ABSTRACT
       Re-socialization as renewed social assimilation and
accomodation, with emphasis on the possibility of such renewed stress
to bring out self-redefinition, is discussed. The discussion is
centered around (1) a tenative typology of forces for
re-socialization, (2) a view of adults as having three basic
attitudinal strategies toward life, and (3) a flow-chart that may
serve as a paradigm for re-socialization theory. The three major
forces for re-socialization are cited as being: (1) Cultural
transition; rural to urban area, migration to new country, career
shift, and social status shift; (2) Critical social interaction:
social conflict, social institutionalization, and brainwashing; and
(3) Personal crux: physical accident, familial loss, responsibility
shift, religious experience, and age crisis. The three major
additudinal strategies that can be attributed to the individual are:
problem-solving types, conforming types, and ambiguous types. These
three types are described as to traits and behavioral responses to
the environment. The re-socialization paradigm, in the shape of a
tree, shows the basic influences on a human organism (genetic
developmental, and environmental), two basic socializations (general
and occupational), a disturbance to the norm, re-socialization, and
three possible re-directions that occur. (DB)

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WORKING DRAFT

REFLECTIONS ON THE FORCES
FOR ADULT RE-SOCIALIZATION AND THOUGHTS
ON THE SELF AS CAPABLE OF "RE-EMERGENCE"

by

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February 1972

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1

Summary of a Working Draft

REFLECTIONS ON THE FORCES
FOR ADULT RE-SOCIALIZATION AND THOUGHTS
ON THE SELF AS CAPABLE OF "RE-EMERGENCE"*

by

William M. Rivera

February 1972

In this paper I discuss environmental forces on the adult resulting
from desired or undesired situations as one factor in adult re-socializa-
tion. Essentially the paper is about re-socialization as renewed social
assimilation and accommodation, but the underlying emphasis is on the
possibility of such renewed stress to bring about self-redefinition.
The problem of life attitudes and strategies will be peripherally dealt
with, although these strategies as part of personality structure are con-
sidered a major consideration in any discussion of the re-emergence of
new life strategies.

Re-socialization is conceived of as the result of environmental com-
munications and controls as well as of attitudinal strategies and person-
ality structure.

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i

In a subsequent paper I will link the concept of re-socialization with
two concepts currently emphasized in the field of education: perception
and motivation. Certain techniques will be described: those which purport
to awaken individuals to their political and social responsibilities and
rights and those which aim to spark individuals to want to achieve more
for themselves in life, in terms of quantity of services.

For some, the word re-socialization is equated with "brainwashing"
as a technique for getting people to accept one ideology over another.
Certainly this is one aspect and meaning of re-socialization, conceptually
and in actual practice. Re-socialization, however, is a far more inclusive
term. It involves all kinds of social influences for positive, neutral and
negative assimilation and accommodation.

The teacher in a classroom of adults may be a powerful instrument for
achievement motivation and self-social perceptual enhancement, as well as
be a teacher of skills and transmitter of information. We know this im-
plicitly and recognize it explicitly for elementary, secondary and higher
education. But we overlook it as a factor in adult education, except in
those programs for, what we call each other when we migrate to other coun-
tries, immigrants.

Whether for young people in post-secondary education institutions and
programs or for adults attending basic education, literacy or vocational
classes, techniques for enhancement of self-social perception and self-
awareness are valuable for provoking thought--about self and others, self
and career, and self in society. Achievement motivation techniques are
valuable in getting individuals to redefine their goals and to take prac-
tical steps to their attainment. And the business of any teacher, I believe,
is to encourage to think and do, not only to teach to know. Consequently,
I see self-social perception techniques and achievement motivation tech-
niques as important for university as for literacy participants.

In a follow-up paper I will outline a program, especially for teachers of English as a second language (TESL) who may want to incorporate self-perception techniques and achievement motivation techniques into their programs. (My own experience is that these techniques can be an important aid in promoting more conscious, or discrete, assimilation and accommodation patterns.)

