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ABSTRACT
        This paper develops a conceptual framework as a guide
for research analysis and the designing of experimental interventions
aimed at the improvement of the socialization process of the
community. Socialization agents are the parents, older and like-age
peers, formal education agencies, churches, leisure time child and
youth serving agencies, legal enforcement and protection agencies,
therapeutic, rehabilitative, and resocialization services, employers
and work supervisors, political socializers, and mass media agents.
Generally these socialization agents deprive themselves of the
dialogues they critically need about ideals, goals, and desired
outcomes. The young cope with the complexity of pluralism of inputs
in several ways; their biggest problem being the challenge to more
effectively influence the structure and functioning of the
socialization community so that they can meet their needs and grow
and develop. Communication between the segments of the socialization
community; team-building with the socialization agencies; development
and coordination of collaboration between professional and volunteer
resources will facilitate improving the socialization process.
Planned change efforts include development of a "temporary" system
team; internal data collection; reviews and derivations from external
resources; micro experiences for leaders; commitment to a tryout
period and supportive follow through. (Author/VLW)

THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY

by

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INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVES

This paper attempts to develop a conceptual framework as a guide for research analysis and the designing of experimental interventions aimed at the improvement of the socialization process. Most of the work on socialization has focused on processes of interaction between socialization agents and children, particularly young children. Anthropologists, sociologists, and "social commentators" have also focused on the characteristics and functioning of the total society as it influences personality formation. Most have neglected to look at the linkage between the characteristics of a national society and the goals and techniques of individual parents and teachers. Our focus on what we call the "socialization community" attempts to examine the structure and process of such linkage.

DEFINING THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY

"Every society has a critical vested interest in the procedures and processes by which the young are socialized into the functioning of the society". (Alex Inkeles, "Society, Social Structure, and Child Socialization," Chapter 3 of Socialization and Society, Little Brown and Co., 1968.) Inkeles, in his discussion of the analyses by Levy and others of the needs of society in relation to the process of socialization, emphasizes that every society needs to have its young members learn some of the general values, knowledges, and skills needed for functioning as a committed and contributing member of the society. This means learning the goals and means which provide effective self control of disruptive forms of behavior and a readiness to respond to the sanctions of others "if one gets out of line" as a member of the society. Also, the society is interested in having every member acquire commitments and competencies to social and occupational roles that will maintain the functioning and development of the society. In a rapidly changing society it is crucial that the young be socialized into the attitudes, knowledges, and skills relevant to flexibility or changeability because they must be prepared to prevent the obsolescence and deterioration of the society and contribute to its survival and development. The key elements in this total process of "raising the young" are the institutions and individuals who frequently interact with the young. These individuals and agencies are the links between the interests and needs of society and the actual learning activities of the young. We have called this cluster of influences the "socialization community".

Most typically we think of community in other terms. We think
of its economic functions which might be designated as the economic
community, or we think of it as a physical community located in a
given physical ecology of buildings, transportation, communications,
etc. But it is just as valid to think of the educational or social-
ization community. In our analyses we have identified a number of
clusters of personnel that have a delegated interest and responsi-
bility of influencing the development of the values, knowledges, and
behaviors of the young. Each of the following clusters of institu-
tions, agencies, and personnel has some type of program of social-
ization, more or less planned, and publicly articulated as a program
to influence the socialization of the young members of the community.
These clusters are:

1.   The formal education agencies, public and private --
      This includes the education programs from the pre-
      school through the community colleges and other in-
      stitutions of higher education. Some specialize
      in general education programs and others in more
      technical and specialized programs. All of them
      provide curricula, many compulsory, for the formal
      education of the children and youth of the commun-
      ity.

2.   The churches -- Almost all churches have religious
      education programs for the young, with a special
      emphasis on values education. Many of the churches
      also provide other types of activity programs em-
      phasizing opportunities for significant educational
      dialogue between adults and the young. A few have
      become involved in political socialization.

3.   The leisure time (non-school) child and youth
      serving agencies -- This large cluster of socialization
      agencies specialize in recreational, cultural, and
      "character education" programs. Many of them
      attempt to provide an orientation into citizen roles
      and family life functions. Although many of the
      socialization agents are volunteers rather than
      professionals they all have delegated socialization
      responsibilities and some type of training to
      do their volunteer jobs of working with the young.

4.   The legal enforcement and protection agencies --
      This includes the police, juvenile bureaus, ju-
      venile courts, traffic-safety agents, and school
      truant officers. All of these agencies and agents
      have responsibility for defining deviancy in
      terms of legal codes and exerting sanctions to
      prevent or correct deviant behavior and to pro-
      tect the community from the disruptions and
      destructions of deviant behaviors.

5. The therapeutic, rehabilitative, and resocialization services -- This varied cluster of professional helpers includes the counselors and therapists who work with various types of deviants, the remedial specialists who work with those who have fallen behind in various types of learning activity, and those working with the deprived and the handicapped who require more intense and specialized socialization and educational opportunities.

6. Employers and work supervisors of the young -- There are several types of personnel who have the responsibility for linking the young into the economic system of the community. Some of them act as trainers for occupational roles, others provide placement and referral services, recruit and make employment decisions, or act as work supervisors. All of these functions are related to the socialization of the young into the economic community.

7. The political socializers -- In the American community there is very little responsibility delegated for the political socialization of the young. In recent years some of the adult leaders involved in social protest and civil rights activities have taken some responsibility for socialization of the young into political roles. There has been little interest or responsibility shown by the regular political system.

