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ABSTRACT

This document presents, in two parts, ideas and information which were gathered from eight monthly seminars. Part 1, "Developmental and Cross-Cultural Patterns of Youth," examines what is known about developmental norms regarding youth in general in respect to their attitudes at different ages towards rules and authority. It is found that in the societies studied youth look more alike than different on perceptions of what is a rule, what is a law, etc. and that age has a greater impact than ethnicity. There are, therefore, two important considerations for understanding the legal socialization of youth. First, we need to know how youth at different ages perceive "the legal" in these settings. Secondly, it is essential to also understand how adults view rules and issues because as socializing agents, they are the modeling figures. Part 2, "Social Contexts of Youth in Conflict," examines the following questions: What are the cultural norms and traditions? What are the patterns and goals of socialization? What are the political realities? What economic and work opportunities exist for youth? What is the impact of technological change on society and the individual? What status is conferred on youth by society? How does the legal system define and deal with unacceptable behavior? Each discussion focuses on a particular case in point, specifying the resource person who supplied the information on that case. (JM)

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# dimensions of conflict for **YOUTH** A Cross-Cultural View

**CENTER FOR YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA**

**Center for Youth Development and Research  
University of Minnesota**

**Seminar Series No. 5**

**August 1974**

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## INTRODUCTION

The Center for Youth Development and Research has always had as one of its primary objectives a constant and keen awareness of the research and services regarding youth in other countries. This year, as the focus of the fifth series of Interdisciplinary Faculty, Student and Community Seminars sponsored by the Center, this international dimension was a major concern. Our purpose during the eight monthly meetings, beginning in October, 1973, and concluding in May, 1974, was to learn more about youth in serious conflict with society.

An interesting evolution occurred this year as the seminars progressed. Our 1973-74 series was initially organized around a cross-cultural view of the treatment of youth in conflict. However, by defining "treatment" as the broader responses of other societies to troubled youth and by asking what other societies consider "serious conflict", we discovered, in the final analysis, that "Dimensions of Conflict for Youth: A Cross-cultural View", more appropriately embraced what was discussed. Our attention seemed to naturally and inevitably gravitate towards learning more about those internal, developmental dynamics of adolescence and those societal realities which constitute conflict for youth. "Treatment" became a secondary consideration.

Of utmost importance at each meeting was the underlying question of what we can learn from the research, practice, and experience of others which will enhance our own understanding and work with youth.

And it should come as no surprise to us by now that the development of any subject reminds us once again that generalizations and simplistic solutions are never realistic. This year, for example, we were constantly aware of the fact that there simply are no *pure* cultures; that there is and always has been continual interaction and inter-relationships among people of different cultures.

Those faculty and community persons who gave presentations at our seminars spoke from their research and personal experience in particular geographical areas. Amazingly, all of our speakers had either visited extensively or lived in the countries of which they spoke. As in previous years, it was this sharing of in-depth knowledge with the wonderful variety of community and University participants during stimulating discussions which made these seminars especially valuable and exciting. An introduction of our speakers, their com-

munity and/or faculty affiliation and their geographical area of expertise may give you an idea of the perimeters of this monograph:

- Dr. John F. Jones, Director of the School of Social Work, University of Minnesota at Duluth – Hong Kong
- Dr. Paul Pedersen, Assistant Professor, College of Education and Foreign Student Advisor – Malaysia
- Dr. Clyde Parker, Acting Chairman & Director, Division of Educational Psychology, College of Education; Sally Powers, Research Associate and Graduate Student; Brabha Appasamy, Graduate Student in Counseling Psychology – India
- Mr. Hee Kwan Lee, State Department of Corrections, Research Unit – Korea
- Dr. Eugene Ogan, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology – Bougainville Island, Papua, New Guinea
- Dr. Nathan Mandel, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology – Cyprus & Israel
- Dr. Joseph Eaton, Professor of Sociology in Public Health & Professor of Social Work Research, University of Pittsburgh; Program Director, University of Haifa – Israel
- Dr. June Tapp, Professor, Institute of Child Development and Criminal Justice Studies – Cross-cultural research

We are grateful to our presentors, as well as to those students, faculty, and community persons who attend and share their views with us. An average of 40 persons representing the following community agencies & services and university units attended each of the eight monthly seminars.

**Community Agencies & Services:**

Arlington House  
Big Brothers, Inc.  
Big House Community Living Center  
Campfire Girls  
Children's Health Center  
Family & Children's Service  
Girl Scouts of St. Croix Valley  
Give and Take Help Center

Hennepin County Department of Court Services  
Home of the Good Shepherd  
League of Women Voters  
Maria Group Home  
Minnesota Department of Corrections  
Minnesota Department of Manpower Services  
Neighborhood Youth Corps  
Out-Of-School Program  
Planned Parenthood

Ramsey County Department of Court Services  
St. Paul American Indian Center

The City  
Urban West Central YMCA  
YWCA

**University Units:**

Admissions & Records  
Campus Assistance Center  
College of Education  
College of Home Economics  
Delinquency Control  
Department of Anthropology  
Department of Family Social Science  
Department of Information & Agricultural Journalism  
Department of Sociology  
Department of University Relations

Division of Educational Psychology  
4-H  
Institute of Agriculture  
Institute of Child Development  
KUOM  
Office of Student Affairs  
School of Nursing  
School of Public Health  
School of Social Work  
Student Life Studies  
University News Service  
University Department of Police

We especially appreciate the contribution of **Nancy Belbas**, who as in previous years, is the hard-working writer/editor of this monograph.

Gisela Konopka, D.S.W.  
Director, Center for Youth Development & Research  
325 Haecker Hall  
University of Minnesota  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55108

### **EDITORIAL NOTE . . .**

The following presentation of ideas and information was gathered from eight monthly seminars. To provide continuity and conciseness to this publication, I have taken editorial license with the transcripts of those meetings. In some instances participants' comments from several separate but related discussions have been combined. In other cases, I have taken the liberty of summarizing concepts and data.

Hopefully, the participants will find this format acceptable and, along with other readers, will recognize how greatly their individual contributions added to the scope and depth of our discussion.

*Nancy Belbas, Writer/Editor*

## **DIMENSIONS OF CONFLICT FOR YOUTH: A Cross-Cultural View**

What are the dimensions of the conflicts in which youth from other cultures are involved and by which they are effected? Clearly, those dimensions are many and complex, whether we are talking about conflict which is delineated by legal definitions, the kind of conflict which is part of and reflected by the larger problems of society, or the apparently universal adolescent conflicts which seem necessary to the developmental process and which are typified by questioning and scepticism about rules, fairness, and adult authority. In other words, we have learned that in most cases it is difficult, if not impossible to draw the line between problems caused by troubled youth, the problems and conflicts inherent in being young, and the part played by youth in working out conflicts being experienced by society as a whole. There is always a continual interaction between the individual and society. So while youthful conflict may sometimes be troublesome or destructive, at other times it is perhaps helpful in moving society towards needed change, or moving the developing individual towards a clearer sense of his or her identity.

