity; teacher influence; parent influence; and, peer-group influence.

Athletics, popularity and academic achievement have been grouped together and discussed collectively in view of the findings that student attitudes and values in these areas may be at odds with the educational goals of the school. In particular, as will be shown later, there has been evidence to suggest that students place more value on sports and popularity than they do on academic achievement.

As in the Western Canadian study, student religious practices and the extent of their conformity to adult imposed rules and expectations are examined, not only for comparative purposes, but also that a better and more complete description of the culture of youth may be provided. Student religious beliefs and behaviors will be assessed, as well as their smoking and drinking habits, and the extent to which they are willing to engage in certain dishonest or deceptive activities.

Parent, teacher and peer-group influences upon the students are considered with the view that if the student society is to be separate from the world of adults, then it is necessary not only to assess the activities, attitudes and values prevalent among the students in that society, but also to determine the sources of influence serving to shape these activities, attitudes and values. If the student society is to be a distinct one, then peer-group influences from within it should take precedence over outside parental and teacher influences.

### The Adolescent Subculture



In a historical context it is only recently that the phenomenon of adolescence as we know it has developed. Prior to the industrial revolution and even more recently in some traditional societies, the role of youth as a collective force was of little or no significance. It was customary for sons and daughters to work side-by-side with their fathers and mothers and over a period of time the young gradually assumed the roles and responsibilities held by the adults. Skills and knowledge passed from generation to generation relatively unchanged, and since education took place largely within the context of the family schooling was only of minimal importance and rarely lasted into the teens. In effect, the period of adolescence was largely skipped over as young people began work and were incorporated into the adult world at an early age.

More recently however, changes have occurred in society which have provided for the emergence of a "younger generation". Society has become increasingly complex and the rate of change itself has accelerated. There has developed a highly diversified division of labour requiring more extensive periods of training in specialized skills. No longer can a man prepare his son for a place in society because his knowledge and skills are apt to become obsolete and of little benefit to him by the time he enters the labour market. This task has now been taken out of the hands of the family and lies with the school where training facilities and personnel are more centralized. Today's child not only has to leave the family for his training, but with

increasing technology he is required to leave it for longer and longer periods of time.

This segregation of children away from the world of adults has had some dramatic effects upon them, especially those of high school age. Within the context of the school adolescents are forced into extended contact with each other, and through continued interaction they have come to develop certain attitudes and behaviors which are quite peculiar to their own group. They have developed their own fashions and style of dress. They have their own language, and they have their own symbols and rituals. They have also provided the market for much of today's advertising, and for numerous records and magazines.

In effect, the school, by keeping teen-agers out of the labour market and prolonging their period of training, has provided the context wherein youth as a collective group has become an influential force in society. In short, it has given rise to a social awareness of the significance of adolescence.

While there are few today who would dispute the powerful effect of youth in modern society, some researchers have taken an additional step and proposed that students have come to constitute a small, private society of their own. Others meanwhile, have strongly rejected such a contention, and therein lies one of the most controversial issues in adolescent social development. Opinion and research on the topic varies from affirmative to negative with some adopting more moderate positions between the two extremes.

Interest and inquiry in the area was started by Willard



Waller in 1932, when he drew attention to the school as a social system and indicated that children and youth had a special culture of their own. Waller saw conflict between the students and teacher as inherent in the nature of the teacher-pupil relationship, as the school arbitrarily endeavoured to transmit an adult culture to the young.

Tyron (1944) in analyzing published materials and case histories of the time, concluded that there is a tendency to overlook the educational significance of the experiences received by a student in his peer-group, and that in our society a youth subculture will always exist as long as youth are unshackled by adult authority. She claims that adolescents use peer-groups to gain solidarity in rebelling against adult authority.

Hollingshead (1949) in studying the social and cultural aspects of Elmtown, sharpened the issues when he explored the theory that the behavior of high school adolescents was related to their families' social class position in the community. He found that the parents' social class influenced adolescents' behavior and attitudes to the school, church, job, recreation, peers and family.

Wayne Gordon (1957) also found support for the importance of social class as a determiner of student activities and attitudes, but in addition he found that these were also associated with the student's status position in the school's social structure.

As early as 1942 Talcott Parsons claimed that there was a youth culture that was unique to the United States. He described

it as having "a strong tendency to develop in directions which are either on the boundaries of parental approval or beyond the pale, in such matters as sex behavior, drinking, and various forms of frivolous and irresponsible behavior" (Parsons, 1954, p.303). Adolescent boys appeared to place heavy emphasis on "having a good time" while girls were interested in a "glamour girl" type of sexual attractiveness. In another article in 1959 he spoke of the school class as a social system which internalizes certain attitudes and values in its members, which may reinforce the values of other socializing agencies or which may compete against them.

Undoubtedly the major study in the area was conducted by James Coleman (1961) during the year 1957-58. He gathered evidence from a sample of 7,500 students in ten Midwestern high schools, varying in size, geographic situation, socioeconomic status, and sponsorship (public and church). He examined the status systems in these schools by selecting student values, norms and customs for study, and by looking at their sources and effects. One of his major findings was that student values relegated much less status to academic achievement than to athletics, leadership in activities, and popularity.

For the sources of these value systems Coleman points to the differing structures of competition in sports and scholastics. He claims that athletics provide the situation wherein the school can participate as a total unit. Since schools usually compete against each other in sports, the outstanding athlete stands to gain in status because in leading his team to victory, he is doing something not only for himself but for his friends as well.



The outstanding scholar on the other hand, has little or no way to bring glory to his peers. If he excels at academic work he does so by surging ahead of his friends who are then forced to work harder to keep up to him. Thus instead of being glorified with higher status and popularity, the outstanding student is likely to be ridiculed and isolated by his peers since his victory comes about at their expense. Scholastic success may, in a minor way, add to a student's status but it must be gained without special effort and without doing anything beyond the required work. Coleman therefore concluded that the adolescent social systems channel the energy of young people toward athletics and away from scholastic achievement. His findings and conclusions thus lend credence to the hypothesis of a separate and distinct student subculture in these schools. It seems too, that Coleman's contention of a youth culture has persisted into the 1970's, as arguments similar to those in his work of 1961 appear in a report on youth, of the President's Science Advisory Committee, of which he was chairman. Jerome Karabel (1974) in reviewing the report claims that although it is "a collaborative effort" it "bears the distinct imprint" of Coleman and contends that "the result of extended schooling... has been the development of a powerful youth culture" (p.49).

Coleman's finding that student values do not strongly support academic achievement is accepted by Gilliom (1964) who adds that a lack of desire for academic success is not surprising when the social rewards for such success are examined. What the school faces is a major challenge to restructure its value system.

Also on the affirmative side of the adolescent subculture controversy is Smith (1962) who points out that "the autonomy of youth culture has been verified by the setting up of norms, which, although they change from institution to institution, in all cases dominate and pattern youth behavior" (p.218).

Clark and Trow (1966) have identified four somewhat different student subcultures, one of which is an academic subculture composed of students who are involved with ideas and knowledge. Members of this group are involved in academic work and identify with the school and faculty. A second, or collegiate subculture includes students who are not overly anxious to acquire new knowledge, but yet who still identify with the school. A third, nonconformist subculture includes students who seek knowledge but who do not identify with the school, while the fourth vocational subculture embraces students who neither identify with the school nor become involved with abstract ideas. They seek practical rather than academic knowledge.

Adolescent subcultures however are not confined to the United States as Sugarman (1967) has reported that "a youth culture has emerged in Britain some twenty years after it was noted in the U.S.A." (p.153). His study of London schoolboys also points out that there may be not only one but two youth cultures: one focused in the high school and supported by middle-class youth bound for college, and the other located outside the school supported by actual or prospective dropouts. Sugarman points out that while the most visible youth culture described by Coleman in the United States resembles that focused in the high school, the most visible

one in Britain is that situated outside the school. He attributes this difference, in part, to the more elaborate extracurricular activities in American high schools, and to the fact that in Britain a greater proportion of 15- to 20-year-olds are no longer at school and thus seek youth clubs and coffee bars in the out-of-school teen-age social system.

In the Canadian setting, Vaz (1965) like Coleman, seems to suggest that the youth culture does not strongly support academics. He states:

the data suggest strongly that the interests which loom large among middle-class boys are not academic. Although younger boys show an early interest in school work, with age and increased participation in youth-culture activities their interest in academic pursuits tends to flag. Girls, sports, cars, and "having fun" characterize the middle-class youth culture (p.233).

Not all authorities however are in agreement with the contention of a separate and distinct adolescent subculture and not all research supports the findings of Coleman. A strong note of opposition comes from Elkin and Wesley (1955) who claim that the belief in a teen-age subculture may be an unjustified myth. They found that the adolescents' patterns of social life were not significantly different from those of the adult generation, and that teen-agers demonstrated "a high level of sophistication about their activities, in many respects having internalized 'responsible' and 'adult' perspectives" (p.683).

Several writers however, including Boocock (1972), have suggested that the Elkin and Wesley study has several limitations restricting its quality as empirical research. For one thing the report does not tell enough about either the kinds of questions asked of

the students, or about the classification of responses, to draw conclusions about their validity. Not only was the sample a small homogeneous one consisting of 40 teen-agers in a single upper middle class community, but it appears that they were not asked to make comparisons between parents and other reference groups as sources of influence.

Remmers (1963) seems to be in agreement with the position of Elkin and Wesley when he states:

The problem of whether there is a teen-age culture is, I think, a matter of semantics and operational definition. In terms of the latter there is no question. Teen-agers' behavior differs in many measurable ways from that of the rest of the population. In these terms, I am certain there is also an old peoples' culture.

Havighurst (1964) in writing about the same question concludes that there is probably less of a gap between the generations today than there was at the turn of the century. He goes on to explain that the gulf between the generations has existed for a long time, especially in the middle class.

Shafer (1960) in the hope of gaining more insight into adolescent values, undertook a survey which led him to conclude that if there is a 'new species' of adolescents today, it was conceived and nurtured by a 'new species' of adults making up today's society.

Havighurst and Neubauer (1963) upon investigation concluded that values and attitudes are taught to boys and girls by their parents, teachers, and other adults, as well as by the leaders of their own age group. Boys and girls tend to learn those values

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<sup>1</sup>H.H. Remmers, as quoted by D. Gottlieb and J. Reeves. Adolescent Behavior in Urban Areas. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, p.67.

and attitudes held in their own homes, churches, and social classes.

Turner (1964) in contrast to the findings of Coleman, found little evidence in the schools of "an effective conspiracy against academic achievement".

Friesen (1966) in studying schools in Western Canada rejected the hypothesis of a separate high school subculture, stating that the adolescents he studied were an intrinsic part of the adult society towards which they were moving.

The controversy over the existence of an adolescent subculture is not however a simple two-sided one, as some researchers have adopted a more middle-of-the-road approach. Various studies by Brittain (1963; 1968; 1969) have indicated that the adolescent will turn to those whom he believes will provide the most competent advice, and he perceives his parents and peers as being competent in different areas. He appeals to peers in areas which are subject to rapid change and where immediate consequences rather than long-term effects are anticipated. For adolescent-type activities (such as how to dress) he will turn to his peers, while for adult-type activities (such as which college to attend) he will look to his parents. It seems that he perceives his parents and peers as being competent in different areas of judgment, indicating that he is not entirely separated from the world of adults, and also not completely engrossed in the world of his peers.

Also assuming a middle-of-the-road approach are Epperson (1964), Snyder (1966), and Bealer, Willits and Maida (1964), all

of whom suggest that adolescents possess multiple loyalties which vary according to the situation. A rejection of parental norms and values is not necessarily implied when the adolescent withdraws from family functions in favor of peer-group activities. The withdrawal may be little more than a physical and temporary one. When differences occur between parents and child in one area, this does not mean that the child will reject parental norms and influences in all spheres of life.

As stated before, then, a review of the literature illustrates an uncertainty regarding the existence of an adolescent subculture. The research varies from general acceptance to genuine questioning of the phenomenon. Perhaps Boocock (1972) expresses the controversy as clearly as anyone when stating that:

The notion of a youth culture is quite conclusively supported by the available empirical evidence, and it is widely accepted by sociologists. In a 'poll' of social scientists who have done major research in adolescent behavior there was virtual consensus on the existence of a distinct adolescent subculture (Gottlieb and Reeves, 1963 : 64-72). The few dissenters admit that the very notion of a youth subculture may act as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

What is not agreed upon is the strength of the subculture and the extent to which it is separate from and in conflict with the school and the larger society (p.239).

### Topical Research

Following the procedure adopted by Friesen, and for the reasons outlined at the beginning of the chapter, this section will review the research pertinent to the various aspects of the study, which will be examined topically under the headings of:

sports, popularity and academic achievement; religion; conformity; teacher influence; peer-group influence; and, parent influence.

### The Adolescent and Sports, Popularity, and Academic Achievement

Coster (1959) found significant differences in high school activities between three groups of students classified by socio-economic status based on income. The high income group participated in more activities both in and out of school, and more low than high income students did not participate in extra-class activities. While no significant differences between groups occurred in time spent at homework and hours working at home, there were significant differences in plans to graduate from high school, plans to go to college, average marks in high school, and in subjects failed at school. While the high income group had fewer failures, they scored higher in all other aspects.

Coleman showed that in the schools he studied, scholastic achievement was valued less than participation in the youth culture. Over 45 per cent of the boys wanted to be remembered as a "star athlete" compared with 31.5 per cent who chose "brilliant student". Girls chose "activities leader" and "being most popular" over "brilliant student", and the high status students were even less likely to choose the "brilliant student" image for themselves. Coleman therefore concluded that the adolescent social systems channel the energy of young people toward athletics and discourage academic achievement. Students with high status were more likely to want to go to college, yet they seemed to place less value on academic achievement than did their lower status friends. In

another study researching the above findings McDill and Coleman (1963) conclude:

In short, to teen-agers the image of scholastic achievement is largely an image of a subordinate status relative to adults that they are trying to escape. The source of this may well be that scholastic achievement in elementary and high school is largely gained by conformity and intellectual ferment. Thus socialization by a set of peers, unless these peers be themselves scholastically oriented, is likely to be away from scholastic achievement while at the same time toward college (p.918).

Friesen (1966) however, who asked Canadian students questions similar to those used by Coleman, found that they valued education much more than either athletics or social activities. Over 50 per cent of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls chose to be remembered as "outstanding students" and over 50 per cent of both boys and girls claimed that they were worried most about academic success. Friesen (1968) points out that while athletics and popularity play an important role and have an immediate appeal to students, they are nevertheless aware of the greater importance of academic achievement for later life.

Snyder (1969) in a longitudinal study of student values and social participation, agreed with Coleman that prestige and popularity go with participation in activities and athletics, but his data also showed that interests in these areas coincided with, rather than opposed, academic pursuits. Rehberg (1969) seems to be in agreement with the findings of Snyder and advances several reasons why athletic participation may sometimes go hand in hand with academic achievement. (1) The athlete is inclined to obtain higher grades because he is more likely to belong to the leading crowd, which, as Coleman indicates, is predominantly



middle-class. (2) Sports emphasize such achievement-related traits as "hard-work, persistence and self-improvement". (3) The extent to which an adolescent excels in sports will elicit a positive appraisal from both adults and peers, which will therefore enhance his self-esteem. (4) Because the athlete is visible, he is under pressure to perform in a consistent manner and thus to strive for success in the classroom. (5) Because he is visible, he is regarded as a representative of the school and community and thus likely to receive more encouragement and scholastic counseling.

Grinder (1969) also investigated the assumption that participation in youth culture activities and commitment to academic goals are incompatible. His findings seem to corroborate those of Coleman in that there were strong and consistent relationships between high commitment to youth culture interests and low commitment to high school objectives, and also that high status peers were more oriented toward youth culture interests.

Weatherford and Horrocks (1967) however, have proposed that interaction with peers and school achievement is a curvilinear relationship, where moderate interaction is positively related to school success, but neither excessive nor minimal socializing correlates positively with academic orientations. This is also the position of Grinder (1969) who contends that non-participation in youth culture activities and extensive participation seem to be related to a withdrawal from school aims.

### The Adolescent and Religion

In examining the hypothesis that adolescence is a period

of increasing religious problems, Kuhlen and Arnold (1944) concluded that although many differences exist in religious beliefs, there was little to support the contention that adolescence is a period of increased religious doubts and problems.

Havighurst et al. (1962) indicated that the church is one of the principal institutions for the social and personal development of youth. They found girls to be more active religiously than boys, and that higher social class youth are more religious than lower class, and that there is a very large group with whom the church has no contact at all. These findings are also supported by Coster (1959) who found that over 75 per cent of the high income students and over 66 per cent of the middle income group reported regular Sunday School and Church attendance, as compared to 50 per cent of the low income students. More of the low than of the high income group never attended Sunday School or Church at all. Kitchen (1966) has found that among grade nine students in Newfoundland, involvement in church activities is related to place of residence, in that Sunday School and Church attendance tends to be higher in the less urban areas of the province. Among university students in Newfoundland, Cooper (1972) has found that the Anglican students from medium-sized communities (1000-5000 people) were superior to those from either large or small communities in terms of Doctrinal Orthodoxy, while those from smaller communities scored higher in terms of Religious Knowledge and Importance of the Church.

In the United States, a poll conducted by Remmers and Radler (1957) revealed that almost 70 per cent of the students said they

attended religious services at least once a week, and more than half said they prayed one or more times a day, with only 20 per cent saying that they never or only occasionally prayed. Girls prayed and attended church more often than did boys.

Coleman's study revealed that religion for his students was almost unrelated to membership in the leading crowd, although it varied from school to school. Friesen (1966) however, claims that among the majority of students he studied, religion was an important aspect of their lives, although for a sizable minority it was unimportant. Membership in the church was valued by over 80 per cent of the students, Sunday School attendance was accepted by over 75 per cent of them, and prayers valued by over 70 per cent. Although variations between schools were significant, girls were consistently more religious than boys, and the more religious students came from families with more religious parents.

What young people do however, and what religion means to them may be two quite different matters. Some may go to church or Sunday School for quite unreligious reasons in order to accommodate their parents' or peers' wishes. Cooper (1972) has conducted a study into the beliefs, practices and knowledge of a sample of university students in Newfoundland and found that about 25 per cent of them proposed an unquestioning belief in God, with a further one-third while expressing belief were doubtful, which left about 40 per cent as unbelievers or having only a vague belief. More than 40 per cent felt that Jesus was only a man, if he had ever lived, and almost 20 per cent did not know where he was born. When asked to rate the importance of the church on

a five-point scale less than 20 per cent rated it as "extremely" or "quite" important. Less than ten per cent intended to contribute three per cent of their income to the church, and more than 75 per cent estimated they would contribute less than one per cent. About 50 per cent did not attend church more than twice a year, while 20 per cent said they attended at least once a week. There were few who saw themselves as participants in church organizations, or spending evenings in church meetings. Less than ten per cent read the Bible regularly and only 36 per cent prayed as frequently as once a week.

In the United States a Gallup poll reports that almost all teen-agers said that they believed in God, with only five per cent indicating that they had some doubts or didn't believe at all (Gallup and Hill, 1961).<sup>1</sup> In another poll however, Remmers and Radler (1957) found that although 95 per cent acknowledged the existence of God, less than 40 per cent were willing to entrust their lives completely to his power. Gallup and Hill (1961) also reported that 95 per cent of American youth believed the Bible to be true, although almost a third of them qualified their answer by indicating it was "mostly true". Only two per cent said it was just a fable.

