DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 363 831 CG 026 014

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TITLE A Social Role Negotiation Approach to Campus Prevention of Alcohol and Other Drug Problems.
INSTITUTION Detroit Mercy Univ., MI. Addiction Studies Inst.
SPONS AGENCY Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE 91
NOTE 43p.
AVAILABLE FROM Addiction Studies Institute, P.O. Box 19900, Detroit, MI 48219 ($6; quantity discounts).
PUB TYPE Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Alcohol Abuse; *College Programs; College Students; *Drug Abuse; Higher Education; Models; *Prevention; Theories

ABSTRACT

This document presents a social role negotiation model to be used in the prevention of alcohol and other drugs on college campuses. Section I focuses on theories and theorizing, explaining the fundamental aspects of a theory formulation project. Section II explores the historical and social context of the social role negotiation model. Patterns of drug use, problems with drug use, attempts to control drug use, and theories about drug use are reviewed in historical perspective. Section III presents the social role negotiation model of alcohol and other drug abuse. It explores drug abuse in terms of the needs of the developing individual; the interactive nature of human behavior; conflict management; and the effects of chemicals in the human body. The model is presented in terms of assumptions followed by illustrative material. Section IV addresses the challenge of campus alcohol and other drug abuse prevention defined in social role negotiation terms. It examines college as a special experience developmentally, multiple and conflicting roles of the college student, sources of role strain, resources and coping mechanisms, and the context of student drinking and other drug use. Section V focuses on applying a social role negotiation model on the college campus. Strategies discussed include making role changes and choices overt, reducing forces that create role strain, teaching negotiation skills, supporting positive lifestyles, giving permission for role mistakes, encouraging honesty and congruence, and providing a forum for discussion and exploration of roles. (NB)

A

SOCIAL ROLE NEGOTIATION

APPROACH

TO CAMPUS

PREVENTION OF ALCOHOL

AND OTHER DRUG PROBLEMS

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THE PREPARATION OF THIS PAPER WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY A GRANT FROM THE FUND FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION, U. S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

I. ABOUT THEORIES AND THEORIZING

At the outset of a theory formulation project, it seems important to establish the need for such an effort. If no one used theories, there would be no need for continued work on refining, revising, and replacing theories. It also seems necessary to review the criteria which an be applied to evaluate such a project's success. The following section will present a compilation of beliefs about the functions which theories may perform and will discuss some reasons theories seem to require continual revision and extension.

Functions of theories.

First, theories seem to be essential tools for handling complex problems because of their delimiting or streamlining function. A map is useful because it can be carried around, reproduced in multiple copies, and examined while sitting down in one place. The real, more complex terrain, on the other hand, requires one to go out to see it and it cannot be easily reproduced. The map simplifies, or limits, the observer's field of view to those aspects considered to be most relevant; a good theory, likewise, defines what parts of a situation one should attend to. The obverse also seems to be true; differing theories offer differing opinions as to what can be ignored.

That this is the primary function of theories is confirmed by Boulding (1966), who refers to theory-building as a "deliberate simplification of the system to what are regarded as its essential elements. This process of abstracting the essential elements of the system is the main task of theory, and without theory of some kind, no communication is possible, even in the most commonplace conversation."

A second reason for theorizing is to provide a basis for decision-making. Given a complex situation, it would be helpful to have some assumptions about the ways in which different elements influence each other. The college campus, particularly as it addresses problems with the use of alcohol and other drugs by students, is such a complex situation. One's responses to this problem will depend on one's assumptions about the relative contribution of factors such as parents' attitudes and their substance use; faculty and administrator attitudes and their substance use; availability and cost of substances; stresses and challenges faced by students; alternative rewards and stress reduction techniques available; campus traditions; drinking establishments on or near campus; and alcohol advertising, to name a few. Programming to alter existing patterns may involve, for example, striving to retain old campus traditions or attempting to eradicate those traditions, depending on the way in which they are viewed.