### **I. DEVELOPMENTAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL PATTERNS OF YOUTH\***

As a starting point, it might be helpful to examine what we know about developmental norms regarding youth in general in respect to their attitudes at different ages towards rules and authority. Dr. June Tapp's cross-cultural research on a "Jurisprudence of Youth" provides a picture of what she calls youth's "cognitive map of legal reasoning". In other words, what does it mean when you say to a four year old, "That's not a good rule". Or, "That's not fair". What does it mean to an eight year old, a twelve year old, a twenty year old? The importance of Tapp's conclusions as an overview to our subject is this: her finding was that in the societies she studied *youth look more alike than different on per-*

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\*The following material in this section is based on Dr. Tapp's seminar presentation and her "working paper" on "Cross-cultural and Developmental Dimensions of a Jurisprudence of Youth", prepared for presentation before the Center for the Study of Law and Society, University of California, May 21, 1973.

*ceptions of what is a rule, what is a law, etc., and that age has a greater impact than ethnicity. Socializing agents, from individual parents to major social systems and cultural norms can be viewed then not as the only determinants of this kind of development, but, rather more as the facilitating or retarding variables.*

*There are, therefore, two important considerations for understanding the legal socialization of youth. By "legal" in this context we mean youth's learning about and acquisition of general rule structures, the nature of legal obligation and punishment and conditions defining rule relationships in a multiplicity of settings, such as the family, friendship circles, religious training, schools, city and national government, as well as the legal system itself.*

First, we need to know how youth at different ages perceive "the legal" in these settings. Secondly, it is essential to also understand how adults view rules issues because as socializing agents, they are the modeling figures. What kind of reasoning, or lack of reasoning does that person present which either facilitates or retards development? In an interesting way, a mismatch (an intellectual, cognitive and affective difference between the child and adult) turns out to be the clue. In other words, the best match for development seems to be when the adult has thought through his or her values and can present a reasoned approach to the young person. If there is no difference between them, no conflict, there is really nothing to talk about and thus the chance for growth and movement is rather limited. This kind of socialization process is the key to youth's learning about "the legal".

Thus, the issue is not only youth's perceptions and development, but also the adults' understanding. How this development occurs and is juxtaposed with social norms and realities in several cultures will be illustrated in the second section of this monograph.

### **Cross-cultural development.**

Several research instruments were used by Tapp and her associates to learn about youth's understanding of an attitude toward legality. Paper and pencil tests ("Your Ideas about People and Rules"), semi-projective techniques and interviews with a 10% random sample of the 5,000 participants were employed. Children and youth in the 4th, 6th, and 8th grade levels from comparable

urban settings, working class and professional families and conventional schools in Denmark, India, Italy, Greece, Japan, and black and white cultures in the United States were chosen as subjects.

There is only room for a sampling of questions from the cross-cultural survey in this capsulized discussion, but the following kinds of questions, responses and issues seem especially relevant to our subject:

. . . One question dealt with the fairness of different authorities' rules. Children were asked, "How fair are the rules of X?" (i.e., parents, friends, policemen, etc.). Across various countries, the rank order was generally stable and similar: parents' rules were seen as the most fair; those of policemen, government officials and teachers were in varying relationships; and friends' rules were the least fair. *Increasingly with age, all adults' rules were less fair.* In moving from the 4th to the 8th grade, there was a downward trend in estimates of authorities' fairness. Assessments of friends' rules went up. In the United States in the mid-60's, government was the most stable and the fairest after parents. This would suggest that government can play an important role in communicating the meaning of fairness by its actions, inaction, and through its legislation, both at national and local levels. It also suggests that those in socializing positions must become conscious of the messages they are sending. In terms of political, moral and legal education and development, Watergate may well be the Sputnik of the 1970's.

. . . Another question concerned the power to punish. "Who has the power to punish you when you are wrong?" Cross-culturally, parents ranked among the first three; judges were usually ranked third. Teachers, policemen had lower rankings and religious leaders had little standing. Japanese youth regarded the teacher as somewhat stronger than youth in other cultures which is evidence of some ethnic differences.

What emerged even more clearly on selected interview questions was that children are more likely to obey and see as fair the rules of persons whom they hold in high personal regard. The adults closest to the young person were more likely to obtain obedience. A sense of affiliation, of trust and of love seemed to engender compliance because children felt more comfortable obeying people who could be helpful and trusted, than authorities such as policemen who did not seem to offer pro-

tection or impartiality. The policeman was not viewed as someone likely to convey justice or fairness; he was obeyed out of fear and the threat of punishment.

... There was also a Nürnberg-trial type question. "If X asked you to do something unfair or unjust, what would you do?" For each authority figure, an example of an injustice congenial to that compliance system was given. Again, across grades and increasingly with age, "ask why" was the most frequently selected answer. Possible answer choices ranged from the very passive "do nothing", through "ask why", "tell peers", "tell my parents", "ask another adult to intervene" to active responses like "show anger" or "get even". That "ask why", the rational response was dominant and increased with age across cultures, supports the contention that humans have the capacity to develop reason and use it. The most active "get even" and most passive "do nothing" were the lowest ranked again across cultures. The difference in response between blacks and whites in the United States was negligible.

Although many systems and, traditionally, law doesn't "ask why" (why you did something or what was your reasoning) and often look upon questioning behavior as rebellious, non-conforming and difficult to handle, the possibility for questioning and for participation must exist in each of the cultural settings or the option would not have been perceived as a possible choice. If the question of what one would do about injustice were raised within a system which is purely dictatorial and authoritarian, the clustering of answers would have been very different.

... Another question and the response data raise interesting issues. Youth were asked, "what is the worst that you can commit — a crime against persons, property, or the social order?" Again, each type of crime was applied to various compliance systems. Surprisingly, property crimes emerged as the majority answer. While it is true that by culture Japan was first in ranking property crimes as worst and India seventh, across cultures, crimes against property were the first order of wrong-doing that youth, increasingly with age and including blacks and whites, thought important. Developmentally, the answer "crimes against persons" increased, but not noticeably.

While the style of the question may have affected pre-adolescent answers, their responses, vis-a-vis prop-

erty crimes seems to support a traditional legal explanation of property as an extension of person. These data also may reflect the fact that children recognize that crime against property is the most frequently committed offense in their culture.

### **Developmental levels.**

Beyond written multiple choice tests administered cross-culturally, interviews took place among a 10% random sampling of the participants. Subsequently, Dr. Tapp and her associates conducted a cross-age developmental study solely in the United States. Ages of participants ranged from kindergarten through college, school teachers and a group of San Quentin inmates.

These kinds of questions were asked:

- ... Is it ever right to break a rule?
- ... Why should you follow rules?
- ... What would happen if there were no rules?

"Scanning interview responses," Dr. Tapp remarked, "we observed age patterns. Certain answers, for example, seemed characteristic of fourth graders, eighth graders, college students and so on." These various age patterns seemed to fit the developmental schemes noted by Piaget and Kohlberg and from them Tapp adapted what she calls "levels of moral development":

... *Level I is the pre-conventional or law-obeying level.*  
One complies because of fear of punishment or instrumental hedonistic concern.

... *Level II is the conventional or law-maintenance level.*

People obey rules based on wanting to be either a good girl or boy. This is the level of law and order mentality. Justice is confused with the majority vote. Individual rights and freedom are obscured in the domination of group norms and there is little room for minority rights.

... *Level III is the post-conventional or law-creating, law-making, law-changing level.*

People are able to entertain notions of social contract, of mutuality, of reciprocity, or universal, ethical principles as baselines for obeying or disobeying. At this level acts of civil disobedience may be considered the legal, moral thing to do.