After reviewing the research on the topic of adolescents and religion, Bealer and Willets (1967) conclude that there is no simple answer to the question of how religious youth are. The adolescent is not religiously unconcerned, and typically subscribes

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<sup>1</sup>G. Gallup and E. Hill, as quoted by D. Rogers, The Psychology of Adolescence, New York: Meredith Corporation, 1972, 214-215.

to traditional beliefs, and practices the ritualistic aspects of religion. His knowledge of religion is probably low although his concern and interest in it is high. He seems reluctant to deny a belief in the supernatural although he is unwilling to completely trust in the divine.

The Adolescent and Conformity

Berdie and Hood (1964) in investigating adolescents' attitudes related to social behavior and social conformity have found that, based on twelve personality items from the Minnesota Counseling Inventory, boys showed less conformity than girls, and college bound students conformed more than non-college bound students.

In order to investigate teen-age conformity to adult imposed rules and regulations Coleman asked questions about drinking and smoking. He found that although girls conformed more to non-smoking and non-drinking than boys, only a minority of students indulged in these habits. When Friesen (1966) asked similar questions of Canadian students he found, as did Coleman, that girls conformed more than boys, and again only a minority of students were non-conformists in these areas. Only 23 per cent of the boys and eight per cent of the girls were regular smokers while nine per cent of the boys and two per cent of the girls drank beer regularly. Levitt and Edwards (1970) have also found that boys are not only more likely to be smokers than girls, but also are more likely to begin at an earlier age, and Preston (1969), has found that more males than females were drinkers.

Friesen also asked questions of the Western Canadian boys

and girls regarding the value of honesty or integrity, and found it to be held more widely than non-drinking and non-smoking. To the question of what students would do if they found a five dollar bill at school without anyone seeing it, over 55 per cent of the boys and 85 per cent of the girls said they would report the find rather than keep the money, and when asked if they would hand in an essay or assignment done by a friend as their own only 28.4 per cent of the boys and 16.8 per cent of the girls indicated their willingness to do so.

#### The Adolescent and Teacher Influence

There is some evidence to suggest that teacher influence upon the student is related to social class. Becker (1952) reports a study revealing the failure of teachers to understand the problems of teen-agers. He found that teacher reactions to social class differences of students were noticeable in teaching procedures, discipline, and moral acceptability. Lower class students generally fail to live up to the ideal pupil image and thus do not compare favourably with students of the middle class. There seems to be a tendency for the middle class oriented teacher to fail to influence students, especially those from the lower classes.

In Elatown's Youth, Hollingshead stressed that the academic failure of lower class youth must be explained by both the values of the lower classes and by the bias of the teachers who are more inclined to lend extra help to higher class students. These findings are supported by Sexton (1961) who also pointed out that serious behavior problems were associated with children of the

lower income families.

Coleman's data indicates that teacher influence upon the adolescent is minimal compared to that of the home and the peer-group. Only three per cent of the students in his study said that teachers' disapproval would be harder to take than parents' disapproval or breaking with a friend. Friesen (1966) who asked the same question of Canadian students found that only seven per cent gave a similar response. Epperson (1964) who changed the wording of Coleman's question found similar results when just four per cent of the students said they would be most unhappy if their teachers did not like what they did. Epperson's question was asked by Quine (1973) in an Australian study and here too teacher influence was low, as only five per cent said they would be most unhappy if their teachers did not like what they did.

In his Newfoundland study Cooper (1972) also found teacher influence to be lower than that of parents and peers. When asked how they perceived the school, church, and other agencies as influencing their general development the students chose parents, peers, and teachers in that order.

Some teachers fail to make any lasting impact on students at all. Allport (1961) found that 75 per cent of the undergraduates at Harvard University remembered their former teachers only vaguely, and credited them with no significant personal or intellectual influence. Only eight per cent of the teachers were reported to have had a strong influence, and 15 per cent had a weaker but well-remembered influence. The study showed that the average teacher gets through to less than a quarter of his class, and

exerts a strong influence on not more than ten per cent of it.

The research seems to suggest then, that teacher influence upon the adolescent is not strong. At the same time however, Seeley, Sim, and Loosley (1963) reported an extensive study in Crestwood Heights in which they contend it may be on the increase.

In examining the influences of the home, church and school they arrive at the conclusion that:

The existing configuration would suggest that the teacher now influences child and parent, who mutually influence each other, and these, in turn unite to influence the church. The school, supported by human relations experts and their institutions, has largely replaced the Church as an ideological source (p.241).

#### The Adolescent and the Peer-group

There is little doubt that in spite of the influence of the family, school and other social institutions, the peer-group remains a major source of influence for the adolescent. The activities, interests and worries of adolescents have been documented in various studies.

In Coleman's sample, boys preferred organized outdoor sports while girls preferred 'hanging around together'. Dating and dancing were preferred more by girls than by boys. The car was considered a key to dating and going to the local hangout, but the place of the car varied from school to school, being more prominent in the farming community. A 'good' personality was important for boys for membership in the leading crowd, but it was even more important for girls. Good grades were of minor importance as the easiest road to popularity was through prowess



as an athlete and as leader in activities.

The adolescents studied by Friesen preferred dances and socials as activities at school, which Friesen points out are the activities in which adults are least influential. Girls dated more than boys and also dated more frequently. Car ownership was restricted almost entirely to the boys, and for students who seek popularity at school the car seems to be more important than academic work or even athletics. Students were worried most about academic success but also about being accepted by their friends.

Vaz (1965) suggests that youth culture activities do not have a strong academic orientation, as his data reveals that the middle-class youth culture may be characterized by girls, sports, cars, and by 'having fun'.

The influence of the peer-group in the area of sex information has been revealed by several studies (Angrist, 1966; Grinder and Schmitt, 1966; Calderwood and den Beste, 1966; Gagnon, 1965; and Thornburg, 1970). In spite of the fact that peers are often a poor source of sexual information, most sex knowledge comes from them, followed by printed literature, school classes and parents. Stokes (1963) reports that 50 per cent of boys and 30 per cent of girls may discuss sex with peers of the same sex, while only 10 per cent discuss sex with peers of the opposite sex.

The influence of peer-groups upon achievement has been the subject of many studies. Muma (1965) found that students who were well liked by their peers tended to be most successful, while those rejected by their peers were less successful than those of average acceptance. Muma (1968) found that this

relationship between achievement and acceptance was stronger in academic than in performance classes.

McDill, Meyers and Rigsby (1967) have demonstrated that social pressures from peers at school may exert as much or more influence on a student's academic achievement as home environment, scholastic ability, and academic values.

Spady (1970) found that a student's role in his high school peer-group is a definite source of his success goals, particularly when his attitudinal, financial, intellectual, and academic resources are low. He claims however, that this may backfire when activities such as athletics stimulate students' status perceptions and future goals without providing the skills and orientations necessary for their fulfillment.

The effects of the peer-group on a student's occupational and educational aspirations have been documented in several studies. Alexander and Campbell (1964) found that a boy was more likely to be oriented toward college if his best friend was planning to go there. Pavalko and Bishop (1966) found that the educational plans of an adolescent after high school were significantly influenced by those of his friends, although it was not the same for all socioeconomic groups. Breton (1972) has also found that among Canadian youth, support from friends is an important source of encouragement for post-secondary education after that of parents and school faculty, and Parsons (1974) has determined that among Newfoundland students over 60 per cent who planned to attend a post-secondary institution thought it at least of some importance to have friends going there.

Coleman's study revealed that the adolescent social system channeled the energy of young people away from scholastic achievement and toward athletics and social activities. Friesen however, found that the adolescents he studied valued education more than either athletics or social activities, and concluded that students realized the immediate rewards of these but at the same time valued the effects of education in later life more. Coleman's contention that prestige comes from participation in social activities and athletics was supported by Snyder (1969), although he saw the two as coinciding rather than as opposed. While Grinder (1969) observed a strong and consistent relationship between high commitment to peer interests and low commitment to school objectives, Weatherford and Horrocks (1967) have proposed a curvilinear relationship where moderate interaction with peers is positively related to school success, while neither excessive nor minimal interaction correlates with achievement.

Coleman found, paradoxically, that high peer status was related to a greater interest in going to college, and lesser interest in scholastic achievement. In a follow-up study, McDill and Coleman (1963) confirmed these findings and added that the discrepancy was likely to increase during high school.

Sanford (1956), Freedman (1956), Sanford (1962) and Bushnell (1962) all found peer influences operating on achievement in much the same way as described by Coleman. They found a distinct student culture where individuals did not rebel against achievement and studying in general, but where they refused to be wholeheartedly committed to achievement at the cost of satisfactory

relations with peers.

A study by Hughes, Becker and Greer (1962) showed that students reached informal agreements on what they would learn in preparation for examinations, and informal norms directed how much work assigned by professors would be completed and turned in.

A review of the research then, indicates a strong and powerful influence upon the adolescent from the peer-group as he appears to be drawn further and further away from the family. Coleman found peer-group influence to be significant enough to say:

To be sure, parents and parental desires are of great importance to children in a long-range sense, but it is their peers whose approval, admiration, and respect they attempt to win in their everyday activities, in school and out. As a result, the old "levers" by which children are motivated - approval or disapproval of parents and teachers - are less efficient (p.11).

### The Adolescent and Parent Influence

In spite of the evidence that peer influence appears to be increasing among adolescents, there is little doubt that parental influences are quite powerful. Allport (1961) expresses a generally accepted point of view:

We all know that the ability of the school to give training in values is limited. For one thing the home is vastly more important. A home that infects the child with galloping consumption, that encourages only canned recreation and has no creative outlets can only with difficulty be offset by the school (p.21).

Research on the adolescent subculture has shown that parent influence is a major one in the high school society. Coleman's study reveals that adolescents were almost evenly split as to whether their parents' disapproval or breaking with a friend was

harder for them to take. It seems that they are both looking forward to their friends and backward to their parents for standards of behavior. Friesen found that Canadian students too, were almost equally divided on the issue. In addition, he found that parents exerted most influence on the largest number of students, and that when faced with a choice involving disobedience to parents, a greater number of students chose to ignore peer pressure. The extent of parental influence is indicated when he concludes: almost half of the students wanted to resemble one of their parents; the more religious the parents, the more religious the students; the more academic-minded the parents, the more academic-minded the students; and, where more parents served drinks in the community, the more students engaged in drinking.

Differences in the effects of parent and peer influences have been documented for urban and rural areas. Light (1970) found that more rural than urban girls were influenced by family and religion than by their peer-groups. Rural girls continued to accept the conventional, ethical standards, while urban girls were more receptive to the new morality. In another study Gaier and White (1965) found that rural subjects more often followed the virtues and philosophies of their parents, while urban youth were more directed by group trends. While the choices of occupations for rural youth were in accord with the occupations of their parents, urban youth perceived themselves as sensitive to group thinking and behavior.

#### Summary and Conclusions

From the research of Coleman and Friesen it appears that

although parental influence is a major one in the adolescent society, that of the peer-group is also significant. In both studies teacher influence was only of minor significance with the students.

The contention of a separate and distinct high school subculture has been put forth by a number of investigators and it has been questioned by others. Research of this nature in Canada has been limited, but the major study of Canadian schools quoted above has rejected the high school subculture hypothesis. To date, no such study has been attempted in Newfoundland.

It is believed that a study of this kind can prove beneficial both as an empirical examination of the youth subculture hypothesis, and in providing evidence of the applicability of studies done elsewhere to local school situations. It could also prove useful in the interests of promoting a better understanding of Newfoundland youth.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

This study will use a questionnaire, The High School Student Values Inventory, to obtain a picture of student activities, attitudes and values in five Newfoundland high schools. From the responses and their analysis evidence will be obtained by which David Friesen's framework and hypotheses, applied to the Newfoundland setting, will be tested.

As in the Western Canadian study, this process will yield information on such areas as student homework, interests, television viewing, music appreciated, dating, reasons for popularity, main worries, and characteristics deemed necessary for success in life and for membership in the leading crowd.

It will also reveal student attitudes toward athletics and sports, academic work and achievement, and religion. It will show to what extent students conform to social rules, regulations and expectations, and it will reveal the extent of teacher, parent and peer-group influences upon them.

#### Definitions

The following definitions are accepted as adopted from the

### Western Canadian study:

1. Culture: This refers to the patterns and products of learned behavior: the etiquette, language, food habits, religion, moral beliefs, systems of knowledge, attitudes, and values of a group of people.

2. Subculture: Whenever a smaller group of people within the larger society shares certain activities, attitudes, and beliefs which are at variance with the overall culture a subculture is said to exist.

3. Values: These refer to practices, beliefs, ideas, institutions or objects that are highly regarded. They refer to those things which are held in high esteem relative to alternatives.

4. Society: The persons who share a given culture and the network of relationships that exist among the members of the group are known collectively as society.

5. Adolescent: An individual between childhood and maturity, not economically nor socially emancipated (usually thought of as between thirteen and nineteen years of age) is known as an adolescent.

6. Social system, adolescent society, high school society: These terms refer to the group of people within the larger society sharing its own set of activities, values, interests, and attitudes.

### Materials

The questionnaire used in this study, The High School Student Values Inventory, was developed by the writer, along with the



suggestions of experienced educators, largely by modification of the one used by David Friesen in his Western Canadian study, to more appropriately fit the Newfoundland situation. Where questions were deemed inappropriate for Newfoundland students, they were either modified or dropped, and where there were believed to be omissions in the instrument used in the former study, new questions were constructed and added.

Unlike Friesen's questionnaire, the present one is embodied in one section, although most of the questions in the second part of his instrument, The Gough Home Index Scale, were retained as part of the present study.

The questions are all of the forced-choice type, and were devised such that responses could be easily coded, and analyzed with the aid of a computer. The instrument used by Friesen is contained in Appendix A, while that used in the present study appears in Appendix B.

### Subjects

In early June of 1974 the High School Student Values Inventory was administered to students in grades ten and eleven in five selected high schools in Newfoundland. Of the schools selected two are administered by the Integrated School Board Authority, formed by a merger of the Anglican, United Church, and Salvation Army religious denominations for the purpose of operating schools, and the remaining three schools are administered by the Roman Catholic School Board Authority. To preserve the identities of these schools and the communities in which they exist, each has

been given a fictitious name. A brief description of each of the schools follows:

Hillview is a coeducational school in an industrial community of about 25,000 people. The school population consists of approximately 750 students in grades ten and eleven, most of whom are of the Anglican, United Church or Salvation Army faith. Out of the total school population, the sample for this study consisted of 204 students. The school has a staff of 38 teachers who offer the university entrance and general programs of study.

Glendale is an all-girl school located in the same community as Hillview. The total enrollment in the seventh through eleventh grades is about 600 students, of which approximately 200 are in grades ten and eleven. Of these 146 comprised the sample for this study. The school comes under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic School Board, and of the students questioned in the survey, 98 per cent were of the Roman Catholic faith. The teaching staff in the school is comprised of 25 teachers, all of whom are female.

Creston is an all-boy, city school located in the same community as Hillview and Glendale. The total enrollment in the eighth through eleventh grades is about 500 students, of which around 250 are in grades ten and eleven. Of these 129 comprised the sample for this study. Like Glendale, the school comes under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic School Board, and of the students included in the sample 97 per cent were of the Roman Catholic faith. The teaching staff is comprised of 21 teachers, all of whom are male.

Eastfield is a coeducational school in a relatively small, homogeneous, rural, Newfoundland community. It has an enrollment of less than 300 students, of which 122 in grades ten and eleven were selected for study. The school comes under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic School Board, and of the students surveyed 98 per cent were of the Roman Catholic faith. The teaching staff in the school consists of 14 teachers.

Firgreen is a coeducational school in a community of 10000 people, which is located near a large city. The school enrollment consists of 550 students in the ninth through eleventh grades, of which over 350 are in grades ten and eleven. Of these 195 comprised the sample for this study. The school is under the jurisdiction of the Integrated School Board and of the students surveyed 90 per cent were of the Anglican, United Church, or Salvation Army faiths. About 8 per cent were Roman Catholics. The teaching staff in the school consists of 27 teachers.

#### Administration and Sampling

The five schools surveyed were not selected at random but rather were carefully chosen such that variables believed to be relevant to the study could be examined. The following variables were considered during the selection process: (1) the sex of the student, as all major research in the area have found it to be of considerable importance. (2) community size, as many studies have suggested urban-rural differences. (3) type of school jurisdiction, since the school system in Newfoundland is divided and administered along religious lines.

In view of these factors then, Hillview, Creston, and Glendale were selected as urban schools from the same community. While Hillview is under the jurisdiction of the Integrated School Board, Glendale and Creston are Roman-Catholic, and while Hillview is coeducational, Glendale is an all-girl school, and Creston is all-boys. Firgreen and Eastfield were chosen as rural schools, and while both are coeducational, Eastfield is Roman Catholic and Firgreen is Integrated.

Only students in grades ten and eleven in the schools were surveyed, as it was believed that some of the questions were not applicable at the grade nine level. All usable questionnaires were included in the study's analysis.

#### Analysis of Data

1. For each item on the questionnaire response percentages were determined for all students, and for boys and girls separately.

2. Differences in responses for each school were also determined such that comparisons between schools could be made.

3. By a method developed by Davies (1962), the significance of the difference between response percentages was tested to determine whether they were meaningful statistically.

4. Graphs, tables, and figures were used to present more clearly differences and similarities between schools, and between boys and girls.

5. Since the study is to be a replication of one done in Western Canada, direct comparisons were made between the two

sets of responses, and using the method developed by Davies.

the .01 level of confidence will be used unless otherwise stated.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CULTURE OF THE PEER-GROUP

This chapter will attempt to describe the student culture in the five high schools by examining the activities, attitudes and values held by the students collectively, and by analyzing significant differences between schools. The format of the chapter follows largely from that used in the review of the literature. At first, the evidence pertaining to the extent and direction of peer-group influences will be examined, which will be followed by an attempt to look more closely at the peer culture through an examination of student activities and interests, and of their conformity to generally accepted adult norms and expectations. Finally, a summary of parent and teacher influences upon the students will be given.

#### The Peer-Group

If the culture of the peer-group is to be separate from the larger society, then it must have its own forces which serve to shape and maintain itself. External forces must have less influence over the students than do internal forces. In this respect, the student culture is dependent, in part at least, upon the degree to which students are oriented to parents, teachers, and the

church, as well as their degree of orientation to peers.

In order to determine to whom students are oriented, a number of questions were put to them. The responses to Question 11 are presented in Table 1. The Western Canadian sample is presented on the left with the Newfoundland sample on the right.

TABLE 1

Per cent of students who find parents' disapproval, teachers' disapproval, or breaking with a friend, hardest to take

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Parents' disapproval	44.4	46.6	37.0	47.0
b. Teachers' disapproval	6.7	7.0	5.7	2.7
c. Breaking with a friend	47.5	45.0	57.3	50.2
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(384)	(400)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.38.

Table 1 shows that teacher orientation was minimal as only a small minority of students found "teachers' disapproval" hardest to take. It seems that the major sources of influence come from parents and peers, as both boys and girls in Friesen's sample and the girls in the Newfoundland sample were almost evenly split between these two. The single departure from this occurred with the Newfoundland boys, who on the basis of this question appear more oriented to peers than parents. Over 52 per cent of them found "breaking with a friend" hardest to take compared to just 37 per cent who found "parents' disapproval" hardest to take, a difference which is significant at the .01 level of confidence.

This apparent split between parents and peers was also supported by the findings of Coleman. "Parents' disapproval" was hardest to take for 53 per cent of the students in his study, compared to 43 per cent who claimed that "breaking with a friend" was hardest for them.