Third, having a theory helps in evaluating the success of the effort. As noted by Gonzalez (1988), referring to the long-range success of campus alcohol and drug abuse prevention efforts, "It is not sufficient to say that the goal of prevention is to reduce alcohol and drug abuse. Prevention means different things to different people. It is difficult to measure." A theory which identifies related elements of behavior will allow the prevention programmer to measure things which reflect that behavior, even though the final outcome of problem prevention cannot yet be evaluated.

Finally, a theory can help one to evaluate the relevance of others' ideas and suggestions. Suppose I believe that 6 to 8 hours of sleep are required for physical rebuilding and for unconscious mental processing of stressful events. To remain true to this belief, I should ignore the suggestions of efficiency-oriented colleagues who encourage me to cut down to 3 or 4 hours sleep during the busiest part of the semester. Similarly, It would be a waste of my time to attend seminars entitled, "Reclaiming the lost third of your life -- Sleep less and do more." Lacking clarity about my basic assumptions I could find myself encouraged in several opposing directions at once with no basis for choosing among sources of advice.

Naive theories.

George Kelly (1955), whose Personal Construct Theory will be examined later in this paper, expressed the belief that people base all their behavior on their theories about the world around them. Others agree that the process of using theories and, for that matter, building them and refining them, apparently is not found exclusively among academics. Quoting again from Boulding, "Scientific theory consists merely in doing in a formal and rigorous way, taking special precautions against false inference and false perception, what we do all the time in ordinary life and conversation." (1966, p. 237). Primitive myths and abstract theologies alike are theories of existence. George Herbert Mead (1934), whose teachings formed the basis for many contemporary theories in psychology and sociology, used the term "mind" to describe the human capacity to organize experience through interpretation and anticipation.

Naive theorizing has been studied by developmental and clinical psychologists, documenting that every individual uses theories in daily life and that individuals' theory systems may be quite different from one another. The Swiss researcher Jean Piaget (1926) concluded that infants' early behavior demonstrated a process of testing, revising, and expanding theories about their behavior and its effects on the world of objects. Infants as young as 5 months have been observed noticing the relationships between objects (for example, a toy dog and a real dog), a "category-building" process described by Kurt Fischer (1980).

Problems with theories.

Theories may be less than useful for many reasons. Some have been replaced because they oversimplified -- the proposed maps left out some significant parts of the terrain. Others have failed because of the opposite error -- including so much detail that the maps could not be carried around. Still others have not been sufficiently abstract, proving to be useful only under limited circumstances. The list of challenges to validity further includes basing a theory on incorrect assumptions or faulty data; using faulty logic to develop a theory; and designing a theory to serve a political ideology.

In both the daily world of informal theory use and in formal theory construction, it is common for theories to not be stated in sufficiently clear, distinct terms and for people to be confused about their theoretical assumptions. This can, of course, compromise some of the above functions. Possibly the most serious problem occurs when terms are not precise and people can hold conflicting theories without recognizing the difference. In the substance abuse field, the frequent reassuring references to "the disease concept" create the impression of agreement among professionals who often appear to hold quite different viewpoints. Each subscribes to a different "disease concept" and assumes that the other person's theory is the same.

Critiquing theories.

These potential and actual problems have stimulated the critical evaluation of theories, with the goal of bringing each to its best possible state and removing from circulation those which fail to satisfy standards set by the academic community. The process which has evolved is one of presenting theories in a formal manner and allowing professional peers to provide criticism. Theories, then, evolve through recurring cycles of presentation, critique, and revision.

Previous statements of the SRN Model have been offered (Blume, 1990; Blume,Green ,Joanning, Quinn & Green, 1985; Blume & Joanning, 1986). The present paper is intended to clarify the model's concepts, to more accurately trace its theoretical heritage, and to facilitate efforts to achieve "consensual validation" (Reynolds, 1971) through facilitating review by other scholars and by working professionals in the field of campus alcohol and other drug abuse prevention.