In the following sections, I intend to:

a) develop a tentative typology of forces for re-socialization;

b) put forward a view of adults as having three basic attitudinal strategies toward life;

c) present a flow-chart (in the shape of a tree) which may serve as a paradigm for re-socialization theory.

The notion of self "re-emergence" is peripherally dealt with herein; it will be further elaborated on in another paper concerning cultural transition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.

A TYPOLOGY OF FORCES FOR ADULT RE-SOCIALIZATION

The forces that bring about adult re-socialization are usually externally initiated, although these forces involve internal reactions which ultimately determine the nature of resultant assimilation and accommodation.

The self naturally seeks a satisfying social relationship and a well-supported self-system. Cultural responses provided during the early years may not be adequate in new environments or under certain pressures. Cultural transition and cultural conflict, for example, bring out patterns of accommodation which have profound social and psychological consequences and meaning.

The individual's conception of himself is primarily a social product. There are few individuals who may be said to be "the ovum" of their own lives.

Adult re-socialization may happen once, twice, recurrently or never. (I have discussed the notion of "recurrent socialization" in a paper produced by EPRC in June 1971.) Re-socialization occurs as a result of three primary factors, or forces. They are: 1) cultural transition, 2) critical social interaction, and 3) personal crux, or a combination of these forces. Transition, interaction and crux create "a situation" in which, depending on life strategy and personality structure, an individual may go through an assimilation and accommodation that re-determines his life and affects his previous life strategy.

1

6

The three major forces for re-socialization cited above may be further delineated as follows:

Cultural transition:
   a) rural to urban area
   b) migration to new country
   c) career shift
   d) social status shift

Critical social interaction:
   a) social conflict
   b) social institutionalization
   c) brainwashing

Personal crux:
   a) physical accident
   b) familial loss
   c) responsibility shift
   d) religious experience
   e) age crisis

This outline is not meant to be exhaustive; neither is it meant to separate so much as to highlight.

Cultural Transition

In an age of increasing mobility, cultural transition is a major force for re-socialization. Geographical, occupational and social transitions are perhaps the most pervasive and natural influences for assimilation and accommodation. (Accommodation, of course, may result in maladjustment. "The modern world of economic competition and shifting social relations," as Stonequist[1] wrote in the '30's, "places the individual in a situation where change and uncertainty are the keynotes. Fixed or permanent adjustment become impossible. The world moves and the individual

2

continually adjusts himself. The possibility that he will not do this
with complete success is greater than ever before. Social maladjustment,
whether slight or great, then becomes characteristic of modern man.")

Environmental change and uncertainty are significant factors for
bringing about perceptual adjustment and role change and, to a greater
or lesser degree, personality modification.

Geographical transition (from rural to urban area or from one country
to another in terms of a permanent transition) is perhaps the force for
re-socialization that is most recognized as such by writers, policy-makers
and education program directors. The language-cum-citizenship programs
in countries across the globe are concerned with influencing the new ar-
rival to adopt the mores and attitudes of the specific country. (The
importance of language in changing individual psychology should not be
overlooked.[2] Language, whether a second language or additional language,
is an important facilitator of re-socialization and its concomitant psycho-
logical change.)

Occupational shift is also a kind of cultural transition. This shift
refers to "upward mobility" as well as to loss or leaving of one job for a
totally (or considerably different) job. In the latter example especially,
although the language and general outside environment may remain the same,
the work and working relationship (where, after all, individuals expend a
great deal, if not most, of their mental and physical energy) will be so
distinct as to represent in many respects a new cultural environment.
This is true also of social-status shift, the moving from one rung of
society to another; for examples, in India the marriage of a person from
one caste to a person from another, the parvenu shift from lower to middle
or middle to upper class in the United States, or the education of a tribal
youth away from tribal customs in Africa.

3

8

Critical Social Interaction

Critical social interaction is a distinct force in and of itself.
Social interaction as referred to here usually involves some kind of
cultural or racial conflict between the dominant society and the indi-
vidual. (What results has been cogently related by Stonequist in The
Marginal Man. The marginal man either: 1) assimilates into the dominant
group, 2) assimilates into the subordinate group, or 3) finds some form
of "intermediary" position, or accommodation, between the two groups.
This is particularly true for what Stonequist calls "racial hybrids" and
"cultural hybrids.")