There has developed some controversy however, over the use of this question as an indicator of parent or peer orientation. Epperson (1964) has argued that "parents' disapproval" and "breaking with a friend" cannot be equated, and as a result has constructed a similar question asking students whether they would be most unhappy if their parents, their favourite teacher, or their best friend, did not like what they did. He administered the question to a sample of 778 students, and in contrast to Coleman's finding that 53 per cent of the students were oriented to parents, his data showed that over 80 per cent were oriented to them.

In an effort to help clarify this controversy the present study had both the Coleman and Epperson questions answered by the students. The results, as shown in Table 2, lend support for

TABLE 2

Per cent of Newfoundland Students who indicated  
Parent and Peer Orientations in response to  
the Coleman and Epperson Questions

	<u>Coleman</u>		<u>Epperson</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Parents	37.0	47.0	64.1	77.2
b. Teachers	5.7	2.7	2.1	2.0
c. Peers	57.3	50.2	33.8	20.8
Number of cases	(384)	(400)	(379)	(395)



Epperson's argument, for while 42 per cent of the students indicated orientation to parents in response to the Coleman question, over 70 per cent of them revealed parent orientation in answering his revised version of it. On the basis of this evidence then, it seems clear that the degree of parent or peer influence depends, in part, on the particular version of the question used. In both instances however, there remains a large proportion of students who are most influenced by their friends.

To further determine the extent of peer influence Question 12 inquired if students were willing to join their friends in a secret escapade against the wishes of their parents. The responses as given in Table 3 indicate that the majority of them were not. In Friesen's Western Canadian sample 70 per cent of the boys

TABLE 3  
Per cent of students who would join a secret escapade  
with friends against parents' wishes

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Yes	30.0	13.5	42.2	20.6
b. No	70.0	86.5	57.8	79.4
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(377)	(399)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.40.

and 86.5 per cent of the girls were unwilling, and in the Newfoundland sample 57.8 per cent of the boys and 79.4 per cent of the girls were unwilling. These results are also supported by those of Coleman's study, as more of the students in his sample would

not go against their parents' wishes than who would do so.

Of those who would join in the escapade there were more than twice as many boys as girls. In the Newfoundland sample the proportion was over 42 per cent of the boys compared to 20.6 per cent of the girls, and in Friesen's sample it was 30 per cent of the boys compared to 13.5 per cent of the girls. This indicates a greater degree of peer orientation among the boys than among the girls.

Not only are boys more peer oriented than girls, but in comparing the two samples, Newfoundland students seem more peer oriented than their Western Canadian counterparts. Over 42 per cent of Newfoundland boys were willing to join their friends in the escapade whereas only 30 per cent of those in Friesen's sample would do so, and where 20.6 per cent of Newfoundland girls would go against their parents' wishes only 13.5 per cent of Western Canadian girls would do so.

The results of this question show that where the choice was to go with peers without parent approval, the number who chose to do so was reduced from the number who found "breaking with a friend" hardest to take. The degree of peer orientation in this instance was closer to that identified in the Epperson than in the Coleman question.

Question 34 asked students to choose again between parents and friends. The results are given in Table 4. As in the previous questions, a comparison of the two samples shows Newfoundland students to be more peer oriented than those in Friesen's sample. While the majority of Western Canadian boys and girls chose to go

TABLE 4

Per cent of students choosing to go on a trip  
with parents or camping with friends

	<u>Friesen's sample</u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Go with parents	64.5	77.5	40.8	45.7
b. Go with friends	34.3	21.3	59.2	54.2

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.42.

with parents, the majority of those in the Newfoundland sample elected to go with friends. Also in Table 4, boys are more influenced by their friends than girls. While almost 60 per cent of the Newfoundland boys chose to go with friends, only 54.2 per cent of the girls elected to do so. In Friesen's study 34.3 per cent of the boys chose friends over parents, compared to only 21.3 per cent of the girls. While these sex differences are quite marked for both samples, they are statistically significant only for Western Canadian students.

In all of the evidence considered thus far, the influence of the peer-group seems quite strong. Its persistent strength is further illustrated by other questions: In Question 14, 60 per cent of the Newfoundland students said that their friends were likely to influence them most at the present time, and 60 per cent also said that they spend two or more evenings a week out with these friends (Question 23). In Question 22, over 30 per cent stated that they strived most at school "to be accepted and liked by friends" which for 15 per cent constituted their biggest

worry (Question 15).

Friesen found similar types of concerns and preoccupations with peers among the students in his sample. Over 40 per cent of them spent two or more evenings a week out with the gang. Almost 25 per cent claimed that their friends had influenced them most in their lives, and while 32 per cent said that they strived most "to be accepted and liked by friends", 25 per cent stated this as their greatest worry.

Although the influence of peers seems strong it is not equally powerful for boys and girls. The consistently lower effect of peer influence upon girls is illustrated by Figure 1, which shows the responses of boys and girls to six of the "peer orientation" questions. While girls are less influenced by peers than boys on every item, the greatest difference between them occurred on item 6, which, as Friesen points out, (p.43), involves an activity to be carried out against parent approval. In this case it was chosen twice as frequently by boys as by girls.

Figure 1 also indicates, as pointed out earlier, that Newfoundland boys and girls are more peer oriented than their Western Canadian counterparts. This is evidenced by every item except the third, in which there is an almost equal degree of peer orientation in each of the samples.

The total responses on these six items were also calculated for each of the schools separately. The results are shown in Figure 2.

In the Newfoundland sample no significant differences were found between schools, although the boys and girls at Eastfield

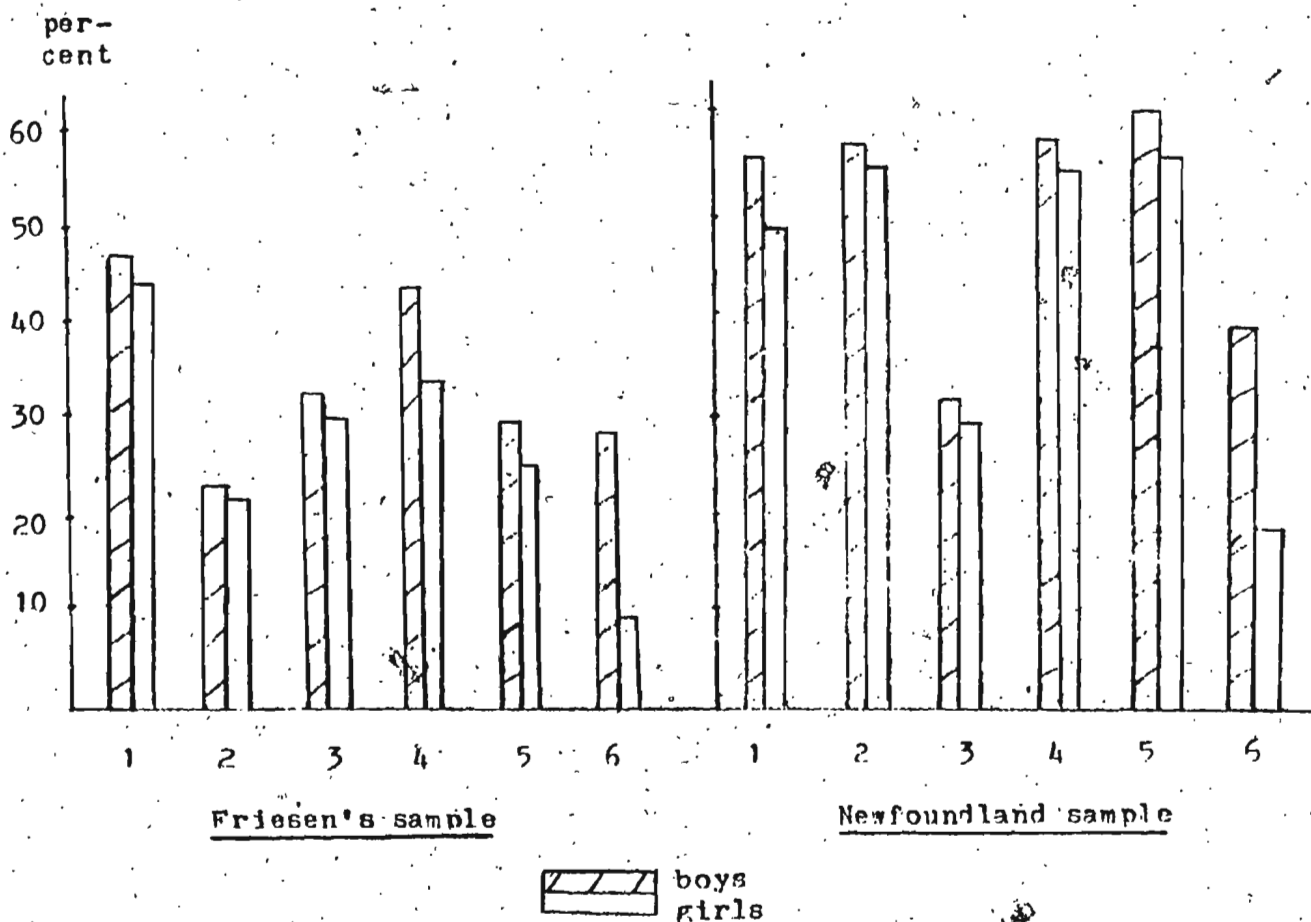


Figure 1. Per cent of students who responded positively to six items on peer influence,

Legend

1. Finding breaking with a friend most difficult (Q.11)
2. Students influenced most by their friends (Q.14)
3. Strive most to be accepted and liked by friends (Q.22)
4. Spend two or more evenings a week with the gang (Q.23)
5. Go with friends rather than with parents (Q.34)
6. Join in secret escapade against parents' wishes (Q.12)

(the small, rural community) were slightly less peer oriented than students elsewhere. The close similarity between the lower peer effect upon girls at Hillview, Glendale, and Firgreen, and between the greater peer influence of boys at Hillview, Creston,

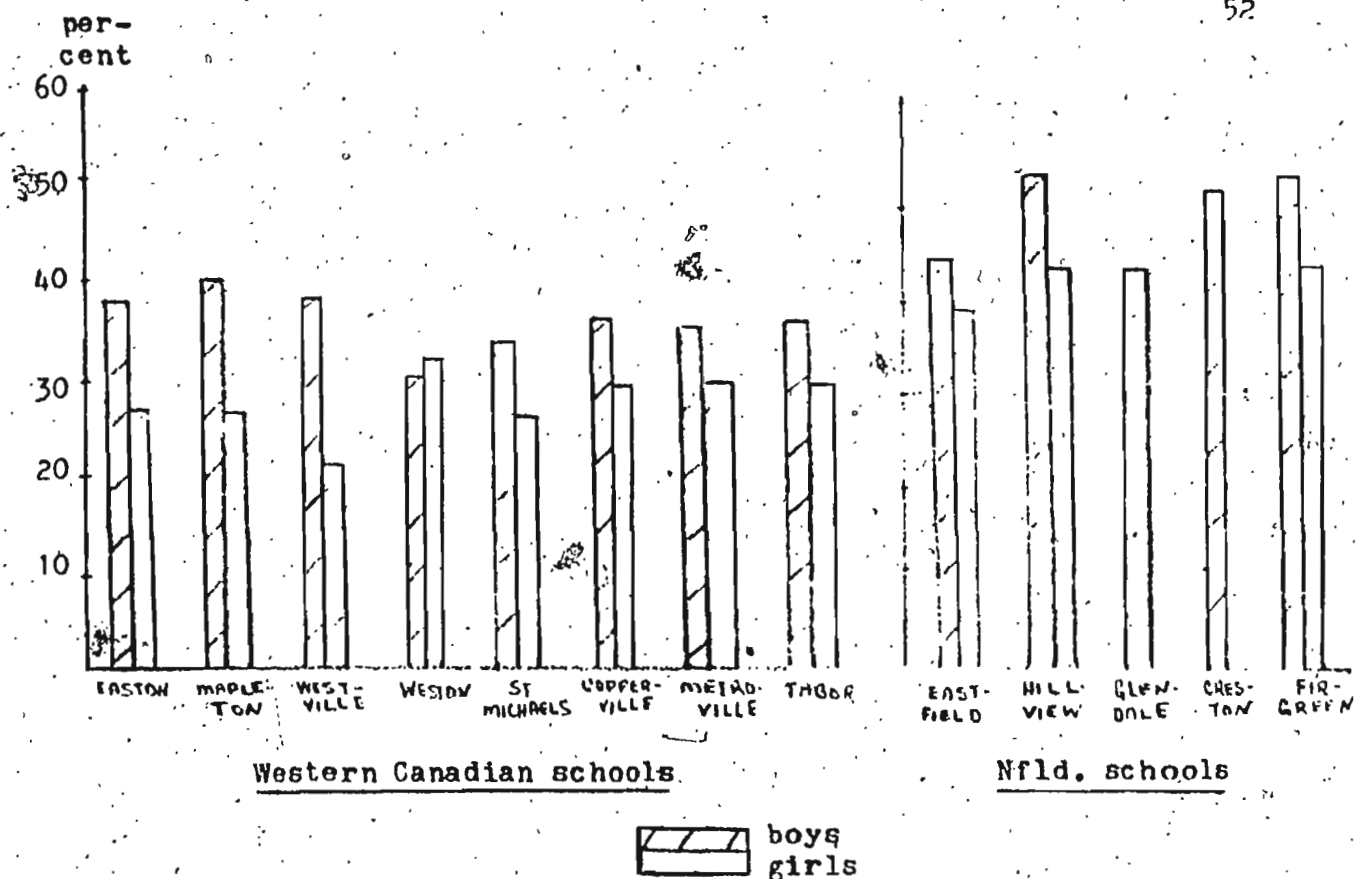


Figure 2. Per cent of positive responses of students in each school to peer influences on six items.

and Firgreen, suggests that the degree of student peer orientation is influenced more by the sex of the student, than by whether the school is coeducational or sex-segregated.

In the Western Canadian sample Friesen found "a seemingly equal degree" (p.43) of peer orientation in all schools, but as in the present study it was greater among the boys than girls. Finally, Figure 2, like Figure 1, shows that Newfoundland students are more oriented to their peers than were those in Friesen's sample.

In this study, Friesen also examined the differences in responses between students in the entire group and those in the leading crowd, in order to determine if the latter were more influenced by.

TABLE 5

Per cent of responses to peer orientation questions  
of total group and leading crowd

Question	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>			
	<u>Total group</u>		<u>Leading crowd</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
11(3) found breaking with a friend hardest to take	45.8	45.3	41.3	48.4
12(1) would join in escapade against parents' wishes	33.0	14.5	38.1	30.7
23(3) spend two or more evenings a week with gang	46.2	34.7	60.8	58.1
34(2) would go with friends rather than parents	34.2	20.3	43.4	28.6
66(1) prefer dances	54.7	53.3	65.6	66.1
	<u>Newfoundland sample</u>			
	<u>Total group</u>		<u>Leading crowd</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
11(3) as above	57.3%	50.2%	57.1%	47.4%
12(1) as above	42.2	20.6	49.5	32.9
23(3) as above	61.0	57.4	67.4	77.9
34(2) as above	59.2	54.2	59.3	64.5
66(1) as above	71.7	67.1	78.7	73.3

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.41.

and oriented to, their peers. His comparisons along with those from the present study are presented in Table 5.

Friesen found that in all questions except the first, boys and girls in the leading crowd were significantly more oriented to peers than were those in the entire group. A higher proportion of boys and girls in the leading crowd, 12(1), would join in the secret escapade against parents' wishes, 23(3), spent two or more

evenings a week with the gang, 34(2), would go with their friends rather than with parents, and 66(1), preferred dances.

In the Newfoundland sample however, differences between the total group and leading crowd were not as marked. Although the trend is toward a greater peer orientation among girls in the leading crowd in all questions except the first, it reaches significance at the .01 level of confidence only for 12(1), those who would join in the escapade against parents' wishes, and 23(3), those who spend two or more evenings a week with the gang.

For the boys, differences between the total group and leading crowd did not reach the .01 level of significance on any item, although the trend occurred in 12(1), 23(3), and 66(1). In spite of the non-significance however, there is a tendency, at least, for the leading crowd to be more peer oriented than the group as a whole, and because of its position of leadership it may be able to influence other students in school activities and interests.

Throughout this section then, the evidence has shown that the peer-group is a powerful force in the high school, and there is little doubt that it serves to help shape the culture of the students. This does not mean however, that by being powerful it is apart from and opposed to the general culture of the larger society. As stated earlier, if the student subculture is to be separate from the larger society it must have its own forces which serve to shape and maintain itself. On the basis of the evidence presented, this does not seem to be the case in the Newfoundland schools under observation. Although peer-group influences are strong, they are by no means all embracing. About half of the students indicated



that they were more influenced by, and oriented to, members of the adult world. Moreover, where students appear more oriented to their peers, their values, attitudes and activities, need not automatically conflict with those of the larger society. Peer influences can reflect adult beliefs and practices as well as oppose them.

In order to provide a better insight into the student culture the focus of attention will now turn to an examination of their activities and interests.

### Student Activities and Interests

Several questions in the High School Student Values Inventory were designed to reveal the activities and interests of the students. For convenience, they have been grouped in a manner similar to that used by Friesen as follows: activities preferred, dating and going steady, the role of the automobile in the high school society, entertainment, main worries of the students, and homework and television viewing.

#### Activities preferred by the students

Question 66 asked students to choose between four types of activities at school. Their responses are given in Table 6. Categories (c) and (d) in the question were changed slightly for the present study as it was believed that "literaries" and "visiting lectures and films" were not as applicable to Newfoundland students as they might be to those in Friesen's study. Accordingly, they were replaced by "debates" and "plays and concerts".

Table 6 shows that by far the most preferred activity was dances. It was chosen by over 48 per cent of Western Canadian boys and girls, and by almost 70 per cent of the Newfoundland students. As these results show, it was favoured more by the Newfoundland than Western Canadian students. Western Canadians however, chose socials more than the Newfoundland students as almost a quarter of them chose it compared to less than eight per cent of those in the present study.

TABLE 6

Per cent of Students preferring given Activities

	<u>Friesen's sample</u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Dances	48.2	48.2	71.7	67.1
b. Socials	22.6	28.0	7.5	7.7
c. Literaries (Debates)	1.8	4.9	5.6	6.4
d. Lectures and films (Plays and concerts)	25.5	17.8	15.2	18.8
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(374)	(389)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.47.

These two activities taken together represent the choices of 73.5 per cent of the students in Friesen's sample and over 76 per cent of the Newfoundland students. As Friesen suggests (p.47) of the activities listed, these two are the ones in which adult ideas and personnel are least likely to be influential. Thus the powerful support which they receive may be indicative of the students' desire for more completely peer-controlled activities.

As can be seen from Table 5 this preference for dances was even more accentuated among students in the leading crowd.

Of the other activities listed in Question 66, literatures and debates was chosen by only a small minority of students, while visiting lectures and films was favoured by 21.6 per cent of Friesen's group, and plays and concerts by 17 per cent of the Newfoundland group.

In the Newfoundland sample the strong support for dances and socials seemed to be representative of all schools. There was little appreciable difference between Eastfield (79 per cent), Hillview (85 per cent), Creston (81 per cent), and Glendale (75 per cent), while Firgreen was slightly lower at 67 per cent. In all schools these activities were preferred by the majority of students.

Friesen however, found wide variations between schools in the students' choice of dances, and suggests that the differences may be a reflection of adult attitudes in the community towards it. In communities where adults frowned upon dancing only a tiny minority of students chose it, while in communities where it was an accepted activity students strongly preferred it. This indicates that student attitudes toward dancing are influenced by those of adults, in which case the influence originates from sources external to the peer-group contrary to what the hypothesis of a separate student subculture suggests.

#### Dating among high school students

The responses to Question 2, which asked students about their dating practices, are presented in Table 7. In both

TABLE 7

Per cent of responses to the question: Do you date?