The relationship between a theory and data offered in support of that theory depends on the tradition in which the theory is being proposed. In the deductive tradition which evolved in the physical and biological sciences it is assumed that the data precede the theory. Deductive theorizing is only possible when large amounts of data can be sifted in search of patterns which can then be explained by a theory. The inductive tradition, on the other hand, having evolved in the "softer" areas of philosophy and social science, assumes a complexity of the data base such that no amount of scanning will reveal the patterns; preliminary theorizing, then, is necessary to direct the researcher's attention to data which should then confirm a correct theory (Gibbs, 1972). The current effort is clearly within the inductive tradition. Consistent with that tradition, once the theoretical model is built selected data from the literature will be examined in a preliminary test of the model's utility.

A further distinction can be drawn between the mathematical and the phenomenological traditions of theory-building (Blalock, 1969). In the mathematical tradition it is assumed that concepts are stated in terms which can be quantified and measured, and that theories take the form of laws which predict relationships between variables. Theories in the form of laws are expected to be invariant, and they can be tested and disconfirmed by research. Despite the fact that social science theorizing has left easily measured concepts such as height and age to develop more abstract concepts such as self-esteem and assertiveness, many social scientists have continued in the mathematical tradition. An alternative tradition of hermeneutic phenomenology (Ihde, 1971), however, is gaining a stronger position among social scientists. In this tradition concepts take the form not of laws but of descriptions. Rather than stating causal directions and predicting ways in which one factor influences another, these scientists attempt to create accurate portrayals of, for instance, the current ambiguity in relationships between the sexes. From the hermeneutic perspective, no theory is ever complete; theories must continue to change because the world of phenomena is constantly changing. The present study is an attempt to apply hermeneutic principles to understand alcohol and other drug use on the contemporary U.S. college campus.

Finally, Thomas Kuhn (1970) introduced an important distinction with his concept of the paradigm. Kuhn's widely-cited analysis describes the change of theoretical orientations within an area of scientific inquiry over time. Essentially, Kuhn proposes that the many alternative theories prevailing at a given point in time tend to all represent a shared world view, or paradigm. New paradigms come into existence during the period when another is in its ascendency, and they are typically met with hostility and rejection by those whose theories are consistent with the present paradigm. Only after a long struggle can a growing number of proponents of the new paradigm succeed, in a process called the "paradigm shift", in dominating their scientific field. Since Kuhn introduced this theory new theoretical formulations typically attempt to place themselves in relationship to other theories and apparent paradigms. The Social Role Negotiation Model in itself does not break ground for a new paradigm; it is rather part of a growing body of theoretical work which, Sarbin (1982) proposes, represents a new "root metaphor" of contextualism. This perspective will be described in more detail below.

In the end, the purpose of a theoretical project such as this is to provide a tool for use by professionals. The ultimate test of the model will lie in attempts to apply it in practice.

II. THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE SOCIAL ROLE NEGOTIATION MODEL

As a hermeneutic exercise this theory is by definition bounded by time and culture. Therefore, before going further into the specifics of the theory several contextual factors -- patterns of drug use, problems with drug use, attempts to control drug use, and theories about drug use -- will be reviewed in historical perspective.

Substance use and the management of experience.

The use of substances to alter mood states is not a uniquely modern phenomenon. Archeological findings suggest that at least alcohol, and probably other drugs as well were used by prehistoric humans. (Keller, 1976). Nor has the use of drugs been limited to a few cultures. Very few societies currently exist in which there are no acceptable drugs for altering experience, although societies differ to a great extent in the range and the types of acceptable substance use. Mood alteration has also been accomplished by other means. Dervish dances, for instance, have been alleged to produce a euphoric state, and procedures ranging from meditation to the holding of breath have proven effective in changing some aspect of experience.

With modern, industrialized civilization has come a wide range of substances including both legal drugs developed by pharmaceutical firms and illegal drugs produced in small "designer drug" laboratories.