Critical social interaction, however, may be of a different kind than
that resulting from a cultural transition or conflict. For example, per-
sons who are imprisoned go through a re-socialization process (for better
or for worse) provoked by total institutionalization. This would be true
also for persons who are totally hospitalized or committed to mental
institutions. The institutional arrangement and its rules and procedures
then become the central and guiding influence (for good or for bad) on
the individual.

Brainwashing is a kind of total institutionalization. It molds a
person by coercing, persuading, and convincing the person of the "right-
ness" or "appropriateness" of one thing, idea, or way-of-being. Overt
brainwashing (indoctrination) and covert brainwashing (TV advertising)
both aim to instill automatic responses on the part of the individual.
It is, perhaps, the most obvious and morally disapproved aspect of the
power of conditioning as a learning process.

4

Personal Crux

Personal crux may come about from far too many causes to list and elaborate on here. I have chosen five: physical accident, familial loss, responsibility shift, religious experience and age crisis. All of these circumstances provoke accommodation and may even result in an alternation or transformation on the part of the individual. The loss of an arm or leg may totally affect a person. Rehabilitation programs are specifically set up to deal with such crises, to help the individual to "readjust" to his loss. The loss of a wife or a husband, or a child, may spark a trauma that causes a complete review of self and self in society. A "responsibility shift" may be related to the above, but it is also an independent influence. A new job position, or retirement, for example, may cause significant change in attitude and responses on the part of an individual. With role readjustment comes usually a significant perceptual change.

Religious experiences and age crises touch on areas of the mind and its relationship to the environment that are highly complex. At best, they may be seen as "awakenings" by an individual to perceptions in him that were repressed or ignored. The religious experience results in a perceptual change that may result in a transformation of the individual. Age crisis has to do mainly with the sense of time passing, time running out, and of a sense of urgency, or waste, and may catalyze new perceptions and accommodations, or new strategies, to deal with actualities.

It is assumed herein, with Goslin,[3] that as individuals age, their behavior becomes less dependent on external control and more based on internalized dispositions.

II.

BASIC ATTITUDINAL STRATEGIES OF ADULTS

The preceding typology of forces for re-socialization leads to a consideration of the self and the basic attitudinal strategies adopted to survive in contemporary, complex societies. In this section, the self

5

and its strategies, as well as "re-emergence" will be discussed.

The Self

"The individual," as James E. Birren said so elegantly in his Psychol-
ogy of Aging, "is a biological, psychological and social constellation
moving forward in time." But the individual's self is essentially a social
product.

The self is a social product continually in the process of develop-
ment and redefinition. Erikson shows how this process proceeds in the
life-cycle sequence from early infancy through adolescence until late
adulthood. Piaget investigates the specific, logical development of
general understanding and charts these steps as they progress from stages
involving preconception to differentiation to significance of symbols and
objects.

The development of the self is a continuing process, but it is less
dynamic in adults than the process that accompanies adaptation. The en-
vironment that surrounds an individual is both social and psychological.
As social psychologists have pointed out, the social environment and the
mind are intimately related and mutually influencing. From the viewpoint
of psychology, an individual's inner experiences and the effects on him
of an adjustment, adaptation or accommodation in a social group are of
primary concern. A behaviorist, however, is interested more in the con-
duct, the behavior, of the individual as a result of certain influences,
or stimuli. What is at issue at this stage of human study is not so
much how the self develops, or whether environmental influences impact
more than maturational influences. Ultimately, the question is which
kind of self is valued most.

There is an increasing tendency to revere the human self that "arises

6

through its ability to take the attitude of the group to which he belongs"--
because this is the self that can talk to himself in terms of the community
to which he belongs and lay upon himself the responsibilities that belong
to the community; this is the self that can recognize his own duties as
against others. This position, taken by George Herbert Mead, describes
a self which many would like to think is, or should be, the ideal self.