In addition to these seven clusters of personnel, paid and volunteer, which have delegated responsibility and articulated programs of socialization in varying degrees, there are two additional and very significant populations of socialization agents:

8. The parents -- The parents certainly have a delegated responsibility for the socialization of the young. Our interviews with a sample of professional socialization agents reveal that they perceive the parents as the most influential, at least in the early years, and the most responsible for deviancy. On the other hand, the parents are neither paid nor trained to take responsibility for particular socialization functions. They have a very crucial but anomalous position in the socialization community.

9. Older and like-age peers -- The social system of peers is another major source of influence which has no delegated responsibility and no training, except in very rare cases, to take the role of socialization agents in relation to other young ones. Even in such familiar patterns as babysitting, no socialization functions are typically defined or expected.

In addition to these nine populations of socialization agents who interact in a face-to-face way with the young, there is a tenth population present in most communities that performs a significant socialization function.

10. The mass media agents -- This is the population of agents who control and distribute the socialization interventions addressed to the young through the channels of the mass media -- TV and radio programs, newspapers, and other newsstand materials. Many of these agents address only a small amount of their attention to the youth population as targets. However, many of the messages specifically addressed to adults are consumed and utilized by the young.

These ten clusters of personnel we will call the segments of the socialization community.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY

There are several different ways in which we can look at the organization or structure of the socialization communtiy.

1. Functional clusters -- We have described the socialization community in terms of ten different functional clusters of socialization agents and agencies. We can inquire into whether there is a high homogeniety of purpose within the clusters or between clusters. We can explore whether there is more communication and co-ordination of efforts within clusters as compared to between clusters. We can inquire into whether the workers within the different clusters compete with each other over the same socialization targets, and whether there is competition between clusters for the mind and ear of the socializee.

2. Vertical systems of programmatic effort -- Another way of looking at the structure of the socialization communtiy is in terms of the way in which the programmatic efforts of each socialization agency is organized and conducted. Typically there is a top policy making structure of laymen, such as the school board or agency board, which defines the allocation of the budget, selects the top professional personnel, and makes general decisions about programming policy and possible content. Under the policy-making group in the vertical structure is the administrative and program staff of professionals such as the school principal, superintendent, curriculum coordinator, the agency executive, program director, or the directors of the juvenile

board of the police or mental health clinic, or
the personnel director, etc. Under the admini-
strative and program supervisors there are the
direct workers with the young. These direct
workers may be professionals or volunteers, for
example school teachers, scout leaders, club
leaders, juvenile officers, work supervisors,
counselors, Big-Brothers, Sunday school teachers,
etc. And in the vertical structure under the
direct workers are the young people themselves,
the socializees, who are the targets of the
socialization efforts of the agency.

3. Horizontal communication and collaboration --
    One of the most interesting questions about the
    socialization community is the question of the
    degree to which the various levels of the ver-
    tical structures have communication and colla-
    boration horizontally. For example, to what
    degree do the Council of Social Agencies or the
    Council of Churches or any of the other co-or-
    dinating mechanisms provide for collaboration
    within any of the ten segments of the social-
    ization community? To what degree is there any
    communication between policy makers across the
    various segments? Is there more communication
    at the level of administrators and program people
    than there is at the level of the policy makers?
    Do the direct workers, school teachers, scout leaders,
    juvenile officers, etc. have any direct commun-
    ication and cooperation in the sharing of the
    information or techniques of socialization?

4. Professionals, para-professionals, and volunteers --
    Another way of looking at the socialization com-
    munity is in terms of the types of personnel who
    are involved in socialization functions. In some
    of the sectors most of the direct socialization
    work and interaction with the socializees is
    carried out by full-time professionals such
    as classroom teachers, police officers, proba-
    tion officers, counselors and remedial workers.
    In other sectors almost all of the direct
    socialization work is carried out by volunteers --
    Sunday school teachers, Big Brothers, club leaders,
    political leaders, parents, and older peers. In
    many agencies there is an increasing population
    of para-professionals and part-time aides who
    are taking on important roles of direct social-
    ization.

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5.   Formal and informal socialization efforts -- Another
      way of looking at the socialization community is in
      terms of the extent to which some of the socializa-
      tion inputs represent formal planned programs of
      effort to influence the growth and development of
      the young as compared to the degree to which other
      patterns of influence are unplanned and informal.
      This includes much of the efforts of parents, and
      certainly of older peers and charismatic peer
      leaders. Also, we can probably differentiate
      between those socialization agents who are acting
      as linkers with delegated responsibility for cer-
      tain types of socialization content and methods
      and those who have no sense of responsibility for
      representing the values and ideas of others.

We will want to look at the functioning of the socialization com-
munity in terms of all of these dimensions of structure.

THE LIFESPACE OF THE SOCIALIZEE: PATTERNS OF INPUT AND COPING

If we turn our focus of attention to the recipient of all this effort,
the child or youth, other questions are generated about the functioning of
the socialization community. Are there some populations of the young who
are overloaded with the attention and inputs of the medly of socializa-
tion efforts in terms of time, energy, and readiness? Are there other
populations of the young who are neglected, avoided, or rejected by most
of the socialization agencies? Are some agencies in direct conflict with
each other for the time and values and behaviors of the young, such as
older peer leaders who are in conflict with the "establishment" for the
loyalties and energies of the young? Do some agencies provide important
alternative paths for the young to pursue the development of their skills,
and interests, and values? To what extent is there a division of labor
among the agencies in their focus on certain socialization priorities
and population targets? Is there a collusive neglect of certain target
populations by most of the agencies? Do some agencies support and
complement the functions of parents while others attempt to function as
substitutes for and competitors with the parents? Do some agencies
have a very articulate program of direct indoctrination of values and
behaviors as contrasted with agencies that have an emphasis on supporting
the development and experimentation of the young in the development of
their own values and decisions?