When one examines data such as the Monitoring the Future survey[1], conducted by the University of Michigan, changing trends in young people's choices of drugs can be observed. Clinicians report similar trends in the patterns of use which present for treatment. The changing picture of use is significant because literature which dates from before 1964 seems to reflect a belief that the alcohol problem was the only drug problem with far-reaching implications for the middle classes. Studies of substance abuse at that time reflected a view of society in which only the extremely deviant individual -- or one living in a deviant subculture -- would even experiment with the use of heroin, cocaine, or marijuana. The bulk of research focused on alcohol abuse and its control, and when the term "alcoholism" was used it was often in reference not to compulsive drinking but to drunken behavior in public, which was also called "intemperence."

1964 marked the beginning of publicity surrounding the LSD research being conducted by Timothy Leary and Richard Alpert at Harvard University; within the next 6 years drug experimentation spread throughout college campuses and the youth subculture, not only in the United States of America but throughout large parts of the world including both industrialized nations and pre-industrial cultures. The new tradition of research which began during this period addressed a broader range of questions about reasons for drug use, conditions consistent with escalation of drug use, and the addiction process. Alcohol research continued and became parallel in its concerns, with only funding and sample differences separating "drug" researchers and clinicians from those who specialized in alcohol.

In the post-"hippie" era of the 1980's further dramatic changes occurred in the patterns of drug use in the U.S. (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1985); Marijuana, the most popular drug of the late 1960s and early 1970s, fell out of fashion with young people and alcohol was recognized once again the most commonly used substance. Cocaine increased in its prevalence, with a boost in cocaine demand resulting from the discovery of increasingly simple freebasing

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[1] This project, funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse, publishes periodical reports such as Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1986.

methods which culminated in the marketing of Crack. Heroin, on the other hand, diminished in its levels of use as did LSD and barbiturates. Most recently, reports from the street indicate that while cocaine is not yet out of fashion heroin and LSD are making a comeback.

These shifts in drug use patterns are undoubtedly driven by a variety of factors including new drug forms, changes in marketing systems, and law enforcement impact on specific drugs. It is possible, though, that drug choices also say something about the other characteristics of a society, and that an examination of drug choices can provide information about substance abuse in general. Specifically, it is proposed here that the trends of the 1980's represented a shift from the contemplative drug culture of the 1970s, one in which achievement was contrary to cultural expectations, to a more aggressive drug culture in which drug use was a tool in achieving success. Cocaine allows the early user, at least, to sell more, move faster, and keep going longer while feeling little pain. If, as predicted, we are becoming a "kinder, gentler" society the depressant, hallucinogenic, and opiate drugs may now be expected to gradually replace cocaine in prevalence.

It was noted above that not all societies have experienced the same kinds of problems with drug use. This cultural variation in problem rates and types is an important source both of hypotheses and of information. For instance, cultural differences may help to answer some crucial questions about the relationship between the biological, psychological, and social aspects of addiction (these questions will be discussed below). Examinations of the Jewish peoples' low rates of alcoholism (e.g. Keller, 1970), for example, have tended to focus on cultural factors and their alleged protective influence. Discussions of the Irish and their high rates of alcoholism, on the other hand, frequently suggest that this picture is one of genetic vulnerability.

Most observers agree with the proposition that some cultural definitions of drug use serve to keep it within acceptable bounds. When alcohol and other drugs are part of religious rituals there tends to be disapproval of strictly recreational use. Similarly, when alcohol is considered to be part of the diet -- a routine drink at lunch and dinner -- it seems to lose some of its mystery. When members of a culture attributes great power to alcohol, as do the Irish, it is easier to abandon control to the substance without losing face. And problems are common when a culture with well-established rules for handling one group of substances comes into contact with a new drug, as happened in the case of the Native American people with alcohol and the case of almost all other cultures with tobacco.