For my purposes here, the ideal self will be considered briefly--not
in terms of either/or, inner experience or conduct, but in a combined way.
The following section propounds three basic attitudinal strategies used by
adults in coping with and acting in new experiences and new situations.
These attitudinal strategies will be stereotyped, with the non-familial,
non-peer, social arena in mind. Although stereotyped, it is assumed that
all three strategies may exist in an individual. What is suggested, then,
is that one strategy will dominate over the others generally.

Attitudinal Strategies

The following stereotyped strategies are meant to be seen as an ef-
fort to synthesize and generalize rather than to originate any new per-
sonality traits. This synthesis, however, may assist in a review of the
human self and, by extension, of the educational process and its goals,
and society and its goals. The synthesis also forms the basis for a later
discussion of self "re-emergence."

There are three broad and major attitudinal strategies that can be
attributed to the individual in his coping and acting and thinking. These
strategies may best be seen and understood in terms of certain stereotypes.
These types may be described as follows:

      1. Problem-solving types

      2. Conforming types

      3. Ambiguous types

These three types may be profitably compared with the stereotyping originated by David Riesman (inner-directed, other-directed and tradition-directed), as well as that by Robert Prestus regarding organizational types (upward mobile, indifferents and ambivalents). But neither of these two classifications helps in understanding the self as a strategy-oriented being, in contrast to a culturally defined or organizationally determined individual.

The three types cited above may be further described in terms of inner experience and outward conduct. A short list of traits and behavioral responses to the environment will, hopefully, bring these types into sharper focus.

1. Problem-solving types:
   a) self-renewing
   b) highly motivated (ambitious)
   c) clear self-social perception
   d) sense of historic role
   e) self-assured, but flexible
   f) high risk-takers

2. Conforming types:
   a) followers; other-directed
   b) accepters of trends
   c) fixed expectations in life
   d) self-assured, but unadventurous
   e) moderate risk-takers

3. Ambiguous types:
   a) floaters; socially ambivalent
   b) inner sense of strangeness in social arena, sense of not fitting
   c) sense of alienation
   d) socially and economically oppressed
   e) self-doubters
   f) inconsistent in risk-taking

The problem-solving types are those who have a sense of their own authority and who are unafraid of decision-taking. The conforming types,

8

on the other hand, bow to social authority and live fairly strictly within the rules and procedures of the social group. The ambiguous types, however, tend to postpone decisions, give themselves up to "fate," and generally mistrust themselves as well as social authority.

The individual who is mistrustful or unconvinced by his own or another's authority will require some serendipity or unexpected conviction to turn his perception in a new direction. Given a new view of self plus a new opportunity in life, this type may undergo a kind of alternation, or transformation, which can best be labelled as re-emergence.

The stormy psychic adventures of Apuleius in The Golden Ass, St. Augustine in his Confessions, and Malcolm X in his Autobiography give an idea of transformation. The transition of the total self into a new man by virtue of a profound conviction, inner light, or visionary fantasy is one view of the notion of transformation. Another view of this concept is the slow awareness on the part of the individual of the untenableness of his situation and his reaction which results in a total role-change within the situation. A third view is that pointed out by E. V. Stonequist: the individual's self is an integral part of his social role, and "when his social role is fundamentally changed the individual is forced through a . . . transformation."[4]

The potentially transformative type is aware that he is not happy, that something is happening over which he has little control. A decision to take up the gauntlet of struggle in society is for him a kind of conversion, or re-emergence. The transformative type is usually an individual who has been pushed into, and sunk into, alienation. He lives in social limbo unless he is able to self-renew by alternating his perception of the world or transforming his mental patterns, with a consequent change in expressed attitudes, beliefs and habits.

When adult re-socialization is studied in depth, it becomes obvious
that the self-social relationship is not necessarily fixed (is not "a
thing") once and for all, nor is it necessarily a process in the sense of
"a natural phenomenon marked by gradual changes that lead toward a par-
ticular result," or "a series of actions or operations conducing to an
end."[5] The interfusing of self and society is a process, but one which
may be traumatic and dynamic and not necessarily permanent or one-direc-
tioned. As a dynamic process, the self-social relationship is open to
change. Berger and Luckmann have said that the internalized contents of
socialization face continuing threats.[6] I would agree.