All of these questions point to the importance of learning about the
patterning of inputs into the lifespace of individual children which flow
from the autonomous or collaborative efforts of the various socialization
agents and agencies.

There is also the ever-pervasive fact that children are different from one another and that these different characteristics of children must somehow be taken into account in the socialization process and must influence the nature and style and degree to which particular social imperatives are promoted by the socialization agent.

These are some of the reasons there is a serious lack of clarity about socialization goals, and a serious lack of effort to achieve clarification.

EXPLORATION ABOUT CONSENSUS

Interviews with populations of socialization leaders reveal a consensus agreeing that the least liked behavioral outcomes in socializees are the lack of respect shown by the young for authority and adults, and that the most liked outcomes have to do with getting along well with each other and with adults, and showing active commitment to work and achievement. Beyond this there is much difference of opinion about priority objectives and much difference in weights given to the priorities of conforming citizenship, self-fulfillment, moral values, problem-solving skills, capacity for enjoyment, etc. Two patterns of interaction seem to maintain the process of non-exploration about consensus. Some interviewees maintain that they perceive the goals of others as similar to their own and therefore, have no sense of need to enter a dialogue. Others percieve great difference and either want to avoid conflict or rationalize that a pluralism of goals is a natural state of affairs and that there is no need for them to expose themselves to influence toward change. The "American dilemma" of avoidance of compromise is a serious restraint to confrontation and creative dialogue of the kind which is needed to help clarify differences and to support the emergence of collaboration and consistency. It is interesting that many of the youths who were interviewed indicated a desire to keep parents and teachers apart because if they began to work together there would be more collusive strength against the needs of the youths themselves. It is our guess that the explorations of consensus among social agents would have the opposite effect of developing more sensitivity and concreteness about the needs, interests, and welfare of the young.

THE CHOICE OF APPROPRIATE MEANS

If someone is unclear about their child rearing objectives and desired outcomes, they lack the critieria for selecting the most appropriate means of helping the young ones develop. A second problem is that there is an even more confusing medley of voices from the experts about the best means and then about goals. Brim has pointed out (Brim, O.G. Jr., Education for Child Rearing, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1959) that there is remarkably little research or derivation from research, to help a parent or other agent select the correct socializ-tion procedures to attain the socially preferred objectives. It is our impression that there is much

more consensus among the experts than would be apparent if they had the opportunity to confront each other, to explore differences in populations studied and concepts and language used in interpretations.

Perhaps the most serious problem is that most socialization agents have little opportunity to develop a repetoire of interaction techniques to use with the young at different times, under different conditions, with different ages and types of children, and with different objectives. Most of the needed and appropriate techniques for helping the young have been invented by some particular agent or group of agents but there has been no communication of this resource. The lack of dissemination about means of socialization is acutely serious and is particularly difficult in a social system of our size and complexity.

There is another serious problem which limits the choice of appropriate socialization means. This is the existence of misleading assumptions about causation which limit intelligence and flexibility in the choice of behaviors toward children and youth. For example, there is a commonly held misleading assumption that "clamping down" on and isolation of our young is a necessary and beneficial disciplinary procedure. The techniques of repressions and isolation no doubt help the adult agents to cope with their fears and anxieties but there is no evidence that these techniques result in either the development of internal self control or the resocialization of deviancy. Another misleading assumption is that there is a single or major cause of any behavioral outcome and therefore, that a single course of action is needed and sufficient to cause certain growth outcomes, such as "providing them with a father," "giving them more intellectual stimulation," "teaching them to know what's right and what's wrong." A third frequently misleading assumption is that "youth are not old enough to know what is good for them, not mature enough to participate in the planning and operation of their own develop ment and education." Holding this assumption greatly limits the flexibility in the choice of socialization means because so many of the most effective socialization techniques require various types of involvement and collaboration of the young in their own socialization.

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES FOR THE SOCIALIZEE

Although the major concern of this paper is with the functioning and structure of the socialization community we must keep our perspective on the central task, i.e., creating effective and appropriate learning experiences for children and youth. One of the most important generalizations about social learning is that the learner will be open to listen and ready to be influenced in proportion to his perceptions that his teachers are ready to listen to and be influenced by him and his needs. One of the critical issues, which many of the young ones can not articulate, is that the young are not basically a part of the socialization community. They are talked to rather than with. They are planned for rather than planned with. The adult socialization agents put a great deal of thought, planning, and energy into observing and diagnosing the needs of the young and their reactions to various educational efforts, but rarely are the young asked directly to give their reactions to these efforts and even more rarely are the young given feedback from the adults about how the reactions

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of the young have been listened to and used to influence and guide the
adults in their efforts to do a better job of collaborating with the young
in their growing up process.

The young are constantly busy with their own initiatives of self-
socialization. If the efforts of the elders are to be influential it
must be because the young are initiating postures of reaction to and
utilization of the inputs from the elders. The fact that the elders can
teach but it is the young that choose to learn is a frightening conception
for many elders and a source of strength for many of the young. Many
elders are threatened, just as many are challenged, by the understanding
that they must also be learners in this process to work efficiently and
productively.