Problems with alcohol and other drugs.

Discussions of drug-related problems are complicated by the fact that not all societies define drug problems in the same way. Until recently in the U.S., the bulk of attention given to drinking problems was directed at the disruptive effect of public drunkenness (this attitude still prevails in some parts of the world). Excessive drinking in public places was seen as destructive to the social order, and private drinking was not considered problematic. Drinking problems of women in the U.S., for example, have only recently received attention, apparently because the most common pattern was for the woman to drink at home when alone; family members could avoid embarrassment by keeping visitors away. As noted by Gonzalez (1988 , p. 92), "[I]t is apparent that for alcohol to be a problem for a drinker or others, characteristics beyond just drinking and drunkenness come into play."

The contemporary concern with alcohol and other drug use throughout society, and especially on college campuses, results to some extent from perceived increases in the rates of drinking and other drug use among young people. There is some research support for this perception. In 1953, Straus & Bacon reported that 76% of college students had ever taken a drink; by 1985 Johnston & O'Malley reported that 89% of high school graduates and 92% of college students had used alcohol. Other Johnston and O'Malley findings also demonstrate, however, that those who perceive a dramatic increase in student use over the past 15 years may be mistaken.

While cocaine use has increased from its 1975 levels, marijuana, along with LSD and barbiturates, has shown significant declines in use[2].

But the increased concern may just as well be attributed to a growing perception in U.S. society that substance abuse and addiction are expensive for society and are most likely preventable. Incidents such as the 1988 crash of a school bus with an auto driven by a drunk driver have received wide publicity, and the health care costs of America's alcohol problem are being accented by the Surgeon General. Behavior which might have been taken for granted 20 years ago, then, seems to be viewed as problematic.

Finally, societal changes have made the average person more aware of the private realities of the addicted individual and his or her family. The self-disclosures and public relations efforts of courageous individuals such as Wilbur Mills and Betty Ford have reached a wide audience. Rather than looking the other way or seeing the heavy drinker as amusing, more people are ready to take action on behalf of others.

The college campus in the 1990s reflects these and other trends in the larger culture. The attitudes of many students, faculty, administrators, and parents are representative of the general public's reduced tolerance for alcohol and other drug problems. In 1991, for instance, organized outcry about brewery-sponsored Spring break parties in Florida led several of the organizers to play down or modify their plans. Furthermore, schools which have taken a strong, visible anti-substance stand report that prospective parents are choosing them specifically for that stand. Students are organizing campus alternatives to partying in bars and are asking for substance-free dorms. External pressures as well are leading schools to examine their histories and their policies. For example, the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act Amendments of 1988 demand that colleges and universities be active in their attempts to reduce drug problems, and insurance companies are increasingly attentive to the possibility that an institutionally-sponsored event which involves alcohol is a liability they cannot afford to assume. National fraternities and sororities, responding to the changing interests of prospective members and to the pressures from their alumni, are working to change the image of the Greek system; the Sigma Phi Epsilon "Balanced Man" campaign is an example.

Attempts to control drug use.

Many cultures over the centuries have attempted to reduce or eliminate drug-related problems. In an attempt to impose clarity on this history, efforts will be divided into the categories prevention, treatment, and punishment. Each will also be identified with a primary theoretical orientation which appears to justify the approach, even though the theoretical orientation may not be explicitly stated. Brief attention will be given to a further issue, one raised in Keller's (1976) excellent history. Keller is of the opinion that where prevention efforts have existed, they have tended to focus on prevention not of alcohol *problems*, but of *alcoholism*, and he suggests that changing the focus to problems may bear more fruit.

Prevention.