Here are some illustrative examples of these levels:

... For the pre-conventional, "avoid negative consequences", a second grade girl on the "why should people follow rules?" question answered, "Because people would do anything and the police would try to catch them and it would all be very bad; so you should obey because you don't want to get caught. You don't want to get hurt."

... Demonstrative of level 2, the conventional level, a sixth-grade girl also responding to that question said, "Because my parents want me to; and the school wants me to; and the city wants me to." That response embodies conventional aspects, as well.

... Another level 2 response came from an 8th grade U.S. boy, "Well, they should follow rules because when you go back to where you've been, it causes confusion if you don't have rules. And if you want everything to go along, you have to follow rules."

... The response of an 8th grade U.S. girl embodied both conventional and post-conventional thought, "For the benefit of everyone. Rules make everything easier actually to live with and by."

Overall, then, there was evidence of a progression by age to a conventional mode in dealing with issues. By and large, children gave unexamined law-maintenance answers. They wanted to keep the system going, as do most adults. Once you reach adulthood, the interviews suggest that at least most adults in a variety of occupations in the U.S. remain fairly stable at the law-and-order, conventional reasoning level. Teachers responses fell into the "conventional" category. To the question, "What would happen if there were no rules?" 83% responded, "chaos and disorder". Third-year law school students reflected training for system-maintenance in their conventional mode choices. Only in college, among freshmen at the University of Chicago was any post-conventional reasoning picked up and even then there was little movement to that level where humans perceived themselves as self-regulatory, able to develop their own sets of rules to guide interaction. Interestingly, the San Quentin population appeared with frequency at the third level. They were aware in a different way and certainly expressed a "legal consciousness"

## Myths about People and the Law

This cross-cultural and developmental research confronts several myths commonly assumed about human nature in respect to the law. For example,

... *The myth of lawlessness*: that is, that human beings are overwhelmed by the desire to be lawbreakers. This inclination seems to be "almost a post-Freudian version of the demonic". If one looks at the cross-national and developmental data, the move toward explaining and/or looking at behavior in terms of rules comes on very strongly.

... *The myth that the source of an individual's notions about legality is related only to "the law"*. Yet, we know that children acquire their notions of "legal" in a variety of settings – by standing in line, on the playground, at the dinner table. It becomes incumbent upon those who act as socializers in those settings to be conscious of their roles in this development.

... *The myth that psychological and legal limits are separate and dissociated*. The two, in fact, are sides of a coin. In fact, the law needs to be based on an understanding of the moral comprehension normal at various ages.

... *The myth that humans would only seek unjust rules, rules which would insure their own survival*. This brings us to a consideration of ethical legality. Jean Piaget's notion is that a system of rules which youth seem to naturally, developmentally structure for themselves in many settings, is, indeed a type of morality. There is support for this belief in such moral philosophers as John Rawls who suggest a kind of "faith assumption" in the ability of humankind to understand themselves and to carve out some kind of destiny. This suggests that if any one person is capable of achieving or demonstrating the ability to think ethically or in universal terms, then the job of therapy, of education, of universities, whatever the institutions are, is to help at least more than one person achieve that capability.

Among the issues raised in the Tapp research is that of the transmission of notions of and values related to law, rules and authority from adults to youth. It may be helpful to examine the following cultural case studies in that light and with other insights provided by the Tapp research.

## II. SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF YOUTH IN CONFLICT

Beyond some understanding of developmental progression and norms, any examination either of youth or conflict also requires an awareness and knowledge of the social context, the arena in which conflict occurs and youth live and are socialized.

Six of this year's seminars dealt with particular dimensions of youth, conflict and treatment in cultures other than our own. The intent was not necessarily to look broadly, but rather as intensively as our limited time would allow. However foreign from our own milieu, these case studies seem to suggest certain pertinent, inter-related and converging questions which could be asked of any society, including our own, to provide a more complete, composite understanding of what is conflict for youth, what basic premises and realities impinge on society's response to that conflict and those young people.

In the second section of this monograph, we shall deal with the questions listed below. A case study example of one culture drawn from our seminar presentations and discussions will be used to illustrate how each particular societal aspect interacts with young people in that culture, defining, creating or intensifying conflict.

- A. What are the cultural norms and traditions?
- B. What are the patterns and goals of socialization?
- C. What are the political realities?
- D. What economic and work opportunities exist for youth?
- E. What is the impact of technological change on society and the individual?
- F. What status is conferred upon youth by society?
- G. How does the legal system define and deal with unacceptable behavior?

### A. *Question: What are the cultural norms and traditions?*

#### *Case In Point: Hong Kong*

*In Brief:* Hong Kong is a British colony, an urban, industrial area which has grown from 600,000 to 4 million people since the end of World War II. The population is 98% Chinese; the bulk of those persons are Cantonese. Nearly half the population is under 20 years of age. The

influence of Mainland China and its possible assimilation of the city is a reality. The judicial system used is the British model.

*Principal Resource:* John F. Jones

Because Chinese expectations, ideals and morality are uniquely literate and specific, what it means in the traditional sense to be a "good" boy or girl in Hong Kong seems relatively easy to define. What we are talking about are those well-understood social standards which, if violated, lend weight to the judgment that a youth is not necessarily delinquent in the legal sense, but "bad" in the eyes of his community. While norms such as these are not in themselves problems, they neither prevent conflict nor are they unrelated to youth's problems.

For example, filial piety, reverence for one's elders and respect for adult authority are basic to Chinese tradition. There is a familiar folk tale in which a bride is said to dream longingly of the day she is an old woman. Because youth believe there are advantages and rewards in growing old, this respect for authority is perpetuated; for if the tradition continues, youth, too, will inherit the respect that comes with age. This is in sharp contrast to how youth in this country see the realities of old age.

However, if age is revered, then how is youth perceived? It would seem the answer is, "with some suspicion". A 1965 government manual on youth services suggests that agencies offer constructive outlets for the energy and initiative of young people who might otherwise become destructive. Services for adults would undoubtedly have a different rationale. The premise that youth need to be controlled and should be submissive to authority, justifies the treatment of youth in schools, corrections institutions and government programs, as well as in families. Corporal punishment, techniques of humiliation and the idealization of model adult figures are used to mold and modify behavior. In view of the cross-cultural and developmental norms we have discussed, we might ask what kinds of conflicts such a heavy emphasis on subordination pose for youth.

An outcome of idealizing the family as the most significant social affiliation and object of loyalty for youth has been the lag in the development of and support for other social services for youth. The adoption of children is just beginning to gain acceptance. Community and recreation programs for youth are new, although rapidly growing.

A second ideal, related to filial piety defines the "good" child as one who is willing to be supervised. Hong Kong youth are perceived as immature for a longer period than youth in the United States. One Chinese scholar defines 15-25 years as the age parameters of "youth". Is this view of youth created by qualities inherent in youth or by adults? It would seem to be a reflection of that very authoritarian tradition of parenthood which is extended into family relationships. Dating patterns and the choice of marriage partners frequently will be made at the direction of parents. Young people live at home until relatively late in years in deference to their elders. Such perceived immaturity also supports the ideal that boys and girls be separated socially and at school until they are of marriage age.

Excellence, discipline and diligence in learning and scholarship are also highly respected ideals. These are intensified by the reality of a very competitive job market. There is no compulsory education, but only those children whose parents place them in the labor market at an early age are uneducated. What happens to the non-achiever? Failure to excel scholastically is not an uncommon cause of suicide among youth in Hong Kong. What are the implications for the social system as a whole? Such rigidity could lead to an incapacity for leisure and creativity, the bases for culture.