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. No	43.5	29.6	23.8	12.0
b. About once a month	20.8	20.4	20.6	23.9
c. About once a week	20.6	23.6	18.0	16.0
d. Twice a week or more	14.2	26.9	37.6	48.1
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(383)	(401)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.49.

samples more boys than girls do not date. Among the Western Canadian students 43.5 per cent of the boys do not date compared to 29.6 per cent of the girls, and 23.8 per cent of the Newfoundland boys do not date compared to 12 per cent of the girls. Not only do more girls date than boys but they also date more frequently. Only 14.2 per cent of the boys in Friesen's sample dated twice a week or more, compared to over 26 per cent of the girls, and while 37.6 per cent of Newfoundland boys date twice a week or more over 48 per cent of the girls do so.

In comparing the two samples a pattern emerges similar to that which occurred between the boys and girls, for not only do a higher percentage of Newfoundland students date than do western Canadian students, but they also date more often. Only 63.5 per cent of the students in Friesen's sample stated that they date compared to 82.1 per cent of those in the present study, and while only 20.5 per cent of the Western Canadians

dated twice a week or more, over 42 per cent of those in the Newfoundland sample claimed to date that often.

While Friesen found no significant differences between schools in the frequency of non-dating, only slight differences occurred between the Newfoundland schools, except at Glendale, the all-girl school, where dating was much more prevalent, primarily as a result of the higher incidence of dating among the girls.

Another facet of dating among high school students is going steady. Question 3 inquired about this, the responses to which are given in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Per cent of students who go steady

	<u>Friesen's sample</u> <sup>1</sup>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Yes	17.8	26.5	24.7	30.4
b. No	82.2	73.5	75.3	69.6
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(389)	(405)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.142.

As was the case with dating, more girls than boys go steady. Over 26 per cent of the girls in Friesen's sample go steady compared to only 17.8 per cent of the boys, and over 30 per cent of the Newfoundland girls go steady compared with 24.7 per cent of the boys. Also, like dating, a higher proportion of Newfoundland than Western Canadian boys and girls claim to go steady.

Both studies yielded a similar finding in that dating tended to increase during the high school years. While only 48 per cent of Western Canadian students in grade nine dated, over 80 per cent of those in grade twelve claimed to do so, and while 70 per cent of grade ten Newfoundland students dated, over 80 per cent of those in grade eleven claimed to do so. Similarly both studies revealed that the higher the grade the larger the proportion of students claiming to go steady. In Friesen's sample the proportion of students claiming to go steady increased from 15 per cent in grade nine to 35 per cent in grade twelve, while in the present study it increased from 17 per cent in grade ten to 32 per cent in grade eleven. As Friesen suggests (p.50) both these findings indicate the maturing of students toward the adult society.

It seems then that while Newfoundland students date and go steady more than their Western Canadian counterparts, girls generally date and go steady more than boys, and students in the higher grades tend to date and go steady more than those in the lower grades.

#### The car in the high school society

Question 47 was asked in order to determine the prevalence of car ownership among the students. The responses to this question as presented in Table 9 show that in both samples car ownership was restricted almost entirely to the boys. Less than three per cent of the girls in Friesen's sample and less than two per cent of those in the present study claimed to own one, and

TABLE 9

Per cent of Students who own cars

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Yes	16.5	2.3	10.6	1.5
b. No	83.5	97.7	89.4	98.5
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(388)	(405)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.142.

although only a minority of boys in each sample could claim ownership, more Western Canadian boys (16.5 per cent) than Newfoundland boys (10.6 per cent) could do so.

In the present study however, it was felt that the role of the car in the school society could not be adequately determined through a knowledge of car ownership. Accordingly, an adjunct to the question asked those who did not own cars if they had access to one. Over 45 per cent of the boys and 34.9 per cent of the girls responded that they did. Thus although only a minority of students owned a car, a much larger proportion had access to one. Like car ownership, access to a car was available to more boys than girls.

Additional information regarding the importance of the automobile was provided through Question 5, which was designed to learn of the things that counted most for making boys popular. "Having a nice car" was chosen as most important by 23.3 per cent of the boys and 11.9 per cent of the girls in Friesen's sample, and in the Newfoundland group 21.5 per cent of the boys and 3.5

per cent of the girls thought it most important. In each of the samples a higher percentage of boys than girls chose it, and a greater proportion of Friesen's students chose it than did Newfoundland students. According to both the Western Canadian and Newfoundland students however, if a boy seeks popularity the car seems to be an important means of achieving it, even more important than good grades. This suggests that to the extent students wish to be popular they will not strongly support the academic goals of the school.

#### Entertainment in the high school society

The entertainment covered in the survey included movies, music, and evenings spent with the gang. The extent to which "movie going" is a part of the adolescents' social life was revealed through Question 32, which asked students how often they went to the movies. The proportion of students who did not go to the movies varied significantly from school to school in each sample. These variations are pictured graphically in Figure 3. Since the responses of boys and girls in each sample did not differ significantly, only the total responses on non-movie goers are given.

Friesen claims that the wide differences between the schools in his study are a reflection of adult attitudes towards movies. The supporters of the private school, Tabor, as well as those of Mapleton frown on "movie going", and in these two schools the incidence of non-movie going was highest. In other schools where adult supporters accepted movies a much higher proportion



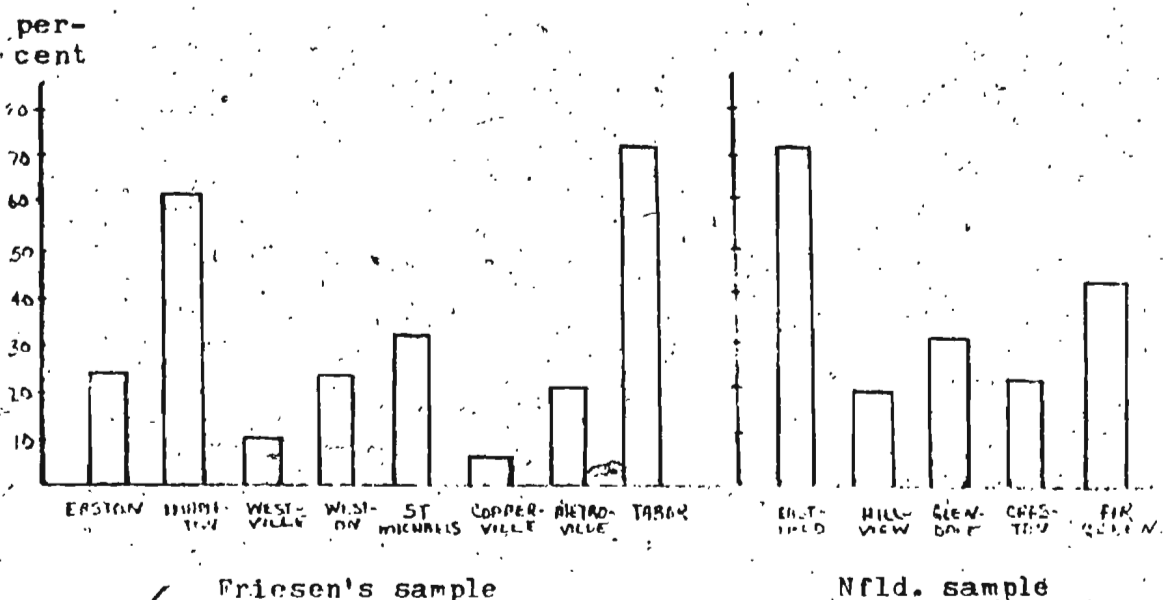


Figure 3. Per cent of students in each school who do not go to the movies.

of students attend them. This suggests another aspect of student life where adolescent behavior is influenced by sources external to the peer-group, and again this appears not to support the separate subculture hypothesis.

In the Newfoundland sample school differences are more likely to be a reflection of the accessibility of movies to the students. Hillview, Glendale and Creston in which non-movie going was lowest are all located in the same community in which there are several movie theatres. At Eastfield and Firgreen non-movie going was much higher perhaps as a result of the absence of daily showings in these communities.

About 38 per cent of Western Canadian and 51 per cent of the Newfoundland students go to movies once a month, while 27 per cent and 11 per cent of them go more often at about once a week. Only a tiny minority (less than three per cent) of those in either

sample go as frequently as twice a week.

Coleman's study showed similar movie going patterns among American adolescents. While there was little difference between boys and girls in movie attendance, the majority of students attended either once a week or once every two weeks, and only a small minority attended twice a week or more. Less than ten per cent never attended movies at all.

Music also plays a part in the student society as it does in the adult world. Through Question 29, the students revealed their choices in music. The most preferred type of music by all students was modern and the least preferred was classical. Over 66 per cent of Friesen's students chose modern and almost 85 per cent of the Newfoundland sample chose modern and rock. It was assumed that the respondents also included popular music in this category. Country and western was favored by 10 per cent of those in the Western Canadian sample, and by 12.3 per cent of those in the present study. There were no significant differences in the responses of boys and girls.

The fact that the majority favored modern music while only a minority chose classical may, as Friesen suggests, (p.55), be indicative of adult attitudes toward it, in which case student preferences reflect those of the adult world rather than oppose them. It would seem however, that this interpretation may be somewhat tenuous since adult preferences in music were not examined by either the Western Canadian or the present study.

Question 23 asked students how many evenings a week they spend with the gang. As Table 10 indicates, peer controlled

activities were popular with the students. Here the peer-group is operating almost free from adult authority.

In both samples a higher proportion of boys than girls spend two or more evenings a week with the gang, and a significantly higher percentage of Newfoundland boys (61 per cent) and girls (57.4 per cent) do so than Western Canadian boys (46.5 per cent) and girls (37.1 per cent). Of those who spend only one

TABLE 10

Per cent of Students spending given Number  
of Evenings with the Gang

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. None	23.6	29.0	25.7	24.2
b. One	29.5	32.8	13.2	18.5
c. Two or more	46.5	37.1	61.0	57.4
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(385)	(401)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.56.

evening a week with the gang, more of the Western Canadian boys and girls do so than Newfoundland boys and girls.

Of significance is the finding that one quarter of all students do not spend any time with the gang, which indicates that for them there is an apparent absence of peer-group interaction outside of school. This proportion appears somewhat high compared to that found by Coleman as less than ten per cent of the students in his sample did not spend any time with the gang.

### The adolescent and his worries

Question 15 was designed to learn what students were most worried about. Their responses are given in Table 11. The fourth

TABLE 11:  
Main worries of the adolescent  
(Per cent in each category)

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Health	12.8	7.6	19.0	11.0
b. Academic success	55.4	50.5	45.0	51.9
c. Acceptance by friends	21.0	31.6	11.3	17.6
d. Others (Finding a job)	10.8	9.8	24.7	19.4
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(385)	(400)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.57.

alternative in the question was changed for the present study such that "others" as used by Friesen was substituted for "finding a job".

The biggest worry for both the Western Canadian and the Newfoundland students was academic success. About half of all students stated this, while an additional 24.7 per cent of the Newfoundland boys and 17.6 per cent of the Newfoundland girls were most concerned with finding a job. Health was the main worry for only a minority of students although more boys than girls worried about it.

These results suggest that the students are well aware of what really counts in school, and that they are not as unconcerned about the adult world as the separate subculture hypothesis

might suggest. It is interesting to note that in the presence of the worries listed less than 15 per cent of the Newfoundland students stated that their greatest concern was over "being accepted and liked by friends". Indeed it ranked third after "academic success" and "finding a job". It seems then, that in spite of the greater peer orientation of the Newfoundland students as shown earlier, they nevertheless appear quite concerned about academic success as one of the school's main goals.

#### Television viewing and homework

Figure 4 presents the amount of time students spend watching television. Since differences between boys and girls in each sample were not significant the two are reported together.

Two observations can be made from Figure 4: (1), the majority of students (about 46 per cent) in each sample watch television from one to two hours each day, and (2), Newfoundland students watch more television than do their Western Canadian counterparts. While more of the students in Friesen's sample watch no television or watch it for less than one hour a day, more Newfoundland students watch it for more than two hours per day. The fact that a higher percentage of Western Canadian than Newfoundland students did not watch television may be due, in part, to more homes having television sets in 1974 than in 1966 when Friesen carried out his study. It may also be due in part to different attitudes toward television viewing, since in some communities where movies were frowned upon television viewing may be frowned upon as well.

Students apparently do not regard the amount of time they

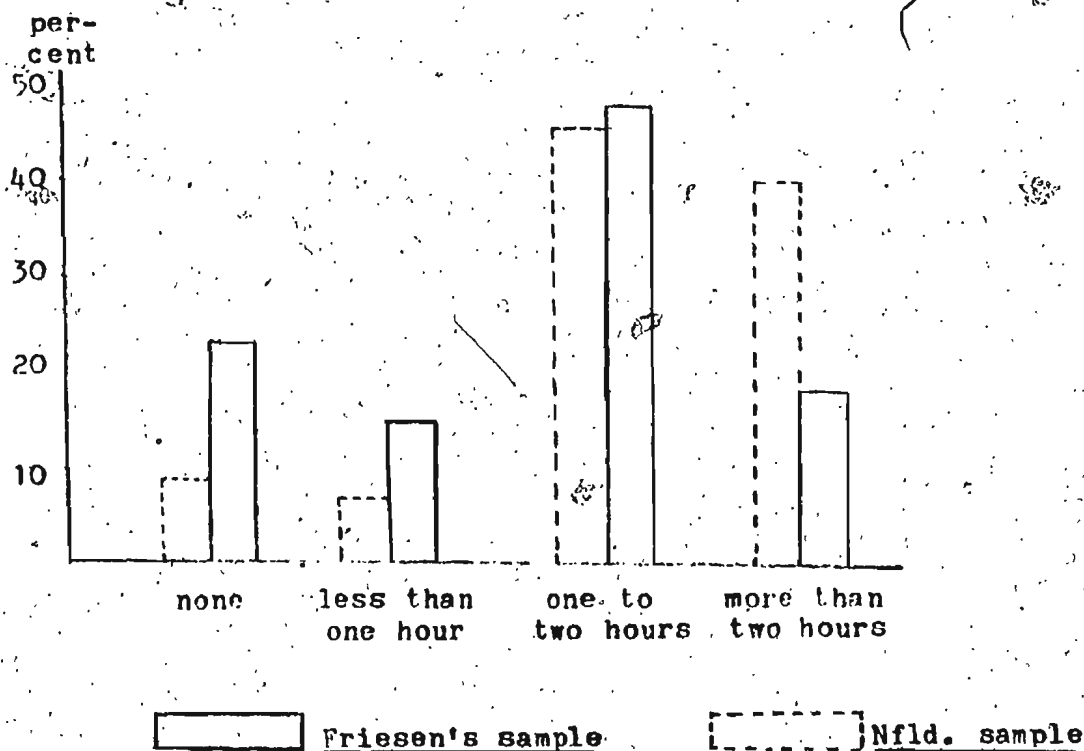


Figure 4. Per cent of students spending given time per day watching television.

spend watching television as being different from adults, for according to Question 46, about 33 per cent of them claimed that their parents watched more television than they did, and a further 27 per cent said that their parents watched at least as much.

Another aspect of television viewing is the kind of programs students watch. Question 37 inquired about this, the responses to which are given in Table 12. By far, the favourite program for most students was "western or comedy", and the least preferred was "interviews and news". While over 60 per cent of all students chose the former, only 5.3 per cent chose the latter.

The responses to "quiz shows and contests" and to "sports" show quite marked differences along sex lines. Just over 20 per

TABLE 12

Per cent of Students preferring given kinds  
of Television Programs

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Western or comedy	54.6	63.6	58.5	65.7
b. Quiz shows and contests	5.6	20.3	10.0	21.1
c. Interviews and news	5.9	7.4	3.5	4.4
d. Sports	32.9	6.5	27.9	8.8
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(369)	(388)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.61.

cent of the girls in each sample preferred "quiz shows and contests" compared to 7.8 per cent of the boys, and over 30 per cent of the boys favored "sports" to only 7.6 per cent of the girls.

Figure 5 shows pictorially the amount of time students spend at homework. The greatest differences here occurred between the students on the basis of sex, as girls spend more time at homework than do boys. While more boys spend no time or less than one hour at this activity, more girls spend one to two hours, or more than two hours. As was the case with television viewing, the majority of students spend from one to two hours per day at homework. These findings are similar to those obtained by Coleman in his American investigation as he too found that students spent from one to two hours per day both at watching television and doing homework.

Generally then, it seems that most students divide their time rather evenly between homework and television, as about

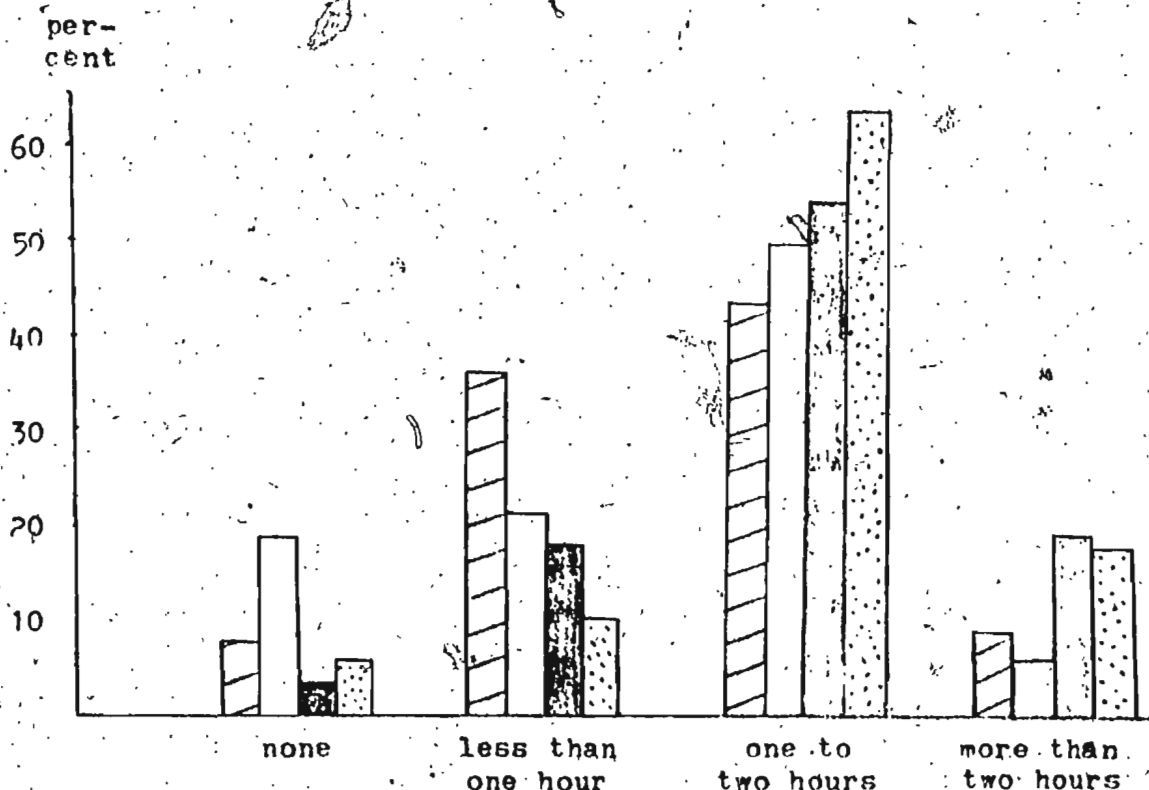


Figure 5. Per cent of students spending given time per day in doing homework.

Western Canadian boys  
 Newfoundland boys  
 Western Canadian girls  
 Newfoundland girls

half of them while spending from one to two hours at homework also spend an equivalent amount of time watching television.