Prevention has evolved in the public health tradition, which views drug problems as a *disease* transmitted through contact of the *host*, or potential user, with a *vector*, or third party which carries the *agent*, or disease-causing substance. At the broadest and least intense level is primary prevention, the prevention of "infection" -- contact with the vector. Secondary prevention, with individuals whose disease is in early stages, attempts to prevent further deterioration. Tertiary

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2 (Straus (1976) argues that greater emotional dependence on substances is to be expected in light of society's overall change from one based on close relationships to one based on formal, distant relationships.)

prevention focuses on individuals whose disease is in remission, preventing symptom recurrence. This model has proven successful with malaria and other diseases; the identification of addiction as a disease would seem, then, to be part of this theoretical orientation. In its favor, the model does recognize that individuals are not at the same stage of problem formation; when used in this way the levels serve to identify the extent of problem history. Applying this distinction, it seems that Keller may be mistaken; the majority of prevention efforts have traditionally been at the level of primary prevention.

Prevention efforts are often divided as well between supply-side prevention and demand-side approaches. The supply-side approach, which tends to attribute drug problems to the drugs themselves, identifies dangerous drugs and tries to keep them out of the hands of potential users. Examples of this approach are common in the United States, most notably in the short-lived Prohibition period (1920-1933) when an overwhelming abstinence movement succeeded in passing a constitutional amendment which forbade the sale of beverage alcohol. Such efforts live on; some states and municipalities continue to severely limit alcohol access. Other supply-side approaches include the U.S. Government's scheduling of controlled substances and the rumored spraying of marijuana crops in the 1970s with Paraquat, an herbicide which had the side effect of causing lung damage in those who smoked the sprayed drug. Of course, the Reagan administration's "War on Drugs" and the Bush administration's continued anti-drug efforts have concentrated on reducing or eliminating the flow of illegal drugs into the country and on curtailing their distribution.

Demand-side prevention efforts generally attribute drug problems to the user or to the user/drug interaction. These approaches, then, assume that the individual seeks a mood change[3] and will eventually find some substance with which to achieve a chemically altered experience. The most rudimentary demand-side efforts include educational approaches such as films, books, and public service announcements in the print and broadcast media; but much of this work has been revised or discontinued because of blatant scare tactics which were not effective. The messages in these scare-oriented materials often lacked credibility, being neither scientifically objective nor sensitive to the possibility that the audience would have alternative sources of information.

Other educational efforts, while more objective and sensitive to the user's experience, have also been abandoned -- in this case, after demonstrating an effect which was the reverse of what was intended; they actually increased the drug use of their participants (Kinder, Pape, & Walfish, 1980). It appears that these programs erred by increasing the students' curiosity about drug effects while not improving their motivation -- or their ability -- to resist that that curiosity. As Flay (1989) summarized these early findings, "Information alone was not enough." Over the past 10 years, however, consensus has built around several characteristics which, in combination, seem to avoid the problems which faced these earlier efforts.

The theme which pervades most contemporary prevention approaches, especially with students (e.g. Botvin, 1983; Flay, et al., 1983), is the development of skills for handling social influence. Education in this model consists of, first, correcting misperceptions about prevalence of use. Credibility is a problem here just as it was with the scare tactics of the 1950's; Flay (1989) recommends getting the students to discuss their own use, thereby testing each others' perceptions. Second, the social influence approach focuses on ways to resist peer group influence. This involves increasing the students' awareness of social influence as well as developing the skills to counter that influence. But this kind of approach when used alone tends to have its greatest effect during the peak times for first use, and its effect seems to disappear over time. For a more enduring effect, Flay (1989) suggests that the social influence focus be balanced with other kind of programming addressing issues of personal lifestyle management.

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[3] See Milkman & Sunderwirth's Craving for ecstasy: The consciousness & chemistry of escape.

Treatment.

The history of treatment efforts for drug addicts and alcoholics can be seen along with explicit prevention efforts as attempts to prevent problems. Treatment approaches have undergone radical change over the past century, having started with beliefs that the addict was a particularly disturbed person who would quit use when the disturbance was corrected. Contemporary approaches tend to be more behavioral -- to focus on changing the use first, then on asking why -- and they generally view addiction as multifaceted and varied in its nature. Of particular note is the movement to acknowledge relapse as a normal step in the process of learning to life a drug-free life, using relapse as a teaching opportunity (Marlatt,1985). This approach truly sees treatment as "tertiary prevention," preventing the *recurrence* of problem behavior.