It may appear at first that the concept of self-socialization and
initiative of the socializee is a more relevant dynamic for the older
young ones than it is for the pre-schoolers and elementary school-agers.
It is certainly true that resistance and confrontation are less manifest
in the earlier years but it has become very clear that even in the pre-
school years the young organism is developing a definite policy about
his postures toward and participation in the learning opportunities
provided and initiated by adults.

As we have seen, the adults present the young with a variety of
problems to cope with in trying to learn from what the adults are offering.
The messages are often confusing, competing, inconsistent, and discon-
tinuous. And even more critically, there is often a serious lack of
positive support for the efforts to learn and to actually apply these
learning in behavior. The messages of reinforcement which come from
the adults are predominantly critical. They are messages which create
feelings of low self worth and incompetence and result in both discour-
agement and a need to protectively withdraw from interaction with adults.
Fortunately, there is another source of support and self-esteem which
becomes very important for the majority of the young ones quite early.
This is the resource of one's own peers. With them there is a better
chance to be influential, and during the school years to develop coa-
litions and collusions which provide the strength to take initiative
and to resist the power field of the adults. The age-grading practices
used by the adult socialization agents, i.e., the practice of separating
the young for most activities into separate age groups, inhibits many of
the natural opportunities for nuturance and support between older and
younger peers and introduces much discontinuity into the socialization
process as a result. Many of the things they need to learn could be
learned most efficiently and easily from the older peers. This is pre-
vented both by the policies of separation and the resultant attitudes
of competition, status, difference, and exploitation which follow as a
consequence.

What are some of the postures of initiative the young develop in
coping with the pluralism of inputs from the adult socialization agents
who try to influence them each week? In coping with the complexity
they try to simplify their task in several ways. Here are some of
their patterns:

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1. Particularly with many of the older ones the sense
    of irritation and confusion which results from being
    exposed to inconsistent and competing demands and
    expectations is being reacted to by a psychological
    response which in effect says "if you can't agree
    then there are no authoritative standards and I am
    free to do what seems most attractive to me." This
    resolution receives support from the young one's
    need for autonomy and the attractiveness of the
    pleasure-seeking impulse which is one of the inner
    voices helping determine initiative in most decision
    situations. so the young one feels legitimized in
    "doing his own thing" as a simplification and de-
    fense against the compe+'ng medley of voices from
    the socialization commu, .ty.

2. Another tempting and frequently used way to avoid
    the stress of conflicting demands and loyalty pressures
    is to avoid the confrontation, to deny that there
    is an issue of conflict. Some children and youth
    are remarkably successful in keeping their relations
    with adult socialization agents separated. When they
    are with their parents, then their teachers and other
    adults do not exist. And likewise when they are
    with their teachers, their parents have no psycho-
    logical existence. This type of situational and
    relationship opportunism can be carried to re-
    markable lengths to avoid internal confrontation
    and conflict. But one consequence is a delay in the
    development of personal identity which emerges from
    personal decision making, confrontation, and in-
    ternalization of the many disparate socialization
    influences.

3. Another way to simplify these complexities is to make
    one of the sources of influence the psychologically
    dominant one providing guidance in all situations
    By making loyalty to the mother or a best peer
    friend the dominant loyalty, it is possible to
    avoid a great deal of discomfort in decision-
    making. One can think of the other voices as
    irrelevant and thus stop paying attention to them,
    or quickly and easily reject the competing messages
    as incorrect or misleading. One of the conse-
    quences of selecting a dominant external voice
    among the multiple voices of the socialization
    community, is that the child tends to inhibit
    the development and use of his own internal
    voice as a legitimate guide.

4. Many young ones try anxiously and conscientously
    to listen to all the voices from the socializa-
    tion community and arrive at some kind of com-
    promise which will somehow please everybody. More
    frequently than not this attempt to balance all

the voices in the situation results in the dis-
satisfaction of pleasing no one, including the
self. But if this other directed posture of
problem-solving is at least partially successful
it prevents the development of a posture of self-
initiative, self-worth, and self-potency in
the young person.

5. Many children are helped by adults, or help them-
selves, to develop more creative and self-inte-
grating postures of using the input of the social-
ization community as resource for growth. These young
ones have learned that decisions and actions
genuinely belong to them but that there is respon-
sibility and opportunity to listen to, to seek out,
and to use the ideas of others for the self. A
second thing they have learned is that they are
not just targets of influence and pressure from
others but are in a reciprocal relation with
others with the right and responsibility to attempt
to influence adults with their ideas and feelings.
This more active posture of participation in the
socialization process is not one of dependence
as contrasted to independence, but is rather a
posture of active inter-dependence which is far
more potent and self-enhancing than efforts at
autonomy and separateness.

In some ways then, the biggest problem the young ones have to cope
with in regards to their role in the socialization process is the
challenge of how to more effectively influence the functioning of the
socialization community so that they can be a better resource themselves
in meeting their needs to grow and develop.

DERIVATIONS FOR DIRECTION OF CHANGE IN THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY

From the foregoing analysis of the issues of the socialization process,
and the problems of the functioning of the socialization community, and
the needs of the young we have arrived at a number of derivations about
needed developments in the socialization community and directions for re-
search on the macro-processes of socialization. Several of our major
derivations are summarized in this section. Clearly they need further
conceptualization, and testing through experimentation.

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE SEGMENTS OF THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY

We visualize further development of the model begun in the Flint youth
study. Through a nomination survey the major policy and administrative
power figures in seven or eight sectors of the socialization community have
been identified. Information has been collected from them about their
priorities in regards to the values outcomes and behavioral outcomes of
their socialization efforts, and their patterns of communication, colla-
boration, and competition with the other socialization leaders. These
data were the start-up of a continuing inter-agency seminar for key
community leadership. Differences in policy, program priorities, target
populations, and approaches to cooperation and competition have been
confronted and a series of adult task forces are working on some of the
major issues of collaboration.