To refer back to the cross-cultural data and the question, "why should and why do people follow rules?"

*Tapp:* "Law abidingness is much more a function of socialization, rather than severity of threat. You obey because you want to be considered a functioning member of society in some productive way. Children said they obeyed largely because of personal conformity: they wanted to be considered a good boy or girl, or because of social conformity, to keep the system going. These tended to be the predominant answers across seven cultures, across six nations."

There are several questions we might ask ourselves regarding the efficacy and legitimacy of our norms, our expectations of youth, and how we, as socializers, respond to youth's apparent desire to comply out of trust and respect. The second case study which relates closely to the first further defines the problems of socialization.

**B. Question:** *What are the patterns and goals of socialization?*

***Case In Point:*** The Nasioi in Bougainville, Papua, New Guinea

***In Brief:*** Bougainville is an island on the far-eastern edge of Papua, New Guinea, in the South Pacific. It was occupied by Germany, Great Britain, Australia, Japan and the United States for military, colonial and capitalistic purposes from 1901 until December, 1973, when it ceased to be a United Nations Trust Territory. Roman Catholic missionaries have also been there as educators and priests since early in the century.

***Principal Resource:*** Eugene Ogan

Last year a close friend of Dr. Ogan, a young man he helped through school, wrote to him from Bougainville. "Tell me now," he asked, "what is the real secret of money? It does come from God, doesn't it?" That question embraces at least part of the conflict felt by young Nasioi, as well as the culture as a whole. It reflects a crisis experienced by a society which has been brought up according to a set of values and patterns which have not prepared them to either meet or comprehend the kinds of problems with which modern life confronts them.

Let's look more closely at the probable world of that young man. Although malaria and infant mortality may have been less threatening to his early years than to his parents', he was part of a family which viewed children as a scarce and valuable commodity. If he had brothers and sisters, they were spaced about two years apart because of a strictly observed 15-month post-partum sexual taboo. Unlike children in our society which generally values independence and autonomy the Nasioi child was nurtured to remain dependent; he was breast-fed for three or four years, discouraged from being adventuresome, treated in such a way by his entire village that he remained childlike. No rites of passage marked his adolescence, although his father may have arranged a banquet for his oldest sister when she reached puberty. The occasion appeared more for his ego satisfaction than for her change in status or responsibility. Nasioi girls and women are traditionally exploited from an early age to do the hard and drudgerous work of the village, while young men have little responsibility.

As this young Nasioi boy grew older, he may have been educated by Jesuit missionaries who perpetuated

dependency patterns by their treatment of the students and their parents. Although this youth may have served as an altar boy, he knew his father was not a welcome guest in the home of the priest.

And on the plantation where he worked with the rest of his family, again his colonist superior preferred that his workers continue to see themselves as "good children". While dependency upon mother lessened, the youth learned that throughout life one is always dependent on supernatural powers. Missionaries had changed the object of reverence, but the pattern remained the same. "In other words, if you have been praying to the ancestral spirits for your pigs to grow fat, it doesn't take much effort to shift gears and pray to the Virgin Mary to make your pigs grow fat."

*Ogan:* "But the point is that while in Bougainville you could depend on the ancestral spirits to help your sweet potatoes grow and a child could depend on his mother to breast-feed him for a long period of time and depend on his parents to cherish him because children are scarce, you cannot depend on the white administrator to do the things you want him to. You might try your best to be a good child, but it doesn't work that way. The manager is not going to give you a kerosene refrigerator filled with the kind of cold beer he enjoys, nor will he give you a land rover to drive. You are playing two different games and there is no possible way that your dependency needs as a Nasioi can be met in these relationships with whites . . . So it was natural for a feeling to develop that somehow one was being abandoned. That is, you were trying to be a good child, but were not getting the appropriate responses from people in the parent roles. A feeling of malaise was already shaping up before World War II, but when war came, you see, the colonialists literally abandoned the Nasioi."

The Nasioi boy introduced by the letter was among the fortunate if he was able to complete his education. Only 10% of youth finishing 6th grade are able to go on to secondary school. There is room for only 500 young people out of 5,000. "How do you tell a 12 or 13 year old to go back to his village when his older brothers and sisters come home from schools in the capital, talking about the bright lights?" For many young men, whose village role is vague at best, education must seem of little use. "You are told to be autonomous, but when push comes to shove, you can't be. You're incapable, you're inferior, so they tell you." Thus, a syndrome develops among some Nasioi boys called the "Kauboy",

not too unlike Claude Brown's *Manchild in a Promised Land*. Some call these youth "the heedless". They act out a hyper, pseudo-masculine role characterized by dressing flamboyantly, drinking excessively, outrageous sexual behavior and fraudulent victimization of villagers. How is this behavior "treated"?

*Ogan*: "Everyone says, 'isn't that terrible'. There would be a juvenile court if anyone would take the problem to the administration, but they don't because you can't trust them. There is no 'traditional' method of handling this situation among the Nasioi themselves because their political structure is very atomistic. There are no chiefs; people live in small, scattered villages. A man who gives a lot of feasts might have a reputation but he has no political authority. The Nasioi have only abandoned sorcery and beheading very recently. These were the main kinds of social control and now there is a vacuum. There is little recourse when one is wronged."

What does the future hold for the young man in question? The structure of Nasioi life is changing in two significant ways. First, with independence, December, 1973, a district-wide, indigenous governmental system was begun. Secondly, the discovery in 1966 and exploitation of rights by the Australians to a multi-billion dollar copper deposit on the island has created a need for better educated, more skilled Bougainvillians. The schools and universities are being upgraded and a new, young, educated leadership is emerging who will eventually be able to re-negotiate the copper-mining contracts. There is also a new self-awareness marked by campus political activist groups and a Black Power movement which is not unlike our own.

However, as the youth's letter suggests, mores and patterns woven into a culture are not easily discarded and continue to co-exist in a curious fashion with modernization trends. In answer to the question, "what do young people in Bougainville want today?", *Ogan* said, "People over the age of 30 and the relatively uneducated younger people, as well, are still looking for supernatural solutions . . . the secrets to a good life, a better standard of living and good health".

Because now there seems to be the ingredients for developmental conflict as defined by Tapp — a mismatch of the cognitive, affective and intellectual levels, with one more highly developed than the other, the educated and the uneducated — perhaps progress and growth can strengthen this culture. But one cannot imagine that will come without considerable pain.

**C. Question: What are the political realities?**

**Case In Point: Malaysia**

**In Brief:** Malaysian society is markedly pluralistic: 46% of the population is Malaysian, 37% Chinese and 17% Indian and other. The median age is under 20 years. Although the area is undergoing technological change and movement from rural to urban residences, economically, Malaysia is at zero growth. 77% of the population has 6 or more years of school. Officially, the British model of due process is used.