#### Non-conformity among high school students

Friesen states that "conformity to adult-made rules and regulations, whether written or implied, is a sign of acceptance of adult authority. Rejection of such authority and development of peer standards suggests a separate culture. To examine the degree of conformity among students in the selected schools a



number of questions were posed, all dealing with adult-imposed rules or expectations" (p.62). The questions dealt with smoking, drinking, handing in an assignment done by a friend as his own, and action taken on finding a five dollar bill at school. The responses of students in both samples regarding non-drinking and non-smoking are presented in Figure 6.

Friesen found considerable variation between the schools in his study in student non-smoking, which he contends may be traced to adult attitudes towards smoking in the community. In the Newfoundland sample there was little appreciable difference between schools, as about 50 per cent of the students in each did not smoke.

The responses for all schools taken together are given in Table 13. They show that the Western Canadian boys and girls do not engage in smoking in such high proportions as do Newfoundland boys and girls. Not only do a higher proportion of

TABLE 13

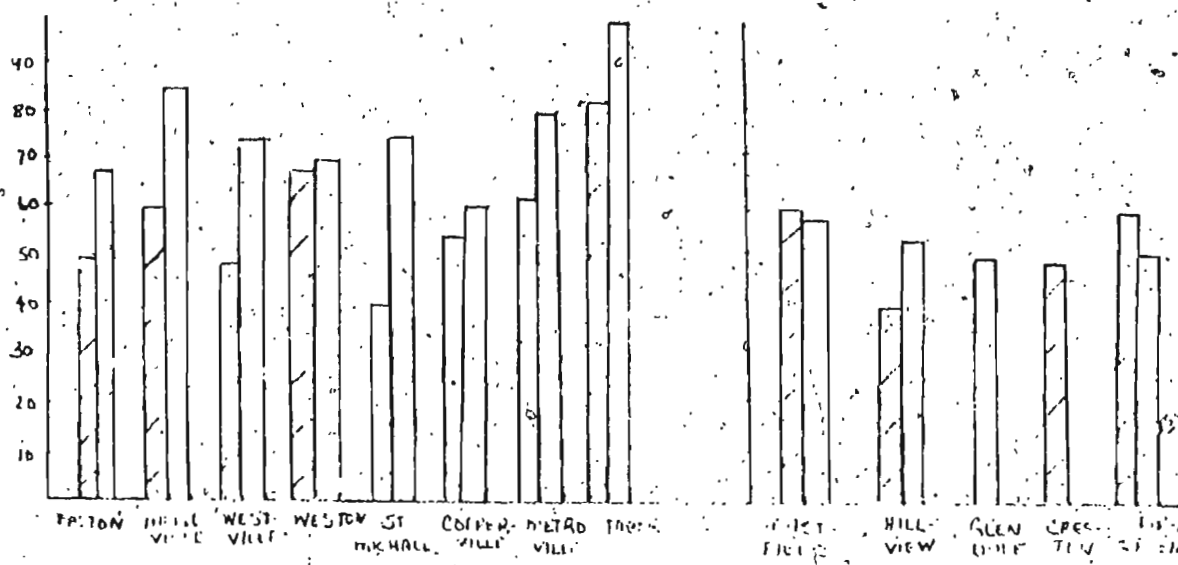
Per cent of responses to the question: Do you smoke?

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Yes, regularly	23.2	8.1	36.3	29.7
b. Yes, occasionally	17.9	15.0	11.6	18.8
c. No	58.8	76.9	52.1	51.5
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(388)	(404)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.65.

per-  
cent

72

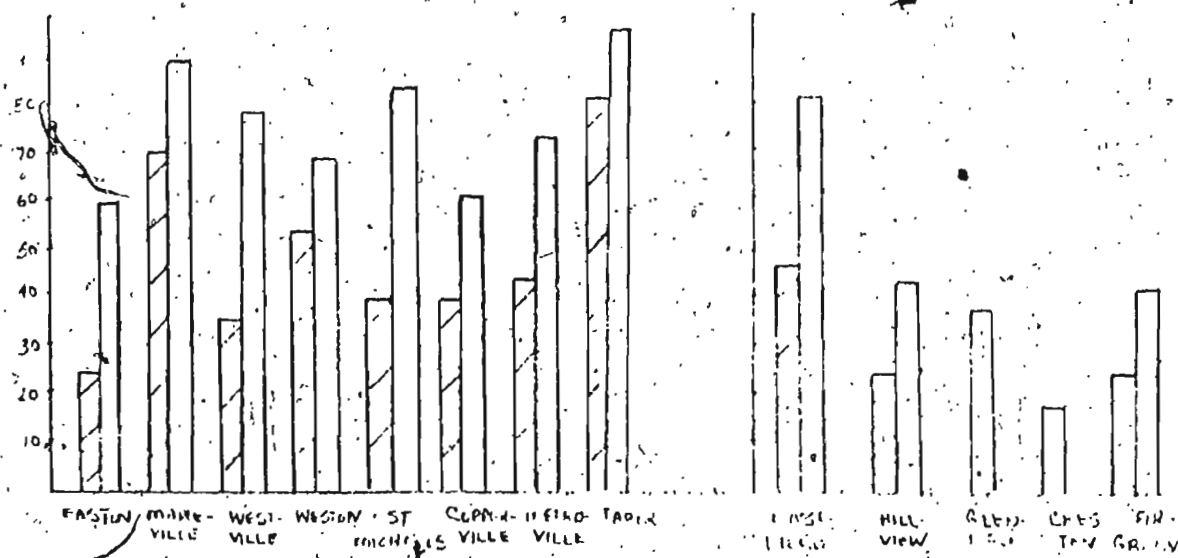


Friesen's sample

Nfld. sample

boys  
girls

Non-smoking frequency



Friesen's sample

Nfld. sample

boys  
girls

Non-drinking frequency

Figure 6. Per cent of students who do not drink or smoke.

Newfoundland students smoke, but they do so on a regular basis. Over 36 per cent of the Newfoundland boys smoke regularly compared to 23.2 per cent of the Western Canadian boys, and almost 30 per cent of the Newfoundland girls are regular smokers compared to just over eight per cent of those in Friesen's sample. In general there was a large proportion of students in both samples who smoked, at least on an occasional basis, and the proportion was even higher for the Newfoundland students. Particularly noticeable was the fact that while only 8.1 per cent of the girls in Friesen's sample smoked regularly, almost 30 per cent of those in the present study were regular smokers. This may be indicative of the greater freedom associated with women today, in which case student practices reflect those of the adult world rather than exist independently of them.

Drinking followed much the same pattern as smoking. While Friesen found wide variations between schools in non-drinking, there were few substantial differences between those in the Newfoundland sample except at Eastfield, the small, rural community, where it was much higher.

The total responses for all schools are given in Table 14. In both samples there was a much higher proportion of girls who did not drink than boys. In Friesen's sample the proportion was 79.5 per cent of the girls to 53.5 per cent of the boys, and in the Newfoundland sample it was 48 per cent of the girls to 25.5 per cent of the boys.

As with smoking, more Newfoundland than Western Canadian students are drinkers both on a regular and occasional basis.

TABLE 14

Per cent of responses to the question: Do you drink beer?

	Friesen's sample <sup>1</sup>		Nfld. sample	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
a. Yes, regularly	9.1	2.3	23.2	6.7
b. Yes, occasionally	36.8	18.2	51.3	45.3
c. No	53.5	79.5	25.5	48.0
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(388)	(404)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.66.

In Friesen's sample 45.9 per cent of the boys drank regularly and occasionally while almost 75 per cent of the Newfoundland boys do, and only 20.5 per cent of the girls in Friesen's sample indulge in drinking compared to 52 per cent of the Newfoundland girls.

A further attempt was made to assess student non-conformity through Question 17, which asked students if they would hand in an essay or assignment that their friend had done as their own.

While the majority of students would not agree to the deception, there was a sizable minority who would do just that. Over 28 per cent of the Western Canadian boys would do so, as would 16.8 per cent of Western Canadian girls, and 35.7 per cent of the Newfoundland boys indicated their willingness as did 18.1 per cent of the girls. In each sample almost twice as many boys as girls agreed to the deception. No significant differences occurred between the two samples but, as with drinking and smoking, the tendency was toward more non-conformity

among the Newfoundland students in agreeing to the deception.

Question 52 presented a different situation by which to determine student honesty, and again the responses clearly demonstrated the greater conformity among the girls. The responses to the question are shown graphically in Figure 7. When asked whether they would report finding a five dollar bill at school or whether they would keep the money, over 43 per cent of the boys in Friesen's sample and over 53 per cent of those in the Newfoundland sample would keep it, compared to only 13.8 per cent of Western Canadian girls and 11.1 per cent of the Newfoundland girls.

The responses to all of these questions then, indicate that the value of honesty was held more widely than the value of

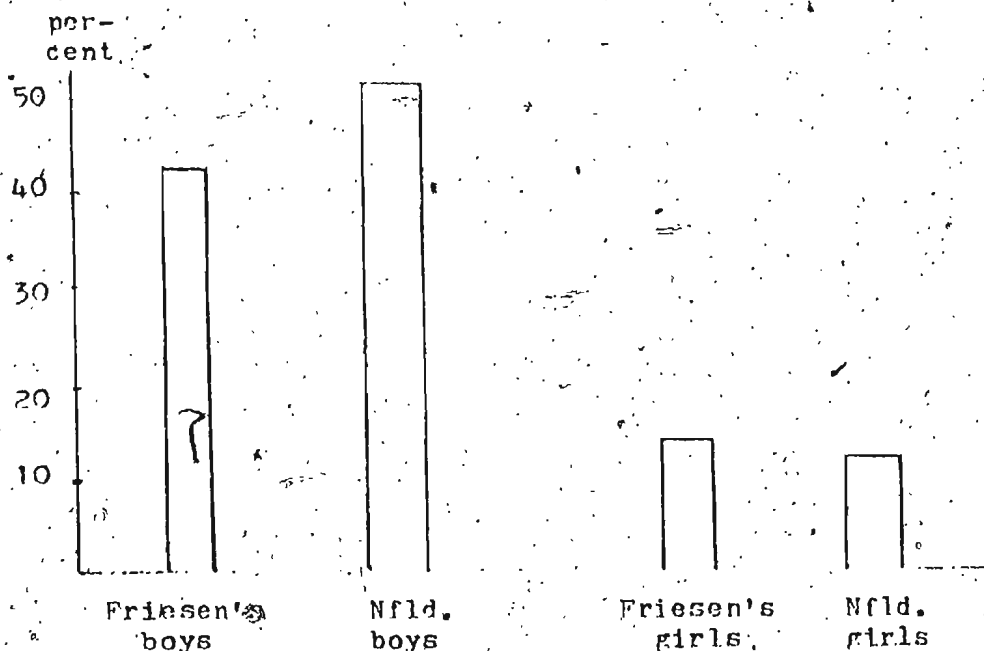


Figure 7. Per cent of students who would keep a five dollar bill found in school.

non-smoking or non-drinking. Fewer students, especially among the girls, were willing to deceive by handing in a friend's assignment as their own, and by keeping the five dollar bill, than who engage in smoking and drinking.

Values and attitudes in the high school society

Student attitudes toward the peer-group and toward various activities have been discussed already. Attention is now given to their attitudes towards sports, popularity, academic work, religion, teacher influence, and parent influence.

Sports, popularity and academic work

Question 5 was asked in order to determine the relative importance of athletics and academic work in the social life of the students. The responses to the question are summarized in Table 15. For the present study a fifth alternative "good looks" was added to the question.

The majority of students did not view either athletics or academic work as important for popularity. For the boys in both samples "good grades" ranked lowest, and "athletics" ranked second lowest. For the girls they also ranked lowest except for "having a nice car". According to the students in Friesen's sample the best route to popularity was through "being on the leading crowd" and for those in the Newfoundland sample the most important factor was "good looks". This suggests that to the extent that students seek to be popular, they give little support to academic work and athletics.

TABLE 15

Per cent of students considering selected items most  
important in making boys popular

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Having a nice car	23.3	11.9	21.5	3.5
b. High grades, honor roll	9.5	16.4	5.1	4.9
c. Being an athletic star	15.4	13.9	16.1	11.6
d. Being in the leading crowd	50.0	55.4	23.3	20.9
e. Good looks			34.0	59.1
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(335)	(345)

<sup>1</sup> Friesen (1966), p.69.

The importance of these however, is put in a better perspective by Question 18, which asked students how they would like to be remembered at school. Their responses as shown in Table 16, demonstrate that many are well aware of things more important than popularity.

Several observations may be made from the table: (1) the majority of both the Western Canadian and the Newfoundland students saw the real value in academic work; 60.8 per cent and 50 per cent respectively, wanted to be remembered as "outstanding students". (2) Newfoundland students placed less value on academic work, and more value on athletics, than did their Western Canadian counterparts. Over 31 per cent of them chose "athletic star" compared to 22.6 per cent of Friesen's sample. (3) Boys placed less emphasis on academic work than did girls, while placing

TABLE 15

Attributes by which students wish  
to be remembered  
(Per cent in each category)

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample<sup>1</sup></u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Outstanding student	51.6	70.0	36.8	63.2
b. Athletic star	34.6	10.6	41.5	21.5
c. Most popular	12.8	12.6	21.5	15.2

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.72.

more emphasis on athletics. In Friesen's sample the proportion of boys (34.6 per cent) who chose athletics was three times that of the girls (10.6 per cent), and in the Newfoundland sample the proportion of boys (41.5 per cent) choosing it was almost twice that of girls (21.5 per cent). Finally, (4) of the factors listed, popularity was considered the least worthwhile to be remembered by. These differences are all statistically significant at the .01 level of confidence.

These results show that students are not unaware of the importance of academic work. On the contrary it was valued highest by most students, followed by athletics and popularity in that order. This finding is in sharp contrast to that of Coleman's study as less than 30 per cent of the students in his sample wanted to be remembered as "brilliant student". "Athletic star" ranked highest for boys followed by "brilliant student" and "most popular", and girls thought "leader in activities" most important followed by "most popular" and "brilliant student".



which for them ranked third. Popularity was valued most by only a minority of Western Canadian and Newfoundland students, but since academic work and athletics are not considered important in achieving popularity (Table 15) these students are likely to place little emphasis upon them.

Athletics appeared to be most important for a substantial number of students in both samples, and even more so for those in the present study. To further explore its importance the responses to Question 26 and 27 were examined, the results of which appear in Table 17.

TABLE 17

The importance of athletics in school and life  
(Per cent in each category)

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Very important in school	50.8	35.4	50.3	38.5
b. Somewhat important in school			43.0	55.8
c. Unimportant in school			6.0	5.2
d. Very unimportant in school			0.8	0.5
a. Very important for life	19.3	6.9	49.6	38.8
b. Somewhat important for life	27.6	24.4	45.2	58.8
c. Not important for life	3.9	3.9	5.2	2.7

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.74.

It is clear from the table that athletics in the school is very important. Over 50 per cent of all boys stated them to be "very important" as did almost 37 per cent of the girls. Moreover,

in the Newfoundland sample a further 43 per cent of the boys and 55.8 per cent of the girls thought them to be "somewhat important".

In the second set of responses however, there occurs a major difference between the Western Canadian and Newfoundland students in the value they place on athletics for life. Only 19.3 per cent of the boys and 6.9 per cent of the girls in Friesen's sample believed athletics to be "very important" for life; a major drop from the proportion who considered them "very important" at school. This led Friesen to conclude that athletics have an immediate appeal to students in school, but they are nevertheless aware of the greater importance of academic achievement. "students recognize the more lasting value of academic achievement, while at the same time, wish to share the more immediate values derived from athletics" (pp.74-75).

In the Newfoundland sample the proportion of students who viewed athletics as "very important for life" remained virtually the same as the proportion who valued them as "very important in school". On the basis of this evidence Friesen's conclusion is not supported by the present study. It seems that the Newfoundland students place as much emphasis upon athletics for life as they do at school.

In general, as can be seen from Figure 8, boys are more influenced by athletics than girls, and the Newfoundland students more than the Western Canadian students. Girls on the other hand are much more concerned over academic work than boys. As can be seen from Figure 9, the greater concern of the girls for academic pursuits was evident in all of the schools in both studies.

Question 35 made a further attempt to determine what students perceived as lasting attributes. The responses are given in Table 18. In view of the different emphasis placed upon athletics

TABLE 18—

Characteristics considered most  
important for success in life  
(Per cent in each category)

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Money	9.0	2.9	13.4	3.6
b. Athletics	1.6	0.0	1.6	0.0
c. Personality	55.4	71.4	54.0	67.6
d. Academic achievement	25.4	14.8	18.1	14.8
e. Friendliness	12.9	12.5	12.6	13.2
f. Good looks	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.8
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(365)	(386)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.78.

for life by the Newfoundland and Western Canadian students, it is significant to note that practically none of them in either sample saw athletics as being most important for success.

Academic achievement was deemed an important characteristic for success by many students, especially by the boys. In the Western Canadian Sample 25.4 per cent of the boys chose it as did 18.1 per cent of Newfoundland boys, and 14.8 per cent of both Western Canadian and Newfoundland girls chose it. The most important characteristic for all students was personality. Almost two thirds of Friesen's students chose it as did 60.8 per cent of the Newfoundland students.

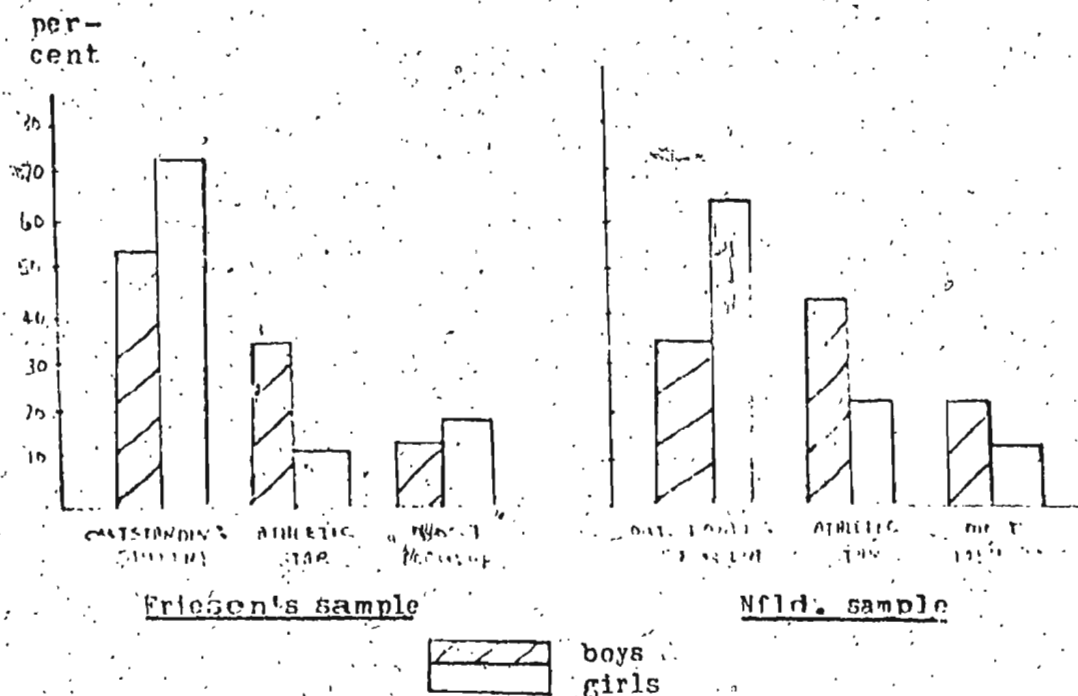


Figure 8. Per cent of boys and girls who want to be remembered as outstanding student, athletic star, or most popular.