"The human personality is both a continually producing factor and a
continually produced result of social evolution."[7] Neither social nor
psychological forces can be ignored. However, the stance taken here is
that external factors can enhance, and may bring on, a psychological
change. And this change can be enhanced in the classroom, whether by
stimulating self-social perception or by provoking achievement needs. Once
the psychological forces are in effect, then a new learning (and social
learning) process begins to take place.

Re-emergence

Environmental forces plus what may be called "internal readiness"
may bring about a re-emergence on the part of the individual. I would
agree with Bernice L. Neugarten when she says, speaking about personality
changes in the adult years, " . . . although behavior is always molded by
social transactions, growth and change are also inherent in the organism."[8]

Ultimately I am interested in and concerned about individual trans-
formation, the change an individual goes through to become "another per-
son," to become "renewed," to have a "zweite Geburt" or second birth, or

10

15

to "re-emerge."* And I believe that this is most possible during periods of re-socialization and with "ambiguous types."

My basic perspective is that human beings are "the only animals that can become aware of and consciously direct their adaptive behavior,"[9] and, further, that they should. This awareness and conscious direction of adaptive behavior, as I understand it, may result from what is currently named "consciousness-raising." This raising of the consciousness assists in bringing "alternatives" into view and helping to make them real. The "re-emerged" person is one who has accepted an alternative to his "natural" (or prior socialization) adaptive behavior and changes his behavior to create a new way of life. Obviously, this is easier said than done. Re-emergence requires considerable readiness and psychic strength, as well as certain environmental pressures, to become a reality.

George Herbert Mead argued[10] that reality is always in the present. The moral assumption underlying the work of Adlerians, such as Viktor Frankl,[11] is that the purpose of psychoanalysis should be to awaken the person to his or her present and to the meaning of this present as a new beginning point. This is also an important notion in existential and phenomenological thought. It is my assumption that a combination of environment pressures, psychic strength and "internal readiness" can cause a person to self-perceive in such a way as to bring about a transformation of self in terms of personal and social direction. Such a person re-emerges in life because he or she no longer perceives, thinks or acts as formerly.

The re-emergence of a person--particularly one who has been socially passive and inactive and who becomes an active social participant--has important ramifications for social and educational theory as it refers

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* This latter term was suggested to me by Dr. W. B. Lamouse-Smith. I am endebted to him also for many other insights and suggestions concerning my work.

11

to adults.