**Principal Resource:** Paul Pedersen

To understand what it is like to be a young person in Malaysia, it is almost essential to have an ethnic or class identity as a frame of reference. For example, if you are a Malaysian youth, your parents and grandparents were probably rural or employed in the public sector. Your family is close, extended and obligations to kin are primary. Your family might be powerful but own nothing because property is not valued among Malays. Your education after elementary school is likely to be in vocational training or in a paramilitary government camp. Your opportunities for employment are better because you are a skilled laborer. The government wants to interest you in joining its organized youth programs and in obtaining its "suitability certificate" as an entry pass to political participation and employment. Small, secret groups of Malays also expect your affiliation. You are aware of public censorship of any discussion of racial issues. If your family is among those who have moved from a rural area to the city, you may live in an urban squatters' village. You know what it means to be disenfranchised, but feared by the government . . . feared enough to be periodically burned out of your hut, often before elections. There are other fears, other undercurrents of uncertainty. Stories abound that the Chinese may take over the area and put all Malays on reservations, as Americans did with the Indians. Unless you are among Malay elite, your ethnic loyalties are fierce.

If you are a Chinese youth, you are more likely to live in a city. Your family may be employed in or own a business in the private sector, particularly in transportation, communications, mining or business. After elementary school, you may have prepared for an office

job or trade and the chance you will be unemployed is greater than if you were a skilled worker. Property is valued among your people and great emphasis is placed on responsibility towards one's family, even "responsible disobedience", if necessary. The secret societies of your ethnic group are especially strong and active because of higher Chinese youth unemployment and are a ready instrument for violent social change or for smaller survival tactics. The government and its political adversaries court your peer group for their own purposes, but the government is less successful in co-opting you into its programs than it is with Malays.

In contrast, if you are among the economically and politically elite youth of Malaysia, you are probably a college student who, along with his or her multi-racial peers, is concerned about the broader uncertainties of life. You may be among the 12% who feel nuclear war might be justified if survival were threatened by outside forces. But almost certainly you are non-pacifistic. As you look towards the future, you hope to retain those traditions which are utilitarian, functional or enhance family ties and to discard those which retard progress. You are likely to value reasonableness and equate your well-being with that of the country. You may be among the majority of those students who say their goals in life are to do something good for society, to do whatever is worth doing, and to help the area achieve population control, a higher standard of living and peace by the year 2000.

If you place these ethnic groups and the educated elite within the brutal realities of life in Malaysia, where there are limited economic resources, zero growth and fierce competition over the distribution of income and goods, it is easier to understand this overriding truth: all behavior, conflict, delinquency, and even emotional disturbance is defined politically. That Malaysia does in fact have a criminal justice system, a legal code, and due process is almost inconsequential because the system cannot proceed objectively and separately from the all-encompassing political pressures and ethnic loyalties. Legality depends on your point of view.

If you are the government, your attitude towards your constituents is paternalistic and authoritarian. Any disruptive activity is suspect. From the government's perspective it is disruptive to engage in any public discussion of what should be the national language, the election of sultans and racial policies. Secret societies of

Malaysian and Chinese youth and particularly their leaders are kept under strict police surveillance and are often "moved" to a hostile district for control. Governmentally organized youth groups are stimulated to offset the secret societies. There seems to be constant manipulation to keep some balance of power among competing groups and to keep the "lid" on an explosive, desperate situation.

If the majority of Malaysian youth (and one might conjecture, adults, as well) were surveyed to determine, "why should or do people obey rules?", could the answer be other than "out of fear, the threat of punishment or other hedonistic concerns"? What are the implications for our society, now facing some possible economic and political uncertainties of its own? Some further thoughts on these realities are part of the next study.

**D. Question: What economic and work opportunities exist for youth?**

*Case In Point: India*

*In Brief:* India has 550 million people: 50% of its population is under 18 years of age; 50% of its educated are unemployed and there is rising illiteracy. Economic and population pressures are forcing rapid, though under-financed industrialization and social change.

*Principal Resources:* Clyde Parker, Sally Powers & Brabha Appasamy

The spectre of being among the 50% of India's educated youth who are unemployed, the intense economic and welfare strains on Indian society in general, and the frequently violent remnants of the Gandhian tradition of non-violent protest are daily realities in the lives of Indian students. Like Malaysia, India is a society in crisis, a society straining to survive. To be young in such an environment is to be well-acquainted with conflict.

Reconstructed from the seminar presentation and discussion, the general context of one's life as a student in India might be something like this: Unlike a decade or two ago, you need not be from an elite family to attend one of India's 87 universities or 3,000 colleges, many of which have been opened very recently. You are among the 2.4 million Indian youth in institutions for higher education. Your family and friends have told you

that education means mobility, the opportunity for something better in life. You were admitted to college at 16 or 17 years of age with few if any academic requirements or credentials. College is very accessible because politicians in your area find it popular to promise the establishment of schools as part of their platform. The president of your college is an appointee of the governor of your state; the governor himself is the school's chancellor. Faculty are careful not to offend these officials by their involvement in political issues because funding is somewhat conditional and can be rescinded. However, some of your peers enjoy developing their political reputations by leading protests, with an eye towards future government employment.

If you live at home in an urban area while you are a student, you undoubtedly use public transportation to reach campus. At every hour of the day buses are literally overflowing with adults and students. It is not surprising to you that the bus system itself is often the focus of seemingly irrational student strikes, demonstrations and occasional violence. Buses are a real and visible outlet for a great many frustrations. If you live on campus, you may be in a residence supervised by what the administration calls "hostile wardens", our version of dormitory counselors. The amenities of campus living are sparse. Recreational facilities and student personnel services are virtually non-existent.

Academic facilities such as laboratories, libraries and classrooms are also poor. There is only one full professor in each department and he has a lifetime appointment. Because a universal syllabus, organized on the British educational model, is used in all universities, teachers have no choice or control over what they teach. There is also the problem of what language to use. The libraries and texts are in English. Hindi is the national language and there are 20 separate languages spoken regionally. Consequently, you may have a language problem.

Indian student "indiscipline" has been continuous since the 1920's. According to the *London Times* in an article published in 1971, there have been over 10,000 strikes, demonstrations, closures of classes and acts of violence in the past five years. As a student you may feel wrongly about "town and gown" issues, local problems such as transportation, government policies and police brutality or issues within your institution such as exams, educational relationships, instruction, student

suspensions and university administrative action. You probably feel less strongly than your American counterparts about "social concerns" such as racial injustice, military involvements, and international matters. During demonstrations over these issues, you may have seen the quick, forcible reaction of local police; perhaps several beatings, but few if any arrests. Your fellow students, on the other hand, may use a tactic called "gheraoing" which means locking up and denying food and physical amenities to officials until negotiations for whatever is at stake are underway. Your schools are often closed as administrators respond to these demands and depending on the situation, the closings may last anywhere from a day to a month.

What has Indian student "indiscipline" to do with lack of economic opportunity for youth? The volatility of students seems related to the frustration of rising expectations and to what Joseph Eaton calls an "achievement crisis":

*Eaton:* "Whenever society experiences a major achievement, this achievement seems to be followed by a sense of crisis which is related to the achievement itself by virtue of this fact; that in order to achieve something socially, a great many forces must find new outlets for their energies. The priorities that used to be applied to bring about the achievement are no longer valid and new tasks and new priorities have to be agreed on. This requires an adjustment to the social system and an attitude that one must always move on to confront new problems."

The aftermath of Ghandi's massive, successful movement for India's independence seems to have created such a situation. Because the problems the country faces are so enormous, the mobility India's educated youth hope for is, for many, a dream. The outlets for anger over these frustrations and an educational system too rigid, perhaps too maintenance-oriented, to really address the needs of youth are protests, rational or irrational.