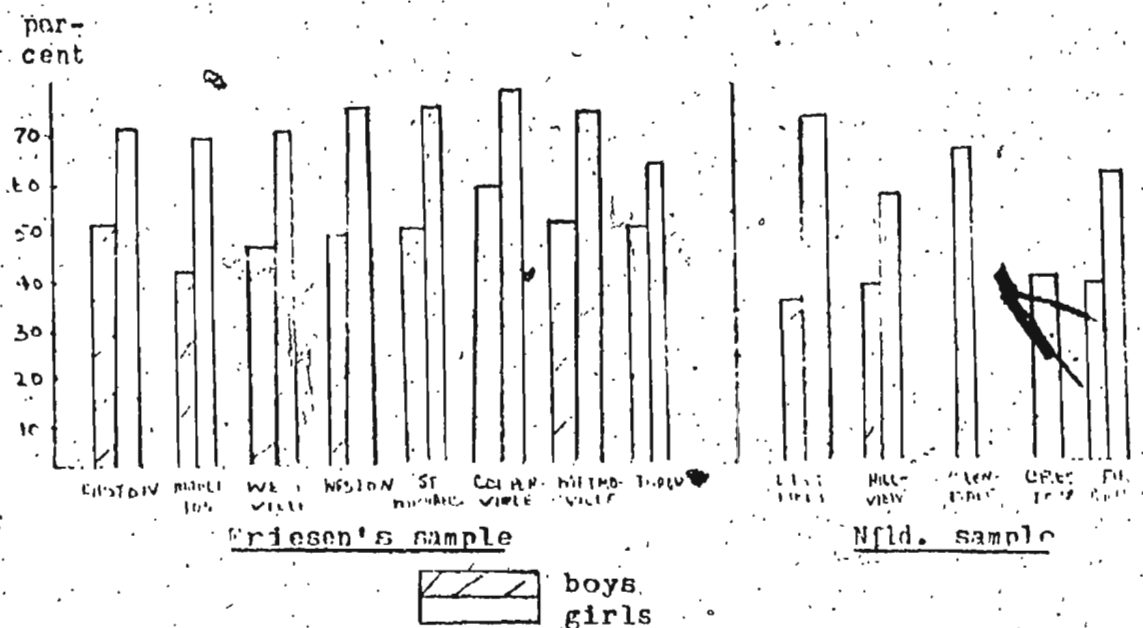


Figure 9. Per cent of students in each school who want to be remembered as outstanding student.

A final attempt to view student attitudes toward education was through Question 40, which asked them if they had a choice would they choose wealth, education, fame or faith. The responses are given in Table 19.

TABLE 19.  
Per cent of students choosing  
wealth, education, fame, or faith

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Wealth	22.0	14.2	38.1	17.0
b. Education	37.2	35.9	40.2	56.4
c. Fame	10.8	5.4	9.4	6.3
d. Faith	30.0	43.9	12.3	20.3
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(383)	(399)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.79.

In both samples the favourite choice was education, as it was favored by 36.5 per cent of the boys and girls in Friesen's sample and by 48.4 per cent of those in the present study. This again points up the importance attached to education by these students, and indicates the support which they give to it.

It seems then, that although popularity plays a role in the high school society as indicated in Table 16, it is not seen as an important characteristic for success. Although athletics at school was valued by all students, only those in the Newfoundland sample saw them as being important for life. The greatest support from the majority of students, especially the girls, went to

academic work as students apparently perceived it to be of greatest value.

### Religion in the high school society

The importance of faith in the high school society is illustrated by Question 40, which asked students to choose between wealth, education, fame or faith. In Friesen's study 30 per cent of the boys chose faith as did 43.9 per cent of the girls, and in the Newfoundland sample 12.3 per cent of the boys and 20.3 per cent of the girls chose it. In both samples a higher percentage of girls than boys chose faith, and in the Newfoundland schools it was chosen at Glendale, the all-girl school, by almost three times the proportion of students (32.4 per cent) as at Creston, the all-boy school (11.9 per cent).

To obtain a better picture of student religious practices and attitudes a number of questions were asked of them. Table 20 presents the responses to Question 38 which asked students if they prayed before going to bed at night.

Western Canadian students pray more regularly than do Newfoundland students. Almost 40 per cent of Western Canadian boys usually pray compared to 24.6 per cent of Newfoundland boys, and 57 per cent of the girls in his sample usually pray compared to 50.4 per cent of the Newfoundland girls. The biggest variation in praying however, occurred not between samples but between boys and girls in each sample. In Friesen's group 57 per cent of the girls usually pray compared to 39.2 per cent of the boys, and while 40 per cent of the boys do not pray at all, only 19.4 per

TABLE 20

Responses to the question: Do you say your  
prayers before going to bed at night?  
(Per cent in each category)

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Yes, usually,	39.2	57.0	24.6	50.4
b. Yes, sometimes	20.3	23.0	25.6	32.1
c. No	40.0	19.4	49.7	17.5
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(384)	(405)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.84.

cent of the girls do not.

Similar differences occurred among the Newfoundland boys and girls. More than twice as many girls (50.4 per cent) usually pray as do boys (24.6 per cent), and almost three times as many boys (49.7 per cent) never pray as girls (17.5 per cent). This evidence from both samples points to a greater degree of religiousness (as indicated by praying) among the girls.

Question 57 asked about church attendance. The responses are shown in Table 21. As with praying, girls go to church both on a frequent and occasional basis more than boys. Only 11.6 per cent of them do not go compared to 23 per cent of the boys. The proportion of students in Friesen's sample who did not go was almost identical; 25 per cent of the boys and 11 per cent of the girls. No evidence was available from the Western Canadian study on the incidence of frequent and occasional attendance.

A further attempt to examine the church's influence over the students was made through Question 14. It asked students whether

TABLE 21

Responses to the question: Do you go to church?  
(Per cent in each category)

	Boys	Girls
a. Yes, frequently	44.3	53.1
b. Yes, occasionally	32.6	35.3
c. No	23.1	11.6
Number of cases	(386)	(405)

their parents, teachers, clergy or friends were likely to influence them most. Only a tiny minority (less than two per cent of the Newfoundland students and three per cent of the Western Canadians) answered that the clergy influenced them more than parents, teachers or friends. This minimal influence of religion upon the students was further illustrated by Question 22, which asked what they strived for most at school. Only ten per cent of the students in Friesen's sample and less than five per cent of those in the present study stated that most important for them was living up to their religious ideals.

Against this however, Question 68 reveals that the students are not indifferent to religion. The responses to the question are given in Table 22.

While the responses show that only a minority of students are deeply religious (three per cent of the boys and five per cent of the girls), by far the largest majority consider themselves moderately religious. Two thirds of the boys and 77.7 per cent of the girls stated this as their conviction.

Since the schools in the present study were selected, in



TABLE 22

Per cent of students responding to given  
statements about their feelings toward religion

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Deeply religious	3.4	5.0
b. Moderately religious	66.9	77.7
c. Largely indifferent to religion	21.0	14.6
d. Basically opposed to religion	8.7	2.7
Number of cases	(381)	(404)

part, on the basis of their different religious sponsorship, differences in student religiosity between them are shown in Figure 10. Eastfield, Creston and Glendale are under Roman Catholic jurisdiction while Hillview and Firgreen are operated by the Protestant denominations.

Figure 10 shows that girls are more religious than boys. They scored higher than boys at Eastfield, Hillview, and Firgreen, and the girls at Glendale exceeded the boys at Creston. There is also evidence in Figure 10 that student religiosity is higher at the Roman Catholic than Protestant schools. Boys in the Roman Catholic schools at Eastfield and Creston scored significantly higher (.02 level) than did boys in the Protestant schools at Hillview and Firgreen, and Roman Catholic girls at Eastfield and Glendale scored significantly higher (.01 level) than did their Protestant counterparts at Hillview and Firgreen.

On a general level then, it seems that Roman Catholic students are slightly more religious than Protestant students, and girls more religious than boys. It also seems apparent that religion

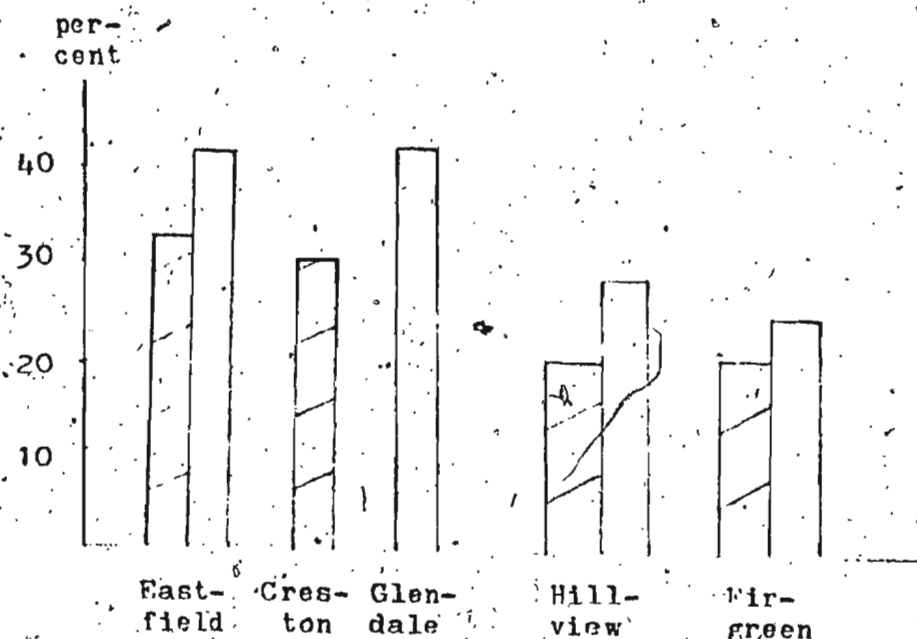
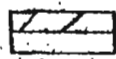
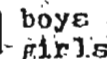


Figure 10. The degree of student religiosity<sup>1</sup> in each school.

<sup>1</sup>as determined by the average responses of students

- a. who are deeply or moderately religious (Q.68)
- b. who regularly or occasionally attend church (Q.67)
- c. who chose faith over education, wealth or fame (Q.40)
- d. who pray before going to bed (Q.38)
- e. who are influenced more by clergy than by parents, teachers, or friends (Q.14)
- f. who strive most at school to live up to religious ideals (Q.22)

 boys  
 girls

is not something about which the students are unconcerned. The majority of them pray and go to church at least occasionally, and consider themselves to be at least moderately religious.

#### Teacher influence upon the students

It has been shown already through Question 11 in Table 1 that

teacher influence is minimal compared to that of parents and peers. Only seven per cent of the students in Friesen's sample and four per cent of those in the present study found "teachers' disapproval" hardest to take. This finding was also supported by Question 14 in which only six per cent of the students in Friesen's sample and less than eight per cent of those in the Newfoundland sample stated that teachers influenced them more than parents, friends or clergy.

The responses to Question 22, as shown in Table 23, further identifies the effect of teachers.

TABLE 23

Most important things that students strive for at school  
(Per cent in each category)

	<u>Friesen's sample<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. Pleasing parents	21.1	18.8	32.3	26.9
b. Learning as much as possible	37.9	34.4	28.8	32.0
c. Living up to religious ideals	6.5	13.5	3.2	5.9
d. Being accepted and liked by friends	33.3	30.8	33.1	31.8
e. Pleasing the teachers	1.9	2.9	2.7	3.4
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(375)	(387)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.89

It appears that here again teacher influence is minimal. "Pleasing the teacher" was considered by less than three per cent of Friesen's sample and by three per cent of the Newfoundland students as the most important thing to strive for at school.

As Friesen argues however, (p.88), when students strive "to learn as much as possible" they are striving for something that will please almost any teacher. This amounts to a further 30.4 per cent of Newfoundland students and a further 36.1 per cent of the Western Canadian students who "are striving to achieve the objectives of the school in looking for intellectual growth" (p.89).

In this sense, as Friesen notes, more students are influenced by teachers than care to admit. To Question 24, which asked students whom they wanted to resemble, only 11.3 per cent of Friesen's group and only eight per cent of the Newfoundland group claimed it was their favourite teacher.

Additional information on teacher influence was obtained from Question 33 which asked students to evaluate their teachers. Table 24 contains the responses which reveal the acceptance by many students of their teachers. Only 12.9 per cent of Friesen's sample and 11.9 per cent of the Newfoundland sample stated that their teachers are "not interested in teen-agers", and a further six per cent of the Newfoundland students said that although teachers understood their problems they were unwilling to help. A considerable proportion of students (36.5 per cent of Friesen's group and 46.7 per cent of the Newfoundland group) acknowledged the support of their teachers when they stated that "they understand the problems of teen-agers and assist them". More of the Newfoundland than Western Canadian students paid tribute to their teachers in this way.

These responses show that teachers do have considerable influence over students. At the same time however, teachers

TABLE 24

Student evaluations of their teachers  
(Per cent in each category).

	<u>Friesen's sample</u>		<u>Nfld. sample</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
a. They understand the problems of teen-agers and assist them	31.4	41.6	40.8	52.7
b. They are not interested in teen-agers	13.9	11.2	13.8	10.1
c. They are willing to help but don't understand our problems	53.9	45.0	38.4	31.7
d. They understand our problems but are unwilling to help			7.0	5.4
Number of cases	(722)	(714)	(385)	(404)

<sup>1</sup>Friesen (1966), p.90

should be aware of the substantial proportion of students who claim that they do not understand their problems. Almost 50 per cent of Friesen's students stated this, as did 35 per cent of the Newfoundland students.

In general then, the evidence shows that although teacher influence is not strong when compared to that of parents and friends, it is nevertheless a significant force in the life of the students.

Parental influences upon the students

From the evidence presented, the high school society does not exist independently from the world of adults. Parents have as much or more influence upon the students as do their peers. Moreover, it

is believed that even in much of the peer influence there exists other factors of which the influence of parents is one.

Parental effects upon the students have been shown already in Table 1. "Parents' disapproval" was hardest to take for 45.5 per cent of Friesen's students and for 42 per cent of those in the Newfoundland sample. In addition, when the present study tested the Epperson revised version of the question over 70 per cent of the students revealed parent influence in their responses.

Question 14 has further identified parental influence as perceived by the students. Over 67 per cent of Friesen's group stated that their parents have influenced them most in their lives, and over 31 per cent of those in the Newfoundland sample claim that their parents are able to influence them most at the present time. It seems that there is still considerable influence from parents even when adolescents are coming to leave the family and move out into the world.

Almost half (46.2 per cent) of the Western Canadian group and over half (54.4 per cent) of the Newfoundland students wanted most to resemble one of their parents in adult life. About 25 per cent of them stated that they strived most to please their parents at school.

Although 28.3 per cent of the Western Canadian students chose to go with friends rather than parents (Question 34), only 21.7 per cent of them were willing to join in the escapade against their parents' disapproval when asked to do so. In the Newfoundland sample the proportion of students dropped to 31.4 per cent who were willing to join in the escapade from 56.7 per cent.

who chose to go with friends rather than with parents. Thus in both samples fewer students would go against their parents' wishes than who would go with friends when parent approval was not at stake.

On a more general level this chapter has also presented evidence of the acceptance by many students of education and religion as two of the major institutions of society. The majority of the adolescents surveyed in this Newfoundland study have indicated their desire to be identified with the academic goals of the school in choosing to be remembered as an "outstanding student" rather than as "athletic star" or "most popular". The concern of students with academic work was further illustrated when the majority of them stated that they were more worried about it than about health, acceptance by friends, or finding a job. Moreover, when asked if they had a choice would they choose wealth, education, fame or faith, the strongest preference was for education which again indicates their perceiving it to be of greatest value.

Although compared with parents and peers the clergy had little influence over the students, they nevertheless were not unconcerned about religion. The majority of them stated that they prayed and went to church at least occasionally, and considered themselves to be at least moderately religious. Only a small minority were indifferent to religion or opposed to it.

This chapter then, has attempted to reveal some of the characteristics of the student culture in the five Newfoundland high schools, and to compare the findings to those of Frierson in

his Western Canadian study. In particular, the study has focused attention on the relative effects of the peer-group, parents, teachers, and church on the student culture, and it has examined the attitudes, activities, and interests prevalent in that culture.

The general finding is that although peer-group influences appear stronger in the Newfoundland than Western Canadian schools, they are not so powerful as to make the student culture apart from and opposed to the culture of the larger society. Influences from a number of sources impinge upon the student and the peer-group is but one of these sources, albeit a powerful one.



## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to apply the theoretical framework and hypotheses used by David Friesen in Western Canada to several high schools in the Newfoundland setting. This was done in an attempt to determine whether a separate and distinct student subculture exists in these schools, and whether student attitudes and values here are at variance with the schools' educational goals.

The study has also adopted a comparative dimension whereby similarities and differences between the Newfoundland and Western Canadian students are examined, in order that the situation in local schools may be compared to that found in those studied in Western Canada.

Before examining the findings of the study in relation to the hypothesis of a separate student subculture, a brief review of the similarities and differences between student responses in the two samples is presented. Since it was expected that peer-group pressures operate in a similar manner here as in Western Canada, no significant differences between the two studies were anticipated. Accordingly, explanations for differences which did occur are, of necessity, ex post facto in nature.

Similarity and differences in the findings  
of the two studies

The peer-group.

One of the major differences between the two studies occurred in the degree to which students are oriented to the peer group. Newfoundland students appear to be more influenced by their peers than do those in the Western Canadian study. A higher proportion of them found breaking with a friend hardest to take; claimed that their friends influenced them most; spent two or more evenings a week with the gang; would rather go with friends than with their parents; and, would join in a secret escapade with friends against their parents' wishes. All of the differences between the two samples relating to "peer orientation" were statistically significant except one where about 30 per cent of both the Western Canadian and Newfoundland students claimed they strived most at school to be accepted and liked by friends.

It would seem that since the difference between schools in each sample was not significant the variation between samples must be explained by factors other than at the school level. Some of the variation can perhaps be explained by the fact that almost a decade separates the times during which the two studies were carried out. Friesen's study took place during the mid 1960's while the responses from the Newfoundland boys and girls were gathered in 1974. Thus the apparent differences between the two studies may be reduced or even eliminated if comparisons were made with data collected in Western Canada at the same time.

the present study was carried out. The situation in Western Canadian schools today may be somewhat different from that described by Friesen in 1966.

On the other hand however, Newfoundland students may indeed be more ~~peer~~-oriented than their Western Canadian counterparts, as a result of some undetermined features of the school system or society in which they live. If this is a tenable contention then there is a need for further research in the area whereby studies of Newfoundland and other Canadian high school students are made at the same time. Such studies could adopt a framework whereby if differences are found to exist an identification of their determinants can be made. Additional studies of this nature would not only help to overcome the comparative problems encountered here, but perhaps more importantly would determine whether peer-group influences among high school students across the country are increasing or decreasing.

In the presence of the difference in peer-group orientation between the two groups there were however, several similarities between them. In both studies boys were more peer oriented than girls, and as pointed out earlier, on one of the "peer orientation" questions equivalent proportions of each sample claimed they strived most at school to be accepted and liked by friends. The difference between the two studies then, is one of the extent of peer influence which is likely to be partially, at least, a result of the different times during which they were carried out.

#### Student activities and interests

When asked to choose between four types of activities at

school about three quarters of the students in Friesen's sample and a similar proportion of those in the Newfoundland group chose dances and socials. This was taken as an indication that both the Western Canadian and Newfoundland students preferred the kind of activities in which adult ideas and personnel are least influential. That only a minority preferred "literaries or debates" or "lectures and films, and plays and concerts" may be indicative of their desire for more peer controlled activities.