Personality is a result of the socialization or learning process,
but as noted, an increasing proportion of an adult's behavior may be
assumed to become independent of external control. The ordinary indi-
vidual is born into a society whose members have already adopted common
understandings, interpretations, relationships and biases (or values).
The individual cannot be expected, under normal circumstances, to chal-
lenge or dispute the common understandings of his society. However, as
seen in the above typology, his understandings, i.e., those he has grown
to accept, may be threatened, weakened and even overpowered as a result of
cultural transition, social conflict and personal crux. But not necessarily
or inevitably. If a new self-social perception is to come about, especially
one which leads to self-renewal or re-emergence, much depends on environ-
mental support and encouragement, psychic strength and readiness.
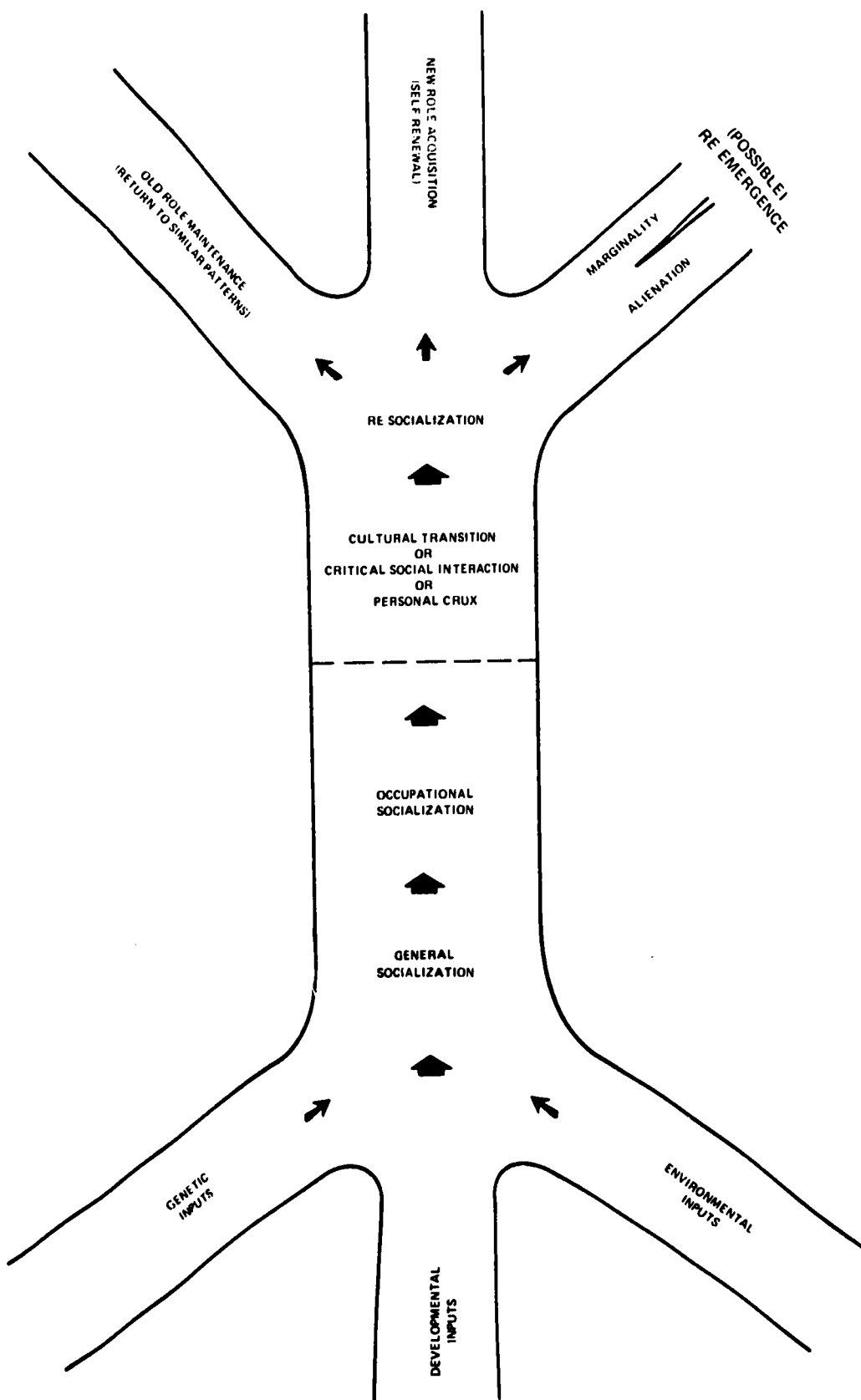

III.

RE-SOCIALIZATION PARADIGM

The paradigm tree I propose to plant here looks, at first glance,
full grown. This is misleading. It should be seen with many more roots
and branches, or better yet, each of the stereotypes included as part of
the tree should be separate trees. However, I have chosen to present a
single paradigm tree in order to give the impression of a flow chart.

The paradigm must be seen in connection with the typology, at least
with respect to the point of re-socialization which occurs just prior
to the branching out into different life patterns.