The Tapp research might be applied here by virtue of the questions it raises. What happens in a society which provides a system-maintenance education at the same time its needs call for enormously creative problem-solving capabilities? What is or could the role of adult socializing agents and agencies be in recognizing and confronting achievement crises and consequent rising expectations?

**E. Question: *What is the impact of technological change on society and the individual?***

**Case In Point: Korea**

***In Brief:*** South Korea is a peninsula, half the size of Minnesota, populated by 30 million people, 17 million under the age of 20. For many decades and until the end of World War II, Korea was a colony of Japan. Cultural values draw heavily from Confucius and Buddha. Racially, South Korea is homogenous and politically anti-communist.

***Principal Resource:*** Hee Kwan Lee

The impact of technology on social patterns and individual lifestyles was evident in each of the societies we chose to examine. However, because of the Korean War and the United States involvement during and afterwards, the changes and conflicts created in that Asian culture are, perhaps, particularly acute. With the technological help and development delivered to South Korea to fulfill her material needs after the war, came these kinds of major, rapid changes:

...Urbanization: the movement of families to cities.

...Industrialization: new employment problems, differing educational and training needs, changing work roles, rising expectations.

...The influence of Western mores and religion: the questioning of traditional values and social structures.

...A new awareness through television, movies and newspapers of other lifestyles, some of which are unrealistically portrayed.

...Political uncertainties.

To the young Korean, particularly if his or her family is deprived, these changes obviously make dealing with the inherent conflicts of adolescence immensely more difficult. Among those youth who are in legal trouble between the ages of 12 and 20, more than nine out of ten are from economically poor families, are unemployed and live in urban areas. There is also a high correlation between juvenile recidivism and unemployment. However, as Nathan Mandel reminded us in relation to delinquent youth and their families in Israel, these are not "bad" families: they are families who are overwhelmed by problems, who may feel less and less support from traditional social structures and values.

Because of industrialization, families may need to move, to leave relationships which added to their continuity and strength. Women and mothers are working. Family patterns are changing. Youth, with their greater exposure to the media and higher levels of education, may be questioning submissiveness and authoritarianism. Traditionally, Korean society has expected the family and school to be effective, congruent instruments in changing disruptive behavior although few services are available to help distressed families. Elementary school teachers have especially important disciplinary roles, and the role of school counselor is being expanded. Juvenile court and court services are very recent agencies. Institutions deal harshly with adjudicated youth.

Technology has also had an impact on the nature of juvenile and criminal offenses. Property crimes rank high. Automobiles and trucks are attractive targets of and vehicles for theft. Firearms and explosives are more available. International crime syndicates are mobile and co-opt youth who are vulnerable. In other words, the whole range of options open to troubled youth has changed.

These are some of the problems with which Korean youth, as well as youth in many other industrially developing societies are faced. How socialization and developmental conflict are dealt with in transitional cultures raises interesting questions.

*F. Question: What status is conferred upon youth by society?*

*Case in point:* Israel

*In Brief:* The State of Israel was established in 1948 as a home for displaced Jews throughout the world. Israel is approximately the size of Minnesota and has a population of around 3 million people. Israel continually faces two challenges: survival against its attackers and the productive assimilation of immigrants from diverse cultures.

*Principal Resources:* Nathan Mandel and Joseph Eaton

If India can be described as undergoing an "achievement crisis" of the nature Joseph Eaton has defined, then Israel seems to be in that earlier stage, a nation whose energies are still united and directed towards a

common goal, the achievement of a secure and legitimate survival. Israel is also in a state of almost continual crisis but unlike the others we have examined, it is a crisis which seems to clarify rather than obscure goals, needs and priorities.

A great deal has been written and said about the status of youth in Israel. Because every Israeli is potentially significant to Israel's future, youth are socialized and treated as if they are capable, responsible and needed. As a socialist state, the government views its responsibility to its constituents in a paternalistic way, but not in the sense of controlling or censoring behavior in an authoritarian fashion. Rather, its policies are that of a nurturing parent, aiding its youth and citizens toward the highest level of self-sufficiency. In practical, applied ways, what does this philosophy mean to youth?

...It means that services which are supportive are freely provided by the state: extensive health and mental health facilities, social welfare services, day care and probationary supervision.

...It means that the courts act as advocates not adversaries of youth who appear before it. Deviant behavior by youth in Israel is considered part and parcel of the state's responsibility. It is not only defined by law, but is taken into consideration by the entire cultural assimilation program which is on-going. Families of troubled youth are perceived as conflicted and are offered support. That it is difficult for immigrant families to move comfortably from authoritarian and often deprived countries into an environment which is unusually open, free and affluent is consciously and wisely acknowledged.

...Corrections institutions ask its troubled youth, "how can we best assist you in being of service to your family and to the state?" This means that educational, vocational training and work placement take the needs, interests and talents of the individual into consideration. Far less money is spent for facilities, far more for individualized programs. Once adjudicated, youth are retained until the age of 19 because it is understood that real behavioral change is slow and painful. In very specific terms this philosophy has encouraged one institution for juveniles to dismiss its staff one day each week and allow its youthful residents to completely direct and operate the facility. Because staff is given professional status by virtue of the fact that its training

and experience are valued, staff, in turn, are able to confer respect to the youth with whom they work. Youth may be seen as troubled or troublesome, but not untrustworthy. No young person is rejected from military service because he or she has a legal record. Everyone is needed; no one can be discarded.

...Military and national service are required of all youth. As Eaton commented, "The one time we seem to have no trouble finding important roles for youth is during a war." The constant reality of violence for Israeli youth has another consequence: they are far less prone toward acting out violent impulses. As Dr. Karl Menninger has observed, we, on the other hand, seem to enjoy a delicious satisfaction in violence, probably because we are so far removed from its reality. However, the Tapp research indicates that U.S. pre-adolescents had a higher percentage of crime and violence answers to "what would happen if there were no rules" than children in other cultures. She attributes this reaction to a preoccupation with "crime on the streets" and to our cultural ethos which tends to romanticize our past.

...Peer group loyalties among youth are very strong in Israel. Their continuity is respected and perpetuated (but not manipulated) by government policy. The army and Nacha, an organized non-military service, allow peers to enlist and serve together. Schools also recognize peer group cohesiveness. An Israeli graduate student offered these comments about the importance of friendship groups in Israel:

*Yardena Harpaz:* "When I finished (serving in Nacha), I had a very strong sense of responsibility, a very strong sense of commitment and a very strong sense of belonging. But I question whether it was only a national commitment to survival. I guess I would say 'no'. I have always had a very strong loyalty to my peer group; I always felt belonging to a group of children and when I was older, to teenagers. In school the class was something very cohesive and the youth movement educated me to have a very strong sense of responsibility to my friends. I wonder if that is something which can only be created during crisis. I don't feel this sense of commitment here in the United States. I believe a sense of cooperation must be emphasized."

However, in translating this important strength to youth work in this country, one must always be aware that youth movements, per se, are not necessarily happy

phenomena. Obviously, they were not for Nazi Germany and they are not in Malaysia. The cause, the reason for commitment is ultimately important. Also, the identity and integrity of the individual must not be lost in the mass.

...Lastly, youth are often the teachers of adults. Immigrant parents frequently learn Hebrew from their children and young people are sent into villages on "illiteracy campaigns". The need for parents to maintain self respect and pride when their children are frequently beyond them intellectually is addressed at ceremonial occasions. The theme is not only recognition for youth, but recognition for parents for all they have done to help.