The two studies yielded both similarities and differences in student dating practices - similarities in that in both samples dating was much more prevalent among the girls than boys, and differences in that a higher proportion of Newfoundland boys and girls date than do their Western Canadian counterparts. Going steady, another aspect of dating, was more prevalent among the girls than boys in each sample, and more prevalent among the Newfoundland than Western Canadian students.

In view of the common finding of the two studies that girls date more than boys, it seems plausible that the difference between the two samples in the proportion of students who date can perhaps again be attributed to the different times during which the studies were carried out. Dating patterns among Western Canadian students may have changed during the intervening years, and today the similarity between them and the Newfoundland boys and girls may be greater than is indicated by the evidence presented. Further comparative research in the area can determine whether this contention is valid or whether dating practices are in fact different among Newfoundland and other Canadian students.

Car ownership among the students in both samples was restricted almost entirely to the boys. Less than three per cent of the girls in either sample claimed to have a car of their own. More Western Canadian boys than girls thought that having a nice car made a boy popular, as did more Newfoundland boys than girls. It seems that the role of the automobile is more important for both Western Canadian and Newfoundland boys than it is for girls.

A higher proportion of boys in Friesen's sample than in the Newfoundland sample owned automobiles, which may be due, in part, to many of them being older than their Newfoundland counterparts. The Western Canadian schools surveyed by Friesen included grade twelve whereas the Newfoundland schools included grades only up to grade eleven.

Another aspect of student life in which there occurred little variation between the two studies was in student music preferences. The majority of boys and girls in both samples preferred modern music while classical was favored by only a minority. About 15 per cent chose country and western.

Activities which occurred within the peer-group were also popular with both groups of students. Although more boys than girls in each sample spent two or more evenings a week with the gang, about three quarters of all students spend at least one evening a week with their friends. About one quarter of both the Newfoundland and Western Canadians claimed they did not spend any time with the gang.

Similarity more than differences characterized the two studies in student concerns and preoccupations. When asked what they were

most worried about, almost one half claimed it was academic success which was the biggest worry for those in both samples. The studies also yielded similar patterns in the responses to the other worries listed. More boys than girls worried most about health, and more girls than boys about acceptance by friends.

Another aspect of student life in which both similarities and differences emerged between the two studies was in television viewing. The results of each study were similar in that the majority of both the Newfoundland and Western Canadian students watched television from one to two hours per day with smaller proportions watching it for less than one hour or more than two hours per day. They were different in that the students in the present study tend to spend more time watching it than do those in Friesen's sample. It might be suggested that since neither the Newfoundland nor the Western Canadian boys and girls view the amount of time they spend watching television as being different from that of adults, it may seem that this activity may be more popular in the Newfoundland setting both among students and parents. At the same time however, it must be pointed out that Western Canadian viewing patterns may have changed since the mid 1960's, a suggestion which seems especially plausible in view of an apparent increasing influence of television since its introduction in the 1950's.

Television program preferences were similar among both groups of students. The most preferred type of program was western or comedy and the least preferred was interviews and news. While more boys in each sample preferred sports, more girls preferred

quiz shows and contests.

Finally, homework provided the situation whereby there occurred more variation between students on the basis of sex than between samples. The boys in both groups tended not to spend as much time doing homework as did girls. A higher percentage of them spent no time or less than one hour per day at this activity, while a higher percentage of girls spent from one to two hours or more than two hours per day. The majority of all students in both samples however, spent from one to two hours per day doing homework, and since they spent an equivalent amount of time per day watching television it seems they have divided their time rather evenly between these activities.

#### Student non-conformity

Smoking and drinking provided another example of both similarity and variation between the two studies. They were similar in that more boys than girls in each engaged in drinking on a regular basis, and they were different in that both smoking and drinking were more prevalent among the Newfoundland than Western Canadian students. Once again the difficulty in comparing two studies separated by almost a decade in time is encountered, but in view of the increasing evidence and publicity regarding the ill effects of the use of tobacco the greater incidence of smoking among the Newfoundland boys and girls seems surprising. On the other hand however, the results of the present study are in close agreement with the proportion of Canadian smokers in general as reported by Statistics Canada in 1974.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the

<sup>1</sup> "Smoking on the Rise" in The Evening Telegram, St. John's, January 3, 1975, p.12.

behavior of Newfoundland students in this respect is a reflection of the behavior of adults in general. The higher incidence of smoking and drinking among the Newfoundland girls is especially interesting and may be some indication, as pointed out earlier, of the greater freedom and changing norms associated with women today.

The finding emerged from both studies that girls place more emphasis on the value of honesty than do boys. Almost twice as many boys as girls were willing to hand in an assignment done by a friend as their own, and more boys than girls stated they would not report finding a five dollar bill at school and instead would keep the money. In both instances there was more variation between boys and girls than there was between the two samples. Also in both studies students placed more value on honesty than on non-drinking and non-smoking since lower proportions of them were willing to agree to a deception than engaged in smoking and drinking.

#### Student values and attitudes

In terms of attributes which account for popularity among boys Newfoundland and Western Canadian students agree in giving academic success and athletics a low priority. For the boys in both samples "good grades" ranked lowest and "athletics" second to lowest. For the girls they ranked lowest except for "having a nice car". To the extent that boys and girls seek to be popular they give little support to academic success and athletics.

Academic work however, was valued quite highly by both groups.



of students. When asked how they wanted to be remembered at school the majority chose "outstanding student" followed by "athletic star" and "most popular" in that order, and when asked to choose between wealth, education, fame or faith, the majority chose education. Newfoundland students while placing less value on academic success and more value on athletics as something to be remembered by, chose education over wealth, fame or faith more than the Western Canadians. It seems that both groups of students realize a lasting value in academic work more than in athletics or popularity.

Athletics was an area which provided one of the major dissimilarities in the two studies. Although a large proportion of Friesen's sample claimed athletics to be very important in school, a much smaller proportion claimed them very important for life. This led Friesen to conclude that sports had an immediate appeal to adolescents while at school, but they nevertheless were aware of their lesser importance in later life. In the Newfoundland sample however, the proportion of students claiming athletics to be very important in life was virtually the same as that claiming it very important at school. It appears that the boys and girls in the present study see a more lasting value in athletics perhaps as a result of recent publicity that Canadians are unfit and that physical fitness is important for good health.

The majority of the Newfoundland students as did Western Canadians considered personality as the characteristic most important for success in life. Second in importance was academic success and of least importance was athletics and good looks.

This suggests that both groups have a well-developed sense of priorities and are well aware of the things that count in the adult world.

### Religion

In both studies the finding emerged that girls tend to be more influenced by religion than boys. They chose faith more than boys did; more of them prayed than did boys, and more of them attended church. The responses of the Newfoundland boys and girls suggest that they are not religiously unconcerned and that the majority of them consider themselves to be at least moderately religious.

### Teacher influence

Compared to parents and peers the influence of teachers on both groups of students was minimal. Less than three per cent said they strived most at school to please the teachers, but at the same time over 30 per cent said they strived most to learn as much as possible, which would please almost any teacher.

When asked to evaluate their teachers more students paid tribute to them stating that they understood the problems of teenagers and assisted them. A higher proportion of Newfoundland students did this than Western Canadians. Of significance was the finding that over 30 per cent of the present sample claimed that their teachers seemed willing to help but did not understand their problems. This suggests that teachers should endeavour to acquire a better understanding of the student as he encounters the problems of school and social life. Such an understanding

would help the teacher become more effective in the task of helping the students toward adulthood. In Friesen's sample almost half of the students claimed that their teachers were willing to help but failed to understand their problems.

### Parent influence

Both studies have revealed that parental influence upon the adolescent is a powerful one. Almost half of the students found "parents' disapproval" harder to take than "teachers' disapproval" or "breaking with a friend". Over two thirds of Friesen's group stated that their parents have influenced them most during their lives and over 30 per cent of those in the Newfoundland sample claim that their parents are able to influence them most at the present time. About half of both the Western Canadian and Newfoundland boys and girls wanted to resemble one of their parents, and about one quarter strived most at school to please their parents. Fewer students in either group were willing to go against their parents' wishes than who would go with friends when parental approval was not at stake. These results indicate that students are not isolated from their parents but rather that they are still a major force in their lives.

In brief then, the above represents the major aspects of student behavior and interests where similarities and differences emerged between the two studies. In general, the evidence suggests that both groups of students may be characterized more by similarity than dissimilarity, in spite of the different time periods during which the two studies were carried out. It seems plausible

that many of the differences identified would be reduced or even eliminated if comparisons were made between responses gathered from Western Canadian students at the same time the present study was carried out.

### Conclusions

This study has adopted David Friesen's hypothesis of a separate and distinct student subculture and applied it to several schools in the Newfoundland setting. This was done in an effort to determine whether student subcultures exist in the Newfoundland schools, and whether student attitudes and values here are at odds with the schools' educational goals. The hypotheses adopted from the Western Canadian study are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: There is a high school society or social system which shares, develops, and maintains its own system of activities, values and attitudes different from those of the adult society.

Hypothesis 2: The peer-group pressure of this social system is the force compelling the students to conform to the standards of the high school society.

Hypothesis 3: External influences have less power over members of the high school society than do internal influences.

These hypotheses were examined by means of student responses to the High School Student Values Inventory as presented in Chapter 4. The major findings in each area are as follows:

### 1. Findings pertaining to the adolescent society

1. Dances and socials were the most preferred activities of the Newfoundland students at school.

2. Dating was an integral part of the social life of the students though more important for the girls than boys. A higher percentage of grade eleven than grade ten students dated which suggests their maturing towards the adult society.

3. Going steady was also more prevalent among the girls than boys, and among grade eleven students more than grade ten students.

4. Good looks was considered most important for making boys popular, and high grades was least important.

5. Modern and rock music was preferred most by the students, and classical music was preferred least.

6. Students were most worried about academic success and finding a job which indicated that they were not unconcerned about the academic goals of the school.

7. While most students spend from one to two hours daily at homework, girls spend more time at this activity than do boys.

8. Most students wished to be identified with the academic goals of the school by choosing to be remembered there as an "outstanding student". Being an athletic star and being most popular were considered less important to be remembered by.

9. Personality was considered most important for success in life by the majority of students, and next in importance was

academic success. Least in importance was athletics and good looks.

10. Education was the favorite choice for the majority of students. It was chosen over wealth, fame and faith.

11. While the large majority considered themselves to be moderately religious, girls were consistently more religious than boys.

On the basis of this evidence it seems that hypothesis 1 does not receive strong support from the Newfoundland students. Many of the activities and attitudes of these adolescents seem to be supportive of the adult world and its major institutions. They appear quite concerned about education, and they are not, on the whole, indifferent to or unconcerned about religion. While their activities may often be in conflict with those of the larger society, it appears that they generally support the values and customs of that society.

## 2. Peer-influences

1. Peer influences were about equal in all five schools.

2. Peer influence had more effect upon boys than girls.

3. Girls were almost evenly split between peers and parents in areas that involved parent approval or disapproval. Boys were more influenced by peers in this respect than girls.

4. When faced with a choice involving disobedience to parents



a greater number of students chose to ignore peer influence than who would go with friends when parent disapproval was not at stake.

5. Almost 60 per cent of the students spend two or more evenings a week with friends.

6. The majority of students would not hand in an assignment done by a friend as their own.

7. Girls far exceeded the boys in stating they would report finding a five dollar bill at school.

On the basis of this evidence it appears that hypothesis 2 does not receive strong support. The peer-group is but one of a number of sources of influence for these adolescents. Parents are also important in this respect.

### 3. Outside influences

1. Over half of the students wanted most to resemble one of their parents in adult life.

2. Religion occupied a significant place in the lives of the majority of the students, though for a minority it seemed unimportant.

3. Teachers' influence seemed low compared to that of parents and peers.

4. Teachers were considered as understanding and helpful by 46 per cent of the students, and a further 34 per cent said they were willing to help but didn't understand the problems of

adolescents. Only 17 per cent said that teachers were not interested in teen-agers or were unwilling to help them.

5. Most of the students wanted to identify themselves with the academic aspects of the school which further indicates its influence upon them.

On the basis of these findings it appears that hypothesis 3 is also not strongly supported. Although the peer-group represents a major source of influence for the students, the church, school, and family are also significant. In the immediate pleasures of popularity and social activities peer influence seems quite strong; but most students also appear aware of the importance of academic success and realize a more lasting value in it. It seems then, that these adolescents are not apart from, but a part of, the adult society towards which they are moving.

#### Suggestions for further research

1. The theoretical model utilized in this study has provided some useful comparative information between the Newfoundland and Western Canadian students, and it has revealed a somewhat detailed description of the activities and customs prevalent among the students. In particular the evidence has suggested that student attitudes and values are not, in general, at variance with the schools' educational goals. Indeed many of the students appear quite aware of, and concerned about, the importance of academic success in life.

In spite of the benefits gleaned from utilization of this



model however, it might be suggested that further research in the area could yield beneficial results by adopting a somewhat different approach. Such an approach could be directed to a determination of the relative effects of peer-group orientations on certain selected schooling outcomes when controlling for a variety of factors which could confound the associations. This type of approach would be more analytically oriented than that used in the present study where emphasis was placed on the descriptive aspects of student behavior. Although the model adopted here does not provide for this kind of question, it would seem that an analysis of this kind provides a higher degree of isomorphism between the verbal and statistical models than that which occurred in the present study.

2. In order to draw significant conclusions applicable to Newfoundland and Canadian schools in general, a larger number of schools both within and outside the province is required.

3. Finally, an analysis of the values and attitudes of students in various academic levels could provide a broader information base upon which to draw conclusions about the relative effects of the peer-group, family and school.

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## APPENDIX A

HIGH SCHOOL  
STUDENT VALUES INVENTORY

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

## Read Carefully

1. Do not start before you are told to do so.
2. Answer EVERY question to the best of your ability.
3. Do not sign your name.
4. No one will ever know who completed this questionnaire.
5. Do not ask any questions; if in doubt, use your judgment to answer the question.
6. Put a check mark before the best answer in each case.
7. Now turn to number one, work quickly, and answer every question as accurately as you can.

---

A.1. Are you a boy or girl?

\_\_\_\_\_ a. boy

\_\_\_\_\_ b. girl

2. In which school grade are you?

- ☐ a. nine
- ☐ b. ten
- ☐ c. eleven
- ☐ d. twelve

3. Do you have a car of your own?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

4. Did you go out for football last fall either as a player or spectator?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

5. Do you date?

- ☐ a. no
- ☐ b. yes, about once a month
- ☐ c. yes, about once a week
- ☐ d. yes, about twice a week
- ☐ e. yes, more than twice a week

6. Have you joined a church or do you intend to join a church?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

7. Do you go steady?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

8. Which one of these items is most important in making a boy popular with the girls in your school?

- ☐ a. having a nice car
- ☐ b. high grades, honor roll
- ☐ c. being an athletic star
- ☐ d. being in the leading crowd

9. Do you earn any money by working outside the home? (not counting summer work)

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

10. Do you smoke?

- ☐ a. yes, regularly
- ☐ b. yes, occasionally
- ☐ c. no

11. Would you say that you are part of the leading crowd in your school?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

12. If not, would you like to be part of the leading crowd?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no  
☐ c. don't care
13. Which of these things would be hardest for you to take?  
☐ a. parents' disapproval  
☐ b. teachers' disapproval  
☐ c. breaking with a friend
14. If your friends asked you to join in a secret escapade for a week-end, would you join them if your parents were not in favor?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no
15. Which of the following would you prefer most in school?  
☐ a. dances  
☐ b. socials  
☐ c. literaries  
☐ d. visiting lectures or films
16. Who influenced you most in your life?  
☐ a. parents  
☐ b. teachers  
☐ c. clergy, minister, pastor, rabbi  
☐ d. friends
17. Which one of the following are you really worried about most?  
☐ a. health  
☐ b. academic success  
☐ c. acceptance by friends  
☐ d. others: name \_\_\_\_\_
18. Roughly, what proportion of home basketball games did you attend this year?  
☐ a. none  
☐ b. less than half  
☐ c. more than half
19. Have you chosen your profession?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no
20. Why do you go to church?  
☐ a. for social reasons  
☐ b. for religious or spiritual reasons  
☐ c. I don't attend
21. Would you hand in an essay or assignment that your friend had done as your own?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no

22. If you could be remembered here at school for one of the things below, which one would you want it to be?

- ☐ a. outstanding student
- ☐ b. athletic star
- ☐ c. most popular

23. Do your parents attend church?

- ☐ a. yes, regularly
- ☐ b. yes, occasionally
- ☐ c. no

24. Do you drink beer?

- ☐ a. yes, frequently
- ☐ b. yes, occasionally
- ☐ c. no

25. Do your parents listen to sports events or watch them?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

26. Among the things you strive for during your high school days, which of the following is most important to you?

- ☐ a. pleasing my parents
- ☐ b. learning as much as possible in school
- ☐ c. living up to my religious ideals
- ☐ d. being accepted and liked by other students
- ☐ e. pleasing the teacher

27. Which of the following would be most important to you in a job?

- ☐ a. the security of a steady job
- ☐ b. the opportunity for rapid promotion
- ☐ c. the enjoyment of the work itself
- ☐ d. a high income

28. How many evenings a week do you spend with the gang?

- ☐ a. none
- ☐ b. one
- ☐ c. two or more

29. Does your mother have a job outside the home?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

30. In your adult life whom would you want to resemble most?

- ☐ a. one of your parents
- ☐ b. your favorite teacher
- ☐ c. others' name \_\_\_\_\_

31. If you had a choice, would you leave school before graduation?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

32. Is athletics very important for you in school?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

If yes, do you believe your interest in athletics is

- ☐ c. very important for life
- ☐ d. somewhat important for life
- ☐ e. a passing fancy

33. How much time per day on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school?

- ☐ a. none
- ☐ b. less than one hour
- ☐ c. one to two hours
- ☐ d. more than two hours

34. Have you attended Sunday School?

- ☐ a. yes, regularly
- ☐ b. yes, occasionally
- ☐ c. no

35. Check any of the following drinks that are served in your home?

- ☐ a. beer
- ☐ b. table wine
- ☐ c. other alcoholic beverages
- ☐ d. none of these

36. Which one of the following do you think is the most important characteristic necessary for success in life?

- ☐ a. money
- ☐ b. athletics
- ☐ c. personality
- ☐ d. academic achievement
- ☐ e. friendliness
- ☐ f. good looks

37. What kind of music do you enjoy most?

- ☐ a. modern
- ☐ b. classical
- ☐ c. country and western

38. Which item below fits most of the teachers at your school?

- ☐ a. they understand problems of teen-agers and assist them
- ☐ b. they are not interested in teen-agers
- ☐ c. they seem willing to help but don't understand our problems

39. How often do you go to the movies?

- ☐ a. never, or almost never
- ☐ b. about once a month
- ☐ c. about once a week
- ☐ d. twice a week or more

40. Suppose your family had planned a trip to the West for a vacation in the summer. If you go along with them, it means that you cannot go camping with your friends, as you had planned. What would you do?