This seminar has activated a process of sharing practices between
direct workers in the different agencies who are working directly with
children and youth. In these "sharing of practice institutes" the
scoutmaster has much to learn from the classroom teacher, the classroom
teacher has much to learn from religious education workers, religious
education workers have much to learn from Big Brothers and school counse-
lors, the counselors have much to learn from the probation officers and
juvenile officers, and so on. The sharing institutes are using techniques
of identifying and documenting innovative practices so there can be
effective reviewing, evaluating, and distributing of the most significant
socialization techniques in working with the young in all sectors of the
socialization community.

The direct workers have become very sensitive to the need for help
from the young in evaluating practices and collaborating on program de-
velopment. This resulted in an inter-generation week-end laboratory
with a focus on helping the adults, the children, and the youth, to
listen to each other and to explore concensus in defining major direc-
tions for improvement of the socialization and educational process. As
a result of this initial and continuing work on communication between
the agencies and agents of the socialization community a number of changes
have developed within many of the agencies as indicated below.

TEAM-BUILDING WITH THE SOCIALIZATION AGENCIES

One of the weaknesses discovered in the problem-solving efforts des-
cribed above was the lack of communication between policy, administrative,
direct worker, and youth levels within the various agencies. As a result,
several agencies have initiated vertical team building activities such as
weekend team building laboratories, and agency councils. Several school
buildings, for example, are experimenting with supplementing the student
council, administrative council, and parents' council by a building coun-
cil, which includes representation from the administration, the teachers,
the parents, and the students. Many issues have been brought to the surface
for creative work, and much energy has been released by this structure of
legitimizing communication and problem-solving between the levels of the
socialization system. Many task forces and committees have been created

which are inter-generational in composition.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND COORDINATION OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN

PROFESSIONAL AND VOLUNTEER RESOURCES

One of the strongest feedbacks from listening to the young has been the need for much more in the way of individualization of opportunities for learning and for intimate sympathetic relationshps with adults. This has emphasized dramatically the impossibility of doing the job of social-ization primarily through the direct efforts of professional personnel, or the growing cadre of para-professionals. This realization has led, in several agencies, to the development of the concept of functional teams of professionals, para-professionals, and volunteers all related to a group or sub-population of children or youth. This has been a very diffi-cult job of team building because of the problems of defensiveness about standards on the part of the professionals, problems of commitment and mobility needs on the part of the para-professional and issues of mar-ginality and lack of rewarding personal development for the volunteers. But the team building efforts have been very rewarding for all three groups and many professionals have now come to see themselves as the leaders and orchestrators of educational teams where they get satisfac-tion out of the role of consultant and trainer rather than from the direct rewards of being the central figures in interaction with the young ones.

One interesting development in several schools and agencies has been experimentation with the concept of the "lifespace conference" where all the adults who have significant contact with a particular child or children explore their differences of approach, of expectations, of assumptions about causality, and begin to understand ways in which they can provide a more meaningful and consistent input into the life of those youths.

Several of the youth serving agencies, including elementary and secondary schools, have responded to the research evidence that in many situations young children are most responsive to help and influence from peers several years older than themselves, and the evidence shows that being asked to help teach is probably one of the most effective techniques for stimulating learning. Asking children and youths to help take responsibility for teaching the youngers is one of the most effective and successful ways of helping the olders develop their own knowledge, skills, and values about responsibility and the use of adults as resources. So in several of the agencies and schools, groups of older children and teenagers have volunteered to work with the young in programs of recrea-tion, character education, and classroom learning. All of these older volunteers participate in regular training seminars and have opportuni-ties to develop and discuss their own learnings as they work with the young ones. This mobilization of cross-age helping motivations within the peer culture has represented the greatest expansion of socialization man-power, and has the greatest impact on opening up the readiness of the young to learn from the olders. In many ways the older helpe   act as
ikers between the generations.

The Youth Participation Co-ordinating Council

From the ferment of activities described above have emerged three new key structural elements of the socialization community

From the many inter-generational discussions has emerged a Youth Participation Co-ordinating Council which has had as its major purpose the development of initiative and collaboration of the youth sector in relation to many socialization activities. The Council involves representation from two age sectors of the youth community, the thirteen to seventeen age sector, and the eighteen to twenty-one age sector. Half the members of the Council are elected representatives from those agencies and organizations in the community who have a youth clientele or constituency (e.g., school system, youth serving agencies, the churches, labor sponsored groups). The other half are selected by a community wide nomination and election procedure organized separately for the two age sectors. Special efforts have been made in the nomination procedure to identify influential children and youth who are not part of the "establishment" of adult organized programs. The Council itself has continuing responsibility for identifying organizations in the community which have the right to elect youth to the Council. It has been actively involved in developing active relationships with the City Council, the City Planning Commission, and the City Human Relations Commission. It has been successful in getting representation on the Chamber of Commerce, the council of social agencies, and in stimulating the selection of youth as members of many policy making boards in the community. They are becoming involved in discussions with the Board of Education about appropriate representation. A sub-committee of the Council has the responsibility for continually working with all types of employment opportunities with special emphasis on gradients of opportunities for occupational exploration for younger youths as well as part time apprenticeships and full time jobs for older youths. In collaboration with the school system the Council has organized a training program for child care services. The program certifies trainees as being prepared for various types of paid and volunteer services in relation to young children. The funding of youth council programs and office functions is derived from several sources. At the local community level the annual budget, as well as special requests, are presented to the City Council. In addition, the Council solicits and receives contributions from the private sectors--agencies, businesses, and individuals. One local foundation is also very actively involved. The council has been involved in securing some funds from state level resources and is exploring the availability of some types of federal funds.[1] The important fact is that young people from all sectors of the child and youth community are actively represented and the confrontations about activism, about impatience with the establishment and the testing of the conservatism of the adult community can be carried on within a legitimized structure of organization and procedures and can exert significant and satisfying influence on the larger community.