What might happen if Israel should cease being threatened by its enemies, if its national energy and money should no longer be needed for this all-consuming goal? This is a question which perplexes many. The socialization and integration of youth does seem to be facilitated by a strong awareness of social purpose and national goals. As some have said in previous years' monographs, what we seem to need is what William James called a "moral equivalent to war" to ease the conflicts of being young and to provide meaningful roles for youth. However, in times as politically and economically uncertain as these, this is an extremely difficult and necessarily complicated problem. Simplistic solutions are inevitably disappointing, if not dangerous.

G. *Question: How does the legal system define and deal with unacceptable behavior?*

*Case in Point: Cyprus*

*In Brief:* Cyprus is an island 27 by 18 miles, inhabited by almost 500,000 Greeks, 105,000 Turks and about 24,000 British. Greeks and Turks maintain strict separateness – educationally, residentially, and politically – and each population largely takes care of "its own". Violence between Greeks and Turks is expected and often handled "internally".

*Principal Resource:* Nathan Mandel

From our cross-cultural perspective, strictly legal definitions of what is distinctly unacceptable criminal behavior, such as killing and theft, showed remarkable similarities from place to place. Whether this is due to

some universal intuitive or rational sense within people of what is "wrong" or whether these similarities largely reflect the pervasive influence of western, colonial legal systems, or both, is an interesting, if unanswerable question.

However, while legal definitions of criminality are alike, statistical comparisons of juvenile offenders and offenses are absolutely impossible! There is no way to compare separate locales within the United States, let alone international records. One reason for this, of course, is that each area counts differently, particularly in respect to status offenses. For example:

...Israel completely disregards status offense. Truancy, and incorrigibility may be "treated" but not legally.

...Korea, on the other hand, adjudicates youth for fighting among themselves, for smoking and drinking.

...Where there is compulsory schooling, and youth are in school longer, statistics are likely to show higher delinquency rates.

Not only do various geographical areas count differently, cultures also "care" differently, as Gisela Konopka explained:

*Konopka:* "We must not forget that in those 'good old times' when families were so 'strong' and all children were so 'well-behaved' terrible things were done and hidden. My favorite example comes from an experience I had driving around Germany's loveliest southern villages with a probation officer. After he had stopped at virtually every town, I asked him what was happening, because this was an area whose reputation rested on a facade of good homes and stable families. He said, 'Don't tease me. You know that isn't so. For centuries this was an area where incest, rape, bestiality and stealing were pervasive. But previously no one had cared. Now people do care and are asking for legal protections and assistance.' So it is not just the counting that is different, but we are beginning to care differently, as well, about youth who are in trouble with themselves and with families who have all the outward appearances of stability and order."

All of the societal aspects we have previously examined – cultural norms, socialization, status of youth, political and economic realities and the impact of technology – also have the utmost relevance to the actual application of the law in due process, as we have seen. Initially, we had hoped that our seminar focus on

the treatment of youth in serious conflict might yield models for our own criminal justice system. What we discovered was that all but Israel and Cyprus had very harsh, rigid penal systems. Corporal punishment and the withdrawal of all freedoms was the rule, rather than the exception. Interestingly, where prison reforms were being advocated, it was often by leaders who themselves had been imprisoned, usually for political crimes.

Of the two systems worth examining for their value as models, we have already mentioned the Israeli juvenile institution. The other is on Cyprus. Nathan Mandel spent several weeks there and prefaced his remarks by saying, "Here is where I saw the maximum amount of responsibility placed on the young person. Their philosophy is imperatively, impressively, 'what can you do for your family and community?', rather than 'what can we do for you?' "

In practice, what this would convey to you if you were among the 42 boys adjudicated to that institution is this: "We believe in your ability to lead a rational, useful life. We will keep you here only as long as seems necessary." Trust is part of the environment. The institution was a Mediterranean villa and the decor remains as it was. As a resident you eat with the same linens and china as those who lived there as its owners did. Despite the fact that you are probably there because of a property offense, the staff reports no carelessness, no stealing whatsoever. You live in a cottage with eleven other boys and are friends with the children of your staff person who lives with his or her family next door. There is a swimming pool on the grounds which you may use and because the director of the institution is active in scouting, you, too, have become involved.

When you arrive at the center, a staff person whom you may already know from in-take, court or detention, talks extensively with you and your family. Because staff training is a two-year program which includes work in all phases of the criminal justice system, your social worker is well-equipped to help you plan your program and assist your family in meeting its needs in other agencies. Cyprus benefits from its smallness. Human services work almost as a family; there is congruence and coordination. The system facilitates trust for these reasons. The cooperation of your family seems more easily secured because of strong family pride and a patriarchal structure. With or without the help of

stipends, your parents are even encouraged to stay with you for short periods of time on the grounds of the institution.

Your program is structured around your interests, what you feel would meet your needs. Some of your peers are learning about livestock, buying, breeding, all aspects of care and marketing. Others have a shop where they make and sell ceramics. Another boy whose family lived in a house which had only a dirt floor quickly learned to make tile and was allowed to go home and lay a new floor. Many of your friends learn horticulture because Cyprus has luxurious foliage and takes great pride in its landscaping. The possibilities and choices are numerous, but when you leave you feel more confident of yourself and your skills.

What we could say about why this institution could be a reality on Cyprus which retains some of the very features (an authoritarian family structure and cultural pluralism, for example) which seemed restrictive in other societies, would be sheer speculation. What Cyprus seems to have overcome are those myths regarding human potential and the law which were discussed earlier in the context of the Tapp research: namely, the myths that human beings are lawless, irrational; that "legal" is learned only in the context of "the legal system"; that legal and psychological limits are separate, unrelated; and that human beings are not inherently ethical.

When asked what parts of this kind of program might be transferrable to our criminal justice system and how these changes could be accomplished, Mandel replied there are several possible applications for practice which could be realized if we think in terms of state or local systems, rather than on a national level. These were his recommendations:

1. We, as professionals, need to start acting like trusting human beings, rather than authority figures, in relation to the young people with whom we work. The commitment of youth and staff to each other needs to be commensurate.
2. Youth need to participate in planning their own treatment program, in terms of their educational, vocational and interpersonal behavioral problems. This may lead to more realistic expectations.
3. Let's get away from large institutions.

4. Families need to be involved in treatment programs because troubled youth are so often symptomatic of deeper problems.

5. Organizationally, it would be invaluable to the quality of help we could provide if a career system for the development and training of staff were established which would confer more status to personnel. Respect is difficult to give if none is conferred. Lastly, if a rotation training program were developed, a means of maintaining relationships with an adjudicated young person throughout the system with consistent personnel would be possible.

### III. IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

There are obviously no easy answers in reply to the next logical questions, "How can we apply our understanding of the development of legal reasoning and of those cultural norms and social realities which facilitate or retard that growth? How can these insights help us in our work with youth?" But there are some approaches we might discuss.

First of all, there is no way to deny the effect on youth in general and particularly on youth in conflict of fear, deprivation, censorship and uncertainty. However overwhelming these problems are, we cannot lessen our concern or activism to alleviate the conditions which create or intensify these barriers for youth. The least we can do is persist in our courage to "ask why".