Essentially I have drawn three roots to represent the basic influ-
ences on an individual human organism: genetic, developmental, and environ-
mental. These form the biological, mental, and cultural self. The self

12

NEW ROLE ACQUISITION
(SELF RENEWAL)

(POSSIBLE)
RE EMERGENCE

OLD ROLE MAINTENANCE
(RETURN TO SIMILAR PATTERNS)

MARGINALITY

ALIENATION

RE SOCIALIZATION

CULTURAL TRANSITION
OR
CRITICAL SOCIAL INTERACTION
OR
PERSONAL CRUX

OCCUPATIONAL
SOCIALIZATION

GENERAL
SOCIALIZATION

GENETIC
INPUTS

ENVIRONMENTAL
INPUTS

DEVELOPMENTAL
INPUTS

13

18

SOCIETAL MAKE-UP
(IN TERMS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY)

(MAJORITY CULTURE SPAN)

(INTEGRATED) MAJORITY CULTURE
-SHARED VALUES AND NORMS

ALIENATED
INDIVIDUALS

RESISTANT
MINORITY
CULTURE(S)
(SUB-CULTURES)

CULTURAL
INTERMEDIATORS

(MINORITY CULTURE(S) SPAN)

INDIVIDUAL
STRATEGIES

CONFORMING

SELF-RENEWING

AMBIGUOUS

RE-EMERGENCE
ACTIVE CULTURAL
IDENTIFICATION
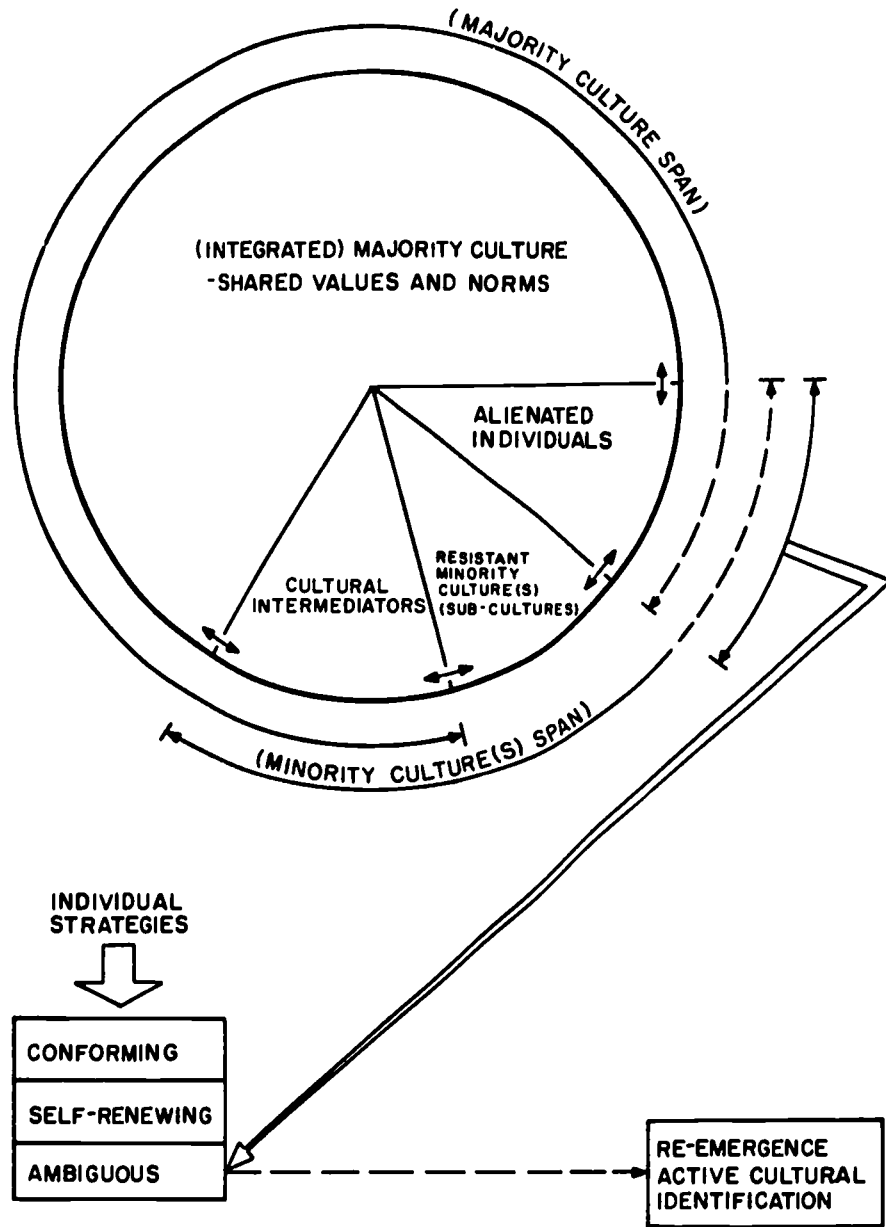
For the purposes of this paper, the primary aim of the above chart is:
    a) to indicate the societal position of the alienated individual
    b) to suggest the behavioral strategy of this individual as "ambiguous"
    c) to hypothesize his possible re-emergence (i.e., his active cultural identification) either as
        a member of the integrated majority culture or as a member of a resistant minority culture.
      [The small inner-circle arrows are meant to suggest a set of hypotheses:
        i) that majority-culture adherents may become intermediators or alienated individuals
        ii) that resistant-culture adherents may also become intermediators or alienated individuals
        iii) that cultural intermediators may become adherents of the majority or a minority culture,
          although normally they bridge cultures; and
        iv) that alienated individuals may be associated with either the majority or a minority culture.
The outer-circle arrows refer to the potential span of majority and minority cultural influence.]