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[1] This description of the youth council is an adaptation of a model developed by Task Force VI of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children for presentation to Congress.

The Family Development Co-ordinating Council

In spite of the general agreement of all socialization leaders
about the crucial importance competent parental behavior, there is a
conspicuous lack of both pre-service and in-service parent training
within the socialization community. Of all the socialize on agents,
parents receive the most blame for inadequate performance, but the
least training and supplementary support for their activities. A co-
ordinating council for family life development has been formed in which
the agencies in the socialization community have pooled manpower
resources to provide a professional staff for an extensive program to
recruit volunteer pairs (often a husband and wife team) to conduct
a carefully designed series of parent and family development sessions.
These volunteer pairs are recruited from all segments of the commun-
ity and play an active role in the outreach efforts to attract parents
to the training programs sponsored by all types of organizations and
agencies. A very significant public service recognition procedure
has been developed to reward and give visibility to the effort of the
volunteer teams in this area of community service. The local papers
and other mass media have collaborated in giving public recognition
and information about the significant "inventions" which have been
identified and documented as part of the family life development
program. Every effort is being made to recognize and reward parent-
hood as one of the most important social practice roles which contri-
bute to the strengthening of the community and the society.

This family development program includes activities for teenagers
and young people before marriage and has also been experimenting
with family development laboratories for total family units focused
on applying the concepts of team development to the family unit.
Another important part of the educational program has been the training
of parents to be active and effective collaborators with teachers and
other adults working together on the challenges of sex education, drug
use, work orientation, destructive behavior, and other current issues
requiring dialogue and action with the young and the old working
together.

The Socialization Community Council

Even though the many responsibilities and efforts to nurture and
socialize the young will continue to be a varied pluralistic activity
in every community, it is crucial that some openness of communication and
confrontation and some co-ordination of planning and collaborative action
be developed if we are to cope adequately with the challenges of social
change and of inter-generational confrontation which are a major con-
text of our life today.

It seems quite reasonable and feasible that the various vested
interests of the socialization community should create some type of
co-ordinating council in the interests of improving and guiding the
socialization processes of the community. This council would have
representation of all sectors and level of the socialization commun-
ity, and all levels of the structures, which certainly include the
unorganized sectors, i.e., the parents and youth themselves.

This co-ordinating council would have responsibility for giving leadership to long range planning activities and to the continual retrieval of knowledge about socialization and new developments in social practice in other communities.

The co-ordinating council would have a major duty to link with the functions of the local community, i.e., the economic, political, and physical development functions, etc. One of the purposes would be to develop a widespread consensus within the community about priority of focusing planning and resources on the socialization function, and on the development of the younger generation as the major priority of community life.

The co-ordinating council would have the responsibility for continuous stimulation of research and development activities in the various collaborating agencies, sanctioning of experimental demonstrations, and the continuous linkage to the use of scientific professional resources of local institutions of higher education.

Perhaps their most important function would be that of having the responsibility for the development and maintenance of community wide programs, of recruiting and training volunteers, and of giving leadership to the development of opportunities for continuous in-service professional development for the staffs of all socialization agencies. It is possible to organize much more effective training programs, with much more high level training resources, if the professional training programs provide for interaction between the para-professionals and professionals of all the agencies.

One of the most exciting innovations in the area of training has been that socializees, the young themselves, are in need of training in the basic skills of "learning to learn", of taking active initiative in using the opportunities and resources of the adult socialization community effectively, selectively, and with discrimination. Within the school curriculum, and within several agency programs there has been the development of very crucial continuities of teaching children and youth the values, skills, and initiatives of being active and selective participants in the total education and socialization process. One of the interesting outcomes of this activity has been the development, with sponsorship with the youth participation co-ordinating council, of a series of teams of young people who are giving leadership to parent and teacher education sessions organized and sponsored by the young. These have been called "bridging the generation" sessions in which, with the use of role playing episodes, there is presentation of critical issues of communication and collaboration between teachers, parents, and youths, and opportunity for diagnostic observation and discussion of the episodes, and thorough analysis of approaches to the improvement of effective working relationships between the generations.

One other significant activity of the socialization communtiy council is the maintenance of a computerized resource directory of volunteer and professional manpower resources in the socialization community, with information about areas of competence and availability for use.

Essentially what the socialization community co-ordinating council has provided is leadership for the development of an effective problem-solving and self renewing operation. A diagram of this operation is presented on the next page to help clarify the conception. We note that down the middle of the diagram is the flow of a problem-solving, self renewing process of operation. The flow of this process draws on two sets of resources. On the left side we have identified the external resources of knowledge, manpower, and support which exist in the society and which are available for retrieval by any active problem solving unit. These resources include theory and research findings, innovations developed elsewhere, research methodology, manpower resources and financial resources. An active problem-solving mechanism is skillful in scanning for these resources, and retrieving them and de ving implications and applications relevant to the particular problem-solving needs and phases of the system. In addition (on the right side) every system has its own internal resources which must be identified, retrieved and utilized. These represent the values, needs, intelligence, energy and support of the participants and structures of the problem-solving system itself. As each problems is solved the community increases it competence at problem-solving and also contributes new resources of knowledge and skilled m power to the community and also to the larger society.