- ☐ a. go West with your parents
- ☐ b. go camping with friends

41. How much time, on the average, do you spend watching T.V. on a weekday?

- ☐ a. none or almost none
- ☐ b. about half an hour a day
- ☐ c. about one hour a day
- ☐ d. about one and a half hours a day
- ☐ e. about two hours a day
- ☐ f. about two and a half hours a day
- ☐ g. three or more hours a day

42. What is the major characteristic necessary to be a member of the leading crowd at your school?

- ☐ a. good looks
- ☐ b. friendliness
- ☐ c. academic excellence
- ☐ d. money
- ☐ e. athletic ability

43. Which of the following is your favorite type of T.V. program?

- ☐ a. western or comedy
- ☐ b. quiz shows or contests
- ☐ c. interviews or news
- ☐ d. sports

44. Do you say prayers before you go to bed at night?

- ☐ a. yes, usually
- ☐ b. yes, sometimes
- ☐ c. no

45. Would you say that you have a relatively happy life at home?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

46. If you could have only one of the following, which one would you choose?

- ☐ a. wealth
- ☐ b. education
- ☐ c. fame
- ☐ d. faith

47. Would you say that your school experiences are fairly satisfactory?

- ☐ a. yes
- ☐ b. no

48. What would you most like to get out of high school?  
☐ a. broad education  
☐ b. training for a vocation  
☐ c. preparation for citizenship  
☐ d. knowing how to get along with people  
☐ e. friends
49. Would you say that the French language has the same place in Canada as the English language?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no
50. Are you planning to go to college, teachers college, nurses training, or university after high school?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. undecided  
☐ c. no
51. Do you speak French fluently?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no
52. If you found a five dollar bill in your school without anyone seeing it, what would you do?  
☐ a. report the find  
☐ b. keep the money
53. Which of the following subjects do you like best in school?  
☐ a. mathematics  
☐ b. English  
☐ c. social studies  
☐ d. foreign languages  
☐ e. sciences  
☐ f. physical education  
☐ g. vocational courses (if this one name the specific course)
54. Do your parents read the Bible?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no
55. Does your father or mother participate in any type of sport?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no
56. Are your parents concerned with your doing well in academic work in school?  
☐ a. yes  
☐ b. no
57. Do your parents help you with your homework?  
☐ a. yes, often  
☐ b. yes, occasionally  
☐ c. no



58. Do your parents watch television?

- ☐ a. more than you.  
☐ b. as much as you.  
☐ c. less than you.

59. Name two things that need most to be improved in your school.

- a. \_\_\_\_\_  
b. \_\_\_\_\_

60. Which course are you taking now?

- ☐ a. university entrance  
☐ b. general  
☐ c. commercial  
☐ d. vocational

B. In the following questions, mark your answer by putting a CIRCLE in the right place. For example, in the question, "Does your family own a car?" draw a circle around YES if your family has a car, and around NO if your family hasn't a car. Be sure to answer all questions.

- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
| 1. Does your family own a car?   | Yes | No |
| 2. Does your family have a garage or carport?  | Yes | No |
| 3. Did your father go to high school?  | Yes | No |
| 4. Did your mother go to high school?  | Yes | No |
| 5. Did your father go to university?   | Yes | No |
| 6. Did your mother go to university?   | Yes | No |
| 7. Is there a writing desk in your home?   | Yes | No |
| 8. Does your family have a hi-fi record player?  | Yes | No |
| 9. Does your family own a piano?   | Yes | No |
| 10. Does your family get a daily newspaper?  | Yes | No |
| 11. Do you have your own room at home?   | Yes | No |
| 12. Does your family own its own home?   | Yes | No |
| 13. Is there an encyclopedia in your home?   | Yes | No |
| 14. Does your family have more than 100 hard covered books? (e.g. 4 shelves 3 feet long) | Yes | No |
| 15. Did your parents borrow any books from the library last year?                        | Yes | No |
| 16. Does your family leave town each year for a holiday?                                 | Yes | No |
| 17. Do you belong to any club where you have to pay fees?                                | Yes | No |

18. Does your mother belong to any clubs or organizations such as study, church, art, or social clubs? Yes No
19. Does your family belong to any clubs or organizations? Yes No
20. Have you ever had lessons in music, dancing, art, swimming, etc., outside of school? Yes No

C. State your father's occupation \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX B

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLANDHIGH SCHOOL STUDENT VALUES INVENTORY

This inventory has been designed to gather information about student activities, attitudes and values in several Newfoundland high schools. One of the schools selected for the study is yours.

The information you provide in answering the following questions will be kept strictly confidential. Therefore you are asked NOT to sign your name on the questionnaire.

Please answer all questions as accurately as possible, without consultation or discussion, by putting a check mark in the box provided.

Thank you for your co-operation.

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE AND BEGIN

1. Are you a boy or girl?  
 Boy..... ☐ 1 /2  
 Girl..... ☐ 2
2. Do you date?  
 No..... ☐ 1  
 Yes, about once a month..... ☐ 2  
 Yes, about once a week..... ☐ 3 /3  
 Yes, about twice a week..... ☐ 4  
 Yes, more than twice a week..... ☐ 5
3. To what church do you belong?  
 Roman Catholic..... ☐ 1  
 Anglican..... ☐ 2  
 United Church..... ☐ 3  
 Salvation Army..... ☐ 4 /4  
 Pentecostal..... ☐ 5  
 Other (specify)..... ☐ 6  
 None of these..... ☐ 7
4. Do you go steady?  
 Yes..... ☐ 1 /5  
 No..... ☐ 2
5. Which of these items accounts most for making boys popular?  
 Having a nice car..... ☐ 1  
 High grades, honour roll..... ☐ 2  
 Being an athletic star..... ☐ 3 /6  
 Being in the leading crowd..... ☐ 4  
 Good looks..... ☐ 5
6. Which of these items accounts most for making girls popular?  
 Having a nice car..... ☐ 1  
 High grades, honour roll..... ☐ 2  
 Being an athletic star..... ☐ 3 /7  
 Being in the leading crowd..... ☐ 4  
 Good looks..... ☐ 5
7. Do you smoke?  
 Yes, regularly..... ☐ 1  
 Yes, occasionally..... ☐ 2 /8  
 No..... ☐ 3
8. Would you say that there is a group of students in your school who are influential or perhaps leaders who might be called the "in" group or leading crowd?  
 Yes..... ☐ 1 /9  
 No..... ☐ 2

9. If yes, would you say that you are part of that leading crowd?  
 Yes..... ☐ 1  
 No..... ☐ 2 /10
10. If there is a leading crowd and you are not part of it, would you like to be part of it?  
 Yes..... ☐ 1  
 No..... ☐ 2 /11  
 Don't care..... ☐ 3
11. Which of these things would be hardest for you to take?  
 Parents' disapproval..... ☐ 1  
 Teachers' disapproval..... ☐ 2 /12  
 Breaking with a friend..... ☐ 3
12. If your friends asked you to join in a secret escapade for a week-end, would you join if your parents were not in favor?  
 Yes..... ☐ 1  
 No..... ☐ 2 /13
13. Which of the following would make you most unhappy?  
 My parents did not like what I did..... ☐ 1  
 My teachers did not like what I did..... ☐ 2 /14  
 My friends did not like what I did..... ☐ 3
14. Who is likely to influence you most at the present time?  
 Parents..... ☐ 1  
 Teachers..... ☐ 2 /15  
 Clergy, minister, pastor..... ☐ 3  
 Friends..... ☐ 4
15. Which of the following are you most worried about?  
 Health..... ☐ 1  
 Academic success..... ☐ 2 /16  
 Acceptance by friends..... ☐ 3  
 Finding a job..... ☐ 4
16. If you had a choice would you leave school before graduation?  
 Yes..... ☐ 1  
 No..... ☐ 2 /17
17. Would you hand in an assignment or essay that your friend had done as your own?  
 Yes..... ☐ 1  
 No..... ☐ 2 /18

18. If you could be remembered here at school for one of the things below, which one would you want it to be?
- |                          |                          |   |     |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Outstanding student..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Athletic star.....       | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /19 |
| Most popular.....        | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |     |
19. Do your parents attend church?
- |                        |                          |   |     |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Yes, regularly.....    | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Yes, occasionally..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /20 |
| No.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |     |
20. Do you drink beer?
- |                        |                          |   |     |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Yes, frequently.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Yes, occasionally..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /21 |
| No.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |     |
21. How sports minded are your parents?
- |   |                          |   |     |
|---|--------------------------|---|-----|
| They are not interested in sports.....                                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| They listen to and watch some sports but they do not participate.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |     |
| They listen to and watch sports and they also participate.....            | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | /22 |
| They participate in some sports but they do not listen or watch them..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |     |
22. Among the things you strive for during your high school days, which of the following is most important to you?
- |   |                          |   |     |
|---|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Pleasing my parents.....                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Learning as much as possible in school..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |     |
| Living up to my religious ideals.....       | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | /23 |
| Being accepted and liked by friends.....    | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |     |
| Pleasing the teachers.....                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |     |
23. How many evenings a week do you spend with the gang?
- |                  |                          |   |     |
|------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| None.....        | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| One.....         | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /24 |
| Two or more..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |     |
24. In your adult life who would you want to resemble most?
- |                                    |                          |   |     |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| One of your parents.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Your favourite teacher.....        | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |     |
| A sporting figure.....             | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | /25 |
| A politician or public figure..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |     |
25. Which course are you taking now?
- |                          |                          |   |     |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| University entrance..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| General.....             | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /26 |

- 7.
26. How important do you think athletics is in high school?
- |                         |                            |     |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| Very important.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |     |
| Somewhat important..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | /27 |
| Unimportant.....        | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |     |
| Very unimportant.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |     |
27. In your opinion, do you think athletics is:
- |                                  |                            |     |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| Very important for life.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |     |
| Somewhat important for life..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | /28 |
| Not important for life.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |     |
28. How much time per day, on the average, do you spend doing homework outside of school?
- |                            |                            |     |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| None.....                  | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |     |
| Half an hour.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |     |
| Half hour to one hour..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | /29 |
| One to two hours.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |     |
| More than two hours.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |     |
29. What kind of music do you enjoy most?
- |                          |                            |     |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| Modern.....              | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |     |
| Classical.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | /30 |
| Country and western..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |     |
| Rock.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |     |
30. Which of the following drinks is served most frequently in your home?
- |                                |                            |     |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| Beer.....                      | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |     |
| Table wine.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | /31 |
| Other alcoholic beverages..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |     |
| None of these.....             | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |     |
31. Which of the following do you think is the most important characteristic necessary for success in adult life?
- |                            |                            |     |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| Money.....                 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |     |
| Athletics.....             | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |     |
| Personality.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | /32 |
| Academic achievements..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |     |
| Friendliness.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |     |
| Good looks.....            | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |     |
32. How often do you go to the movies?
- |                             |                            |     |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| Never, or almost never..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |     |
| About once a month.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | /33 |
| About once a week.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |     |
| Twice a week or more.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |     |

33. Which item below fits most of the teachers at your school?

- They understand the problems of teen-agers and assist them..... ☐ 1
- They are not interested in teen-agers..... ☐ 2
- They are willing to help but don't understand our problems..... ☐ 3
- They understand our problems but are unwilling to help..... ☐ 4

/34

34. Suppose your family had planned a trip for a vacation in the summer. If you go with them it means that you cannot go camping with your friends as you had planned. What would you do?

- Go on trip with parents..... ☐ 1
- Go camping with friends..... ☐ 2

/35

35. What is the major characteristic necessary to be a member of the leading crowd in your school?

- Good looks..... ☐ 1
- Friendliness..... ☐ 2
- Academic excellence..... ☐ 3
- Money..... ☐ 4
- Athletic ability..... ☐ 5

/36

36. About how much time on the average, do you spend watching T.V. on a weekday?

- None, or almost none..... ☐ 1
- About half an hour a day..... ☐ 2
- About one hour a day..... ☐ 3
- About one and a half hours a day..... ☐ 4
- About two hours a day..... ☐ 5
- About two and a half hours a day..... ☐ 6
- Three or more hours a day..... ☐ 7

/37

37. Which of the following is your favourite type of T.V. program?

- Western or Comedy..... ☐ 1
- Quiz shows or contests..... ☐ 2
- Interviews or news..... ☐ 3
- Sports..... ☐ 4

/38

38. Do you say your prayers before you go to bed at night?

- Yes, usually..... ☐ 1
- Yes, sometimes..... ☐ 2
- No..... ☐ 3

/39



39. How would you describe your life at home?

- Very happy..... ☐ 1  
 Fairly happy..... ☐ 2  
 Rather unhappy..... ☐ 3  
 Very unhappy..... ☐ 4

/40

40. If you could have only one of the following which would you choose?

- Wealth..... ☐ 1  
 Education..... ☐ 2  
 Fame..... ☐ 3  
 Religious faith..... ☐ 4

/41

41. How would you describe your school experiences?

- Very satisfactory..... ☐ 1  
 Fairly satisfactory..... ☐ 2  
 Rather unsatisfactory..... ☐ 3  
 Very unsatisfactory..... ☐ 4

/42

42. How many years of schooling do you expect to complete after high school?

- None..... ☐ 1  
 One..... ☐ 2  
 Two..... ☐ 3  
 Three..... ☐ 4  
 Four or more..... ☐ 5

/43

43. What would you most like to get out of high school?

- A broad education..... ☐ 1  
 Preparation for a vocation..... ☐ 2  
 Preparation for citizenship..... ☐ 3  
 Learn how to get along with people..... ☐ 4  
 Friends..... ☐ 5

/44

44. If you found a five dollar bill in your school without anyone seeing it, what would you do?

- Report the find..... ☐ 1  
 Keep the money..... ☐ 2

/45

45. Are your parents concerned about your doing well in academic work in school?

- Yes..... ☐ 1  
 No..... ☐ 2

/46

46. Do your parents watch television?

- More than you..... ☐ 1  
 As much as you..... ☐ 2  
 Less than you..... ☐ 3

/47

47. Do you have a car of your own?

Yes..... ☐ 1  
No..... ☐ 2 /48

If no, do you have access to a car?

Yes..... ☐ 1  
No..... ☐ 2 /49

48. How far did your father go in school?

Grade 8 or less..... ☐ 1  
Grade 9..... ☐ 2  
Grade 10..... ☐ 3  
Grade 11..... ☐ 4 /50  
Some university..... ☐ 5  
Graduated from university..... ☐ 6  
Other schooling (e.g. Vocational School,  
College of Fisheries, etc.)..... ☐ 7

49. How far did your mother go in school?

Grade 8 or less..... ☒ 1  
Grade 9..... ☐ 2  
Grade 10..... ☐ 3  
Grade 11..... ☐ 4 /51  
Some university..... ☐ 5  
Graduated from university..... ☐ 6  
Other schooling (e.g. Vocational School,  
Nursing School, etc.)..... ☐ 7

50. Does your family get a daily newspaper?

Yes..... ☐ 1  
No..... ☐ 2 /52

51. Is there an encyclopedia in your home?

Yes..... ☐ 1  
No..... ☐ 2 /53

52. Does your family usually leave town each year for a holiday?

Yes..... ☐ 1  
No..... ☐ 2 /54

53. Does your mother belong to any clubs or organizations such as church, art, or social clubs?

Yes..... ☐ 1  
No..... ☐ 2 /55

54. Have you ever had lessons in music, dancing, art, swimming, etc. outside of school?

Yes..... ☐ 1  
No..... ☐ 2 /56

55. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

- |                    |                          |   |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---|
| None.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| One.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Two.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Three.....         | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Four.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Five.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6 |
| Six.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7 |
| Seven.....         | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8 |
| Eight or more..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

/57

56. What is your age?

- |                       |                          |   |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Fourteen or less..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Fifteen.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Sixteen.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Seventeen.....        | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Eighteen.....         | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Over eighteen.....    | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6 |

/58

57. Where do you think you stand in terms of your academic ability and performance compared with that of your close friends?

- |                                   |                          |   |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Much lower than average.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Slightly lower than average.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Average.....                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Slightly better than average..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Much better than average.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

/59

58. Where do you think you stand in terms of your academic ability and performance compared with that of the other members of your class?

- |                                   |                          |   |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Much lower than average.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Slightly lower than average.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Average.....                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Slightly better than average..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Much better than average.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

/60

59. What do you think of your ability to complete a university degree?

- |                                   |                          |   |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Much lower than average.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Slightly lower than average.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Average.....                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Slightly better than average..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Much better than average.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

/61

60. What do you think of the quality of your school work at present?

- |                                   |                          |   |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Much worse than average.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Slightly worse than average.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Average.....                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Slightly better than average..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Much better than average.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

/62

61. What kind of grades do you think you are capable of getting?
- |                                   |                          |   |     |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Much worse than average.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Slightly worse than average.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |     |
| Average.....                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | /63 |
| Slightly better than average..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |     |
| Much better than average.....     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |     |
62. Did you participate in any formal or organized sports activities during the year?
- |                        |                          |   |     |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Yes, frequently.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Yes, occasionally..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /64 |
| No.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |     |
63. Did you participate in any informal sports activities during the year?
- |                        |                          |   |     |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Yes, frequently.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Yes, occasionally..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /65 |
| No.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |     |
64. Have you run for, or been elected to, a student office during your high school career?
- |          |                          |   |     |
|----------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Yes..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| No.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /66 |
65. Have you taken part in any school clubs or activities such as chess club, debating club, drama club, etc.?
- |          |                          |   |     |
|----------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Yes..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| No.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | X67 |
66. Which of the following do you prefer most in school?
- |                        |                          |   |     |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Dances.....            | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Socials.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |     |
| Debates.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | /68 |
| Plays or concerts..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |     |
67. Do you go to church?
- |                        |                          |   |     |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Yes, frequently.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Yes, occasionally..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /69 |
| No.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |     |
68. Do you consider yourself:
- |                                      |                          |   |     |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Deeply religious.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| Moderately religious.....            | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |     |
| Largely indifferent to religion..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | /70 |
| Basically opposed to religion.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |     |
69. Have you ever had to repeat a grade in school?
- |          |                          |   |     |
|----------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Yes..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| No.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | /71 |

70. How many books (not counting newspapers and magazines) are there in your home?

- |                    |                          |   |     |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---|-----|
| None.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |     |
| 1-10.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |     |
| 11-50.....         | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | /72 |
| 51-100.....        | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |     |
| More than 100..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |     |

71. What is your father's occupation?

- |  |                          |    |     |
|--|--------------------------|----|-----|
| Owner of large business (employs 3 or more people).....              | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1  |     |
| Owner of small business (employs less than 3 people).....            | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2  |     |
| Professional, technical (e.g. lawyer, doctor, teacher, etc.).....    | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3  |     |
| Clerical (clerk, office worker, etc.).....                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4  |     |
| Service and recreation (policeman, cook, barber, etc.).....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5  |     |
| Transport and communication (bus driver, radio announcer, etc.)..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6  | /73 |
| Fisherman.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7  | /74 |
| Farmer or farm worker.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8  |     |
| Logger, lumberman, miner.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9  |     |
| Craftsman (carpenter, plumber, electrician, etc.).....               | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10 |     |
| Labourer.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11 |     |
| Unemployed.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12 |     |

72. Which of the following occupations do you expect to enter upon completion of schooling?

- |  |                          |    |     |
|--|--------------------------|----|-----|
| Owner of large business (employs 3 or more people).....              | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1  |     |
| Owner of small business (employs less than 3 people).....            | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2  |     |
| Professional, technical (e.g. lawyer, doctor, teacher, etc.).....    | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3  |     |
| Clerical (clerk, office worker, etc.).....                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4  |     |
| Service and recreation (policeman, cook, barber, etc.).....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5  |     |
| Transport and communication (bus driver, radio announcer, etc.)..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6  | /75 |
| Fisherman.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7  | /76 |
| Farmer or farm worker.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8  |     |
| Logger, lumberman, miner.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9  |     |
| Craftsman (carpenter, plumber, electrician, etc.).....               | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10 |     |
| Labourer.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11 |     |
| Unemployed.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12 |     |

THAT'S ALL! Once again thank you for your co-operation.