Alcoholics Anonymous was among the first of these "modern" approaches with their behavioral focus and acceptance of relapse. The success of AA has led many authors to examine its basis, with opinions varying from Bateson's (1972) idea of correcting flaws in alcoholic thinking to Machell's (1989) less supportive conceptualization that AA substitutes one dependency for another. Whether or not it is the real source of the group's success, the spiritual basis of the AA approach has gained nearly universal acceptance as a component of comprehensive treatment programs[4].

Punishment.

Finally, we should look at attempts to control use through punishment for excessive use or addiction. This approach is neither new nor out-of-date, and probably represents the oldest tradition. It is based on assumptions that use is voluntary, that people operate rationally on some kind of a cost-benefit basis in their decision-making about use, and that their decision criteria are similar enough that a few punishment strategies will be successful for most people. Because ll these assumptions are open to question, and generally punishment is sometimes opposed by the prevention and treatment communities.

One of the punishment strategies which has the greatest visibility is the "drunk tank." This approach, which has decreased in prevalence in the U.S. but still seems to be popular in other countries, involves incarcerating the inebriate in an extremely uncomfortable facility. It is supposed that the humiliation and possibly pain of this experience will lead the drinker to avoid the experience in the future.

Another punishment strategy is longer-term; it involves giving long prison sentences to those who seem to be dealing in drugs. It is believed that the severity of the sentences will scare others away from this kind of activity. Neither of these approaches has been scientifically studied for its effectiveness, and feelings are strongly either for or against both. A kind of symbiosis exists between the criminal justice system and treatment professionals who believe that people seek treatment because of negative consequences. Less positive attitudes toward punishment must also be acknowledged, however, as they reflect a different conceptualization of substance abuse and relate directly to the need for theoretical clarity in the emotionally charged climate of crime, personal tragedy, demand on public resources, and both private and official violence.

The newer findings in prevention research support a view of the potential drug abuser as a person who may be greatly influenced by the behavior and the opinions, especially the approval, of certain others. The extent of such influence depends on many factors, but two of the most important are identification with positive role models and a view of self as worthy and capable -- deserving of rewards and able to do what it takes to receive those rewards. The kind of environment which fosters this kind of positive self-perception is one in which consequences for actions are balanced with respect for the individual. Although this balance is not essentially inconsistent with punishment, it is difficult to achieve such a balance in an institutional setting

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[4] Curiously, having grown from revolutionary roots, AA itself has in many communities become a conservative force opposing further change in the treatment field.

designed to punish. This was demonstrated by research such as the legendary prison simulation study (Zimbardo, Haney, Banks, & Jaffe, 1973) in which volunteer subjects designated as "guards" in a prison simulation exaggerated the violent aspects of their role. Punishment without balance may have the dual effects of making the deviant individual feel alienated from mainstream society even as it also reduces his or her confidence about ever gaining acceptance within that society.

Theorizing about drug abuse

As might be anticipated from the examination of control approaches above, there are many widely differing points of view both on the the factors which contribute to or prevent substance problems and on the potential for reducing those problems at any given point in the progression from nonproblematic use through addiction. It may be useful to divide people's viewpoints here into two categories: those which are based on general theories about human behavior, and those which are based on specific theories which have the explanation of drug behavior as their intent.

General theories about human behavior.

Many different professional and academic traditions contain theories which are likely to be applied to drug use. One may assume that generalists in the fields of psychology, social work, criminal justice, and medicine will call upon these general theories when seeking to understand drug-related behavior, and that many people who lack specialized substance abuse backgrounds will adopt viewpoints which they have acquired from these professionals. Several of these general theories will be mentioned here; a few will be examined in more detail below in the development of the Social Role Negotiation Model.