Such a socialization community is prepared to identify and cope with its current issues, whether they be drug use, illegitimate pregnancies educational drop-outs, or riots in the high school. These symptomatic problems will tend to diminish and disappear as a healthy socialization system is developed where the young have their opportunities for participation and their responsibilities for helping maintain and develop the operation of the community

THE STRATEGY OF ENTRY AND START-UP

If we review the efforts to accumulate basic knowledge about the macro-processes of socialization (i.e., at the level of the functioning of the socialization community and the socialization agencies) we find very little in the way of efforts to make derivation from descriptive or diagnostic knowledge to intervention theory and plans. One reason for this is there has been very little research and theorizing focused on the issues of entry into the system for purposes of inducing, experimental change. Converting descriptive research about the social system into diagnostic ideas about readiness to change, resistance to change, and directions of change is one important and challenging task of conceptualization. But converting these images of potential and desirable directions of change into specific action strategies for initiating a change process is an additional discipline often neglected, with the consequence of much resultant frustration, disillusionment, or avoidance of the use of knowledge as a basis for action. Action tends to remain rule of thumb, intuitive, and ad hoc rather than systematic and based on hard headed derivations from basic analysis

DEVELOPMENT OF A "TEMPORARY" SYSTEM TEAM

Much of the recent work on successful planned change efforts in
social systems indicates that a temporary change agent composed of in-
siders and outsiders has several crucial advantages in gaining access,
getting acceptance, and linking the leverage of outside expertness to
inside sensitivity. The concept is that this is a small additional
"temporary system" with cohesion and loyalty to an intervention task,
merging the objectivity and resources of outsiders and the internal
commitment and knowledge of insiders into an intervention mechanism
will have no intention of becoming a permanent new sub-system. It
will go out of business as a team as the new processes and structures which
are needed for the initiation and maintenance of change are internalized
by the system.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNAL DATA COLLECTION: MANPOWER AND PROCEDURES

Usually the start up of an intervention process involves the need
to collect data on such questions as degree of consensus about goals,
difficulty with communication between sub-systems, desire for change,
locus of conflicts, distribution of leadership, and degree of satis-
faction with the present state of affairs. The most effective and
economical access to the various parts of the system to get such in-
formation involves the recruiting and training of individuals in the
system who are appropriately located and ready to become temporary
objective data collectors. The evidence is that there are individuals
in a community system who are ready and eager to take on the challenge
of being trained as members of a scientific team. The evidence is that
with appropriate intensive training they can do a high quality job
of data collection and get access where outsiders find it difficult
or impossible and, certainly far more expensive. Perhaps a more im-
portant aspect, from the point of view of intervention strategy, is that
training and participation in the "objectivity role" or data collector
tremendously lowers defenses and creates a readiness for involvement
in change effort.

REVIEWS AND DERIVATIONS FROM EXTERNAL RESOURCES

Very often one of the most effective initial entry points is a
knowledge review and derivation conference with key leaders of the system
in which research generalizations relevant to local problems are re-
trieved and summarized from the research literature. Such a derivation
conference extending from two or three hours to a day or two starts with
work on the implications of the first generalizations for understanding

the local situation, and implications and possible directions of change. The problem-solving design continues with brainstorming of action alternatives, developing a criteria for selecting the most feasible and appropriate alternatives, and moves to planning for action and evaluation of initial experimental efforts. We have observed that focusing on "what they have discovered about other situations like ours often provides the necessary "safe" start-up for beginning to look objectively at internal issues and problems.

MICRO-EXPERIENCES FOR LEADERS AND SANCTIONERS OF CHANGE EFFORT

One of the most frequent bases for resistance to the initial risk taking of considering the need for change and designing directions for action commitments is the apprehension and mystery of "what it would be like if we got involved in this". Also "is what they're proposing anything new and different from what we've tried before?" One of the most effective ways to cope with this problem is to provide an opportunity for those whose sanction is needed, or whose leadership is desirable, to actually participate in capsule form in some of the perspectives and activities of an intervention program. For example, one school board in a two hour session went through the experience in small groups by brainstorming a day in the life of an elementary school child and secondary level student, getting them out of bed in the morning and carrying them on a half hour basis throughout the day, all the contacts they had with adults, what the adults expected and wanted from them, and what the reactions of the young ones probably were to these contacts. The school board members became very tied up about the need for planning a more consistent and meaningful educational experience for the young and sanctioned and funded a start up project. Another group of leaders from black and white segments of an educational community spent an hour first projecting from their imaginations observations of dialogue and interaction between black and white students two years in the future which made them pleased with the way things had progressed in terms of their values. From this initial experience they spent the rest of the hour identifying the various kinds of movement in the direction of their images of a desirable future state of affairs. This provided the motivation and understanding of what the proposed action program was all about and its relevance to their needs. Such micro-experiences are frequently the first step in getting sanction for initiation of an intervention process.

TEMPORARY COMMITMENT TO A TRY-OUT PERIOD

Very frequently the committed intervention team wants too much too fast. Usually it is feasible and desirable to define an initial period of try-out and evaluation which represents a more acceptable level of risk with regard to the responsibilities of leadership and control felt by the leadership of the system. Obviously the try out period must be long enough and provide an opportunity for the intervention to be felt and for there to be some opportunity for observation of the consequences.