Secondly, there are ways of socializing our young people to better deal with conflict which are tangible and practical and which might conceivably be preventative "treatment". For example, in the classroom it is not only important that information be made available about such subjects as law, the justice system, political and social history, but that a process of questioning be emphasized, a questioning which helps youth confront what is logical or illogical in our system. Often it seems we are afraid to raise questions for which we have no ready answers. June Tapp describes the value of merely raising issues in relation to her interviews of very young children:

*Tapp:* "We found that children being interviewed everywhere from elevators to stairwells enjoyed talking about 'what is a law', 'is it ever right to break a rule?' It was true that most of them had never thought about these

kinds of things, but once they began fascinating things happened. At the University of Chicago Law School during the Chicago conspiracy trial, we found five year olds who took positions on Judge Hoffman. Granted, this was exceptional, but what it indicated was that this issue, this conflict had been introduced into their life space. Therefore, there was some movement in the development of their thinking. Forms of legal reasoning were going on and could be encouraged."

In his discussion of the adolescent moratorium and the concept of a national service\*, Joseph Eaton also emphasizes how essential conflict and questioning are to growth:

*Eaton:* "While one part of the adolescent moratorium is the informal sanction to experiment with new behaviors such as the use of drugs, sexual relationships, the inappropriate use of other people's property, etc. with some insurance against devastating consequences, permissiveness is only one side of the moratorium 'coin'. There is also the necessity that the adult-making agencies, parents, schools, and government challenge this experimentation and force the young to think about what they are doing and its consequence to themselves and the larger society. If the moratorium is simply a sanction, without an accompanying demand that the consequences be scrutinized, the adolescent gets no sense of his identity, of what is normal or deviant. Without this confrontation we may have youth who continue to function into adulthood without any standards or awareness that they need standards as the basis on which to plan."

In a somewhat similar vein, Eaton suggests that a dialogue between novice and supervisor in an experiential learning setting makes the difference between a purely work situation and one which is educational. To learn one needs guidance and confrontation.

Evidence of the value of conflict in development has been reaffirmed in some of the preliminary research findings of "Project Girl", a survey funded by the Lilly Endowment and conducted by the Center to discover the needs and aspirations of adolescent girls in this country. Gisela Konopka commented,

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\*The topic of the *Center Quarterly Focus*, Volume 3, No. 2, 1974, Center for Youth Development and Research.

*Konopka:* "As we interview girls, we seem to find a much greater self-confidence and sense of self among minority young people. In terms of this sense of self, they are ahead of the majority population at this time. This difference seems related to the fact they know conflict and have had to fight for a cause against something which is clearly unjust."

Another way of educating youth which is appropriate to a number of settings is role-playing or role-taking.

*Tapp:* "There are enough political, moral and community development studies to suggest that role playing and role taking are very closely connected, that you really cannot get perspective on another person's frame of reference unless you have had the opportunity to act out that frame. This means participation by youth at the appropriate level of comprehension. For example, the involvement of children in making rules at home. Children benefit, but parents do, too."

The idea of role reciprocity is also relevant to Eaton's suggestion that particular, meaningful work roles be developed for youth and offered within the structure of a "national service". Not only is learning by role-taking an important element, but if an exchange system on the model of the GI Bill were instituted, youth would also have the opportunity to learn the value of exchange, giving something of themselves in return for education or future training.

*Eaton:* "It might be very healthy to a social system to turn around and say to its youth, 'Now it's your turn. You owe something, too.' This kind of exchange process between the generations might as well be open, rather than hidden. I feel adults who raise children have the right to expect those children will contribute to the survival of that social system. Only when there is this kind of exchange of functions in the social system is it reasonable to expect that new members of the social system will feel they are full members and have similar stakes in the survival of the system which they can negotiate, which they can discuss and to which they can find solutions. In wartime there is no question about this. In peacetime, we haven't found ways and means of finding roles."

The kind of conscious conflict or dialogue which is part of the individual's developmental process is also essential to the kind of institutional change which enhances the capacity of the institution as a socializing agent to stimulate, rather than stagnate human potential.

*Tapp:* "Institutional change involves a series of activities: unioning, communioning, exposing. Self-knowledge and knowledge of the system are mandatory. Open discussion is crucial. Do you have the kind of open, trusting relationships which lead to exploration and allow you to deal with another human being? Questioning is important. 'What does this rule mean?' 'How do I act in this situation?' 'How do I see this institution?' 'What does the next level of moral development look like?' These are very difficult, frightening subjects for people these days. Talking about them exposes the fact that life isn't certitude or certainty; it's change and the ability and willingness to take a chance."

Finally, the law itself has a role as a significant socializing agent because it has been and can be utilized as what Tapp calls "the new mobility belt". Since the desegregation issue of *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, since legislation for the equality of women and the protection of children, "the law has become a means of gaining selfhood, of gaining access into society, obtaining rights, engendering claims". We have learned that moral leadership can be enhanced through legislation.

A legal system which expands and expresses human potential would, indeed, change the dimensions of conflict for youth. As a beginning we might remind ourselves of the optimistic evidence of the human capacity for rational response and mentally and emotionally discard those myths of innate irrationality, hedonism and strict legalism which discourage our potential.

Additionally, Gisela Konopka suggests three concepts which emerge from our study and which are basic to our understanding and practical approach to conflict and youth:

... That conflict in itself is not harmful; that conflict, in fact, produces constructive change if it is based on mutual respect.

... That all societies need to re-think their patterns of work with young people who are in conflict with the law.

... That, increasingly, value formation and clarification must become a conscious process in which both the young and adults participate.

## SUGGESTED READING LIST

Kohlberg, Lawrence, "The Child as a Moral Philosopher," *Psychology Today*, September, 1968.

A developmental scheme describing the levels and stages of moral thinking elaborated over the period of a twelve year study of a group of 75 boys. Also moral development was studied in other cultures. The nature of the sequence of development is not significantly affected by widely varying social, cultural or religious conditions. Only the rate of progress can be affected. The study also found that youths who understand justice act more justly.

Konopka, Gisela, "Formation of Values in the Developing Person," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 43, No. 1, January 1973.

This paper asserts that: in modern society every person has to deal with highly conflicting value systems; value formation relates to the developmental stages in the individual and reaches its peak in adolescence. Specific values of American youth in the twentieth century are discussed.

Pederson, Paul, "The Threat and Promise of Organized Youth in a Plural Society: Malaysia," *The Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, Vol. 2, No. 3, July 1973, pp 169-179.

Youth comprise nearly 2/3 of the population of Malaysia. Organized youth groups and their significance to the government are discussed as well as delinquency and some of its causes.

Reifen, David, *The Juvenile Court in a Changing Society: Young Offenders In Israel*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1972.

Causes and types of delinquency among Jewish and Arab youth in Israel are presented. Shows the Juvenile Court in action, deals with method of detention and examination of offenders and examines a variety of specialized community services.

Tapp, June L. and Lawrence Kohlberg, "Developing Senses of Law and Legal Justice," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1971.

A theory of the development of legal values, derived from cognitive developmental theory, is explicated using U.S. kindergarten to college and cross-national preadolescent data. Implications of the theory and findings are discussed for legal socialization.

"Youth, Everywhere Yet Nowhere," *Assignment Children*, Vol. 20, Oct. Dec. 1972, pp 62-77.

Based on national studies of 8 African countries, this report documents the gulf between the hopes and capacities of youth and what they can expect from their integration into the adult community. Reactions of youth and state to the situation are outlined.

The Center for Youth Development and Research at the University of Minnesota provides an interdisciplinary focus in research, teaching and work with youth.

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