13a

moves through two basic socializations--one "general" (which Talcott
Parsons, Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, and others, call "primary")
which is the first socialization an individual undergoes in childhood
and which prepares him to become a member of his society; and the second,
"occupational" (or, as others put it, "secondary").

Occupational socialization is the identification of the self with
an institution, or type of institution, or occupation. In contrast to
Berger and Luckmann, I cannot imagine a society in which no further
socialization takes place after general (or primary) socialization.[12]

After the two socializations referred to most persons may be said
to be reasonably "fixed" in life; that is to say that they have a definite
pattern, orientation, direction, and sense of self. It is at this point
that a disturbance, upset, pressure or shift must take place if the third
(or new) socialization (commonly referred to as "re-socialization") is
to occur.

Given an environmental, cultural, or "significant other" disturbance
to the norm of a person's life, then a re-adjustment will occur. On the
other hand, the disturbance may only be a passing, or temporary, circum-
stance, especially with respect to "personal crux."

It is after the point of potential change that the main re-directions
are drawn (in the paradigm) in the form of branches. There are three main
branches. The first branch (on the left) includes those who pass through
a shift or crisis and return to former or similar patterns. The second
(in the center) refers to people who are affected by a transition or inter-
action in such a way that they take on new perceptions and roles and renew
themselves, whether in their own society or in a different society. The
third is the most complicated branch; it contains those who are alienated
by the re-socialization experience and those who are "marginal."[13]

14

"Alienation" here may be thought of as inclusive, whether resulting from
economic, social, or psychological conditions. Both marginal and alienated
personalities, however, may "re-emerge" after a certain time and stress,
assuming they possess a strong character, or latent inner-direction.

The main problem for me is in trying to determine the thickness or
amplitude of the branches. It would seem that return to old patterns is
the most "normal" accommodation given a reasonably stable personality and
societal support. However, this may oversimplify the case since a permanent
cultural shift will certainly involve new "general" and "occupational"
socializations that affect the person's view of self and the social arena.

The person who immigrates to a new country and soon becomes "more
French than the French" or "more American than the Americans," or the tribal
child taught by the missionaries and who becomes "Europeanized" without ever
having seen Europe, or the social-status leaper who marries into a higher
social bracket and immediately assumes that new status--these are the usual
examples of those for whom the re-socialization process may be said to be
most successful.

The types called "ambiguous" (including the alienated and marginal)
are the ones for whom, I believe, the techniques of Paulo Freire[14] and the
techniques of David C. McClelland[15] are highly pertinent and valuable.
However, again I must defer a discussion of these techniques and their
importance to another paper. Also, in subsequent work I will try and show
the importance of the education situation for promoting re-socialization
and the use of self-perception techniques and motivation techniques for
enhancing re-emergence.

15

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16