COMMITMENT TO SUPPORTIVE FOLLOW-THROUGH

One of the frequent, and justified, apprehensions of the inside
leadership is that the outside experts have only a temporary interest in
them and their problems and they fear the experts will disappear about
the time the going gets rough and additional help is needed. The out-
siders must be prepared to clarify their commitment to continuity of
support beyond the start up period if their help is needed and desired
by the community or agencies.

These represent some of the core issues and dimensions of design
and commitment as part of the strategy of initiating experimental inter-
vention in a socialization community or any part of it. These kinds of
start up problems must be dealt with in moving toward any of the inno-
vations described in a previous section of this paper.

STRATEGIC ISSUES OF RESEARCH AND DISSEMINATION IN WORK WITH

THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY

Let's review now some of the issues and challenges involved in
building the accumulation of basic knowledge and effective dissemina-
tion of knowledge into the total process of working with the sociali-
zation community.

Balancing Action and Research Orientations and Skills

One of the most critical issues in the launching and conducting of
significant intervention experiments is the recruiting and building of
an intervention team that includes well-trained scientific personnel
with an acceptance and understanding of the action process and skilled
action personnel who accept commitment to and responsibility for research
goals. A large proportion of field experimentation has failed to make
significant contribution to science, and even to other practice system
because the researchers were trained in and committed to a "purist tra-
dition" of controlled laboratory work, or became so involved in the action
process that they retreated from vigorously representing research values.
And, on the other hand, the action members of the team have lacked the
background to understand and feel commitment to the knowledge production
potentialities of the project, or have abrogated responsibility for
representing the complexities of high quality action intervention through
their efforts to identify with higher status research functions. A
volume on interdisciplinary teamwork in mental health research by
Margaret Luski analyzes in detail some of the major problems, challenges,
and possibilities of building integrated action and research teams.

Building an Internal Scientific Apparatus

We mentioned previously of involving members of the target system
in research activities as a part of the start up intervention process.
We want to emphasize here the great potential scientific value of having
persons distributed through the system who are functioning as part of a
change process on a continuing longitudinal basis. The participant
observer has been a very important methodological tool of the anthro-
pologist. Our own experience indicates that one can go even further
in recruiting and training of strategically located indigenous personnel
as committed and objective collectors of data through observation and
interviewing.

Systematic Description of Process Flow

One of the great inadequacies of most field research is that measure-
ment tends to be "a beginning and end" procedure. These efforts to
assess change between two widely spaced time periods fail to yield very
much basic information about the causes of change, the dynamics of resis-
tance to change, the sequential phases of change process, and the speci-
fic effects of particular intervention efforts. The designs most needed
to make basic contributions to knowledge about social system change are
those which provide for continuity of measurement guided by conceptual
models of the change process and the expected effects of the designed
interventions.

A Cluster of Micro-Designs

Instead of thinking of the total change efforts as one research
design, it is usually more productive and feasible to think of the total
change effort as made up of a series of intervention efforts with hypo-
theses or predictions about intended consequences. In this way it is
possible to be continuously involved in "little experiments" and to
continuously be challenged to conceptualize what one "has learned so
far" as a basis for designing new inquiry questions and data collection
efforts.

The Continuity of Outcomes

There usually is no place in an intervention program where it is
possible to say this is the time and place to measure outcomes to see
whether purposes of intervention have been achieved. The process of cause
and effect is a continuous flow in which resistance to change at one
point seems to wipe out all effects observed at previous points, or a
slow accumulation of small effects seems to suddenly snowball into major
changes in the system. Scanning for evidences of change, sequences of
change, and rates of change are crucial challenges for the measurement
operation in such change efforts as are interests in developing the
functioning of a socialization community.

Documentation and Dissemination

In order to report the effects of any social intervention, it is
necessary to provide a systematic and detailed description of the inter-
ventions. And if one of the responsibilities of social experimentation
is to disseminate discoveries about successful models of social practice
then the communication of the model and details of its operation are a
crucial part of making adoption and adaptation by others a possibility.
For both these reasons the documentation procedures used in field ex-
perimentation are crucially important. This is not a secretarial func-
tion of writing down what happens. The responsibility requires a high
level of skill and careful planning of the dimensions of description
and procedures for description. One of the typical problems of many
conscientious efforts is "the file full of tapes" which prove far too
expensive and difficult to convert into effective and functional com-
munication. Economical and conceptually sophisticated documentation is
one of the most confronting challenges of significant field research.

Converting documentation into the packages of communication materials
needed and relevant for dissemination is an additional discipline which
typically requires some integration of audio, visual, and written ma-
terials designed specifically for this purpose. The effective dissemina-
tion of experiences and learning from a change experiment require more
than clear-cut communications. Essentially, communications must be
designed as a training experience which helps the potential adopters
and adapters to confront their own values and defenses as part of the
working through of the implications and potentialities of the social
experimentation which is being communicated to them.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

We have attempted to deal with several conceptual challenges in
this paper.

First, we have attempted to present and clarify the notions of a
socialization community and its role as one of the major functions of
community life in our society.

Second, we have attempted to identify the elements of the structure
and operation of this community function.

Third, we have attempted to point out some of the ways which the
activities of the socialization community can be identified as patterns
of input into the lifespace of the children and youth of the community.

Fourth, we have attempted to identify some of the issues of dysfunc-
tion and lack of development in the structure and operation of the sociali-
zation community.

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