One of these theoretical traditions, which includes contributions from biologists and philosophers as well as anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists, has to do with assumptions about the *essential nature of human beings*. Social Exchange theorists in sociology, for example, believe that human beings are essentially competitive and are motivated to act in such a way as to perceive a "profit" from interactions with others. Individuals who hold this view might be expected to interpret drug use in terms of a struggle between the hedonistic individual and the forces of social control. A transpersonal psychologist, on the other hand, who saw human existence as an attempt to overcome the limitations of the body, might view drug use as an individual's attempt to achieve oneness with the universe. A biologist might see life as an attempt to achieve a state of balance, and would then view drug use as a mechanism for reducing stress.

A second tradition, largely consisting of psychological and sociological theories, concerns itself with consistent individual differences in behavior. The question then becomes not, "Why do people use drugs," but instead, "Why does Johnny use drugs." The psychological perspective tends to focus on the individual as the source of behavior; although others may have influenced the individual's tendencies, it is the individual whose personality is manifested in the behavior. The sociological perspective tends to focus on outside influences: on the ways in which societal forces may have exerted pressure on the individual. Within each discipline there are further subdivisions, with behavioral psychologists and developmental psychologists explaining the individual's patterned behavior differently. Social learning theorists, for example, would be likely to see drug use as repetition of behavior which had been demonstrated by influential others, and psychodynamic psychologists might view it as a self-destructive act motivated by self-hate.

As will be demonstrated below, the Social Role Negotiation Model reflects contributions from several traditions. First, it fits within the Social Psychological tradition of Symbolic Interactionism (Mead, 1934) in that it views all behavior as meaningful and subject to interpretation. Consistent with Mead it sees the nature of humanity itself as socially determined, and therefore changeable over time as cultures develop and influence their members (Shibutani, 1955). Also like Mead, the SRN model views individual behavior on a developmental continuum

and interprets it in the context of cognitive capacities, limited experiences, and changing priorities. And following the Symbolic Interaction tradition, even while acknowledging the effect of reward on behavior this model rejects the behavioral assumption that an individual's reward structure is consistent and definable.

Specialized theories of substance abuse.

Over the history of people's involvement with alcohol and other substances many specialized theories have come into existence to explain this involvement. The 1980 review of theories on drug abuse edited by Lettieri, Mollie, and Pearson demonstrates the great diversity of this history in its inclusion of 43 theoretical perspectives. Lettieri, et al. not only bring together much of the published work in the field, however, they also develop four overlapping classification systems for theories; these systems will be used here to review what seems to exist and what seems to be missing from current theorizing.

Lettieri and associates first summarize each theory's scope, beginning with the least inclusive -- theories on one's relationship to self -- and building up to the most inclusive -- theories on one's relationship to nature. This classification system may clarify connections among theories based on their common world views or root metaphors, independent of academic discipline. Considering the possible problems with the simultaneous use of incompatible theories, this classification is a useful road map. However, it does little to identify areas of coverage

Next, theories are classified according to their focus. Twelve discipline labels, including four subdivisions of psychology, are used to designate the author's primary and secondary perspectives -- a way of distinguishing among theories which would have more utility if disciplines were indeed separate and distinct. Although the classification system could prove useful for a reader who has only psychological journals available, for example, and wants to find a theory which cites psychological sources, it does not address the many layers of theoretical influence which play themselves out in the theorists' work.

Lettieri and his colleagues then adopt a third approach, classifying theories according to their "boundaries": drug foci and population specificity. They find considerable variation; some theories are intended to be applicable to a wide range of substances and users while others have a more restricted focus. These distinctions will be examined separately.

The first boundary variable, drug foci, is a frequently overlooked aspect of substance abuse theories; many theories make no particular statement about the drugs to which they are intended to apply. Yet research and clinical findings alike suggest that differences exist. Cohen (1988), for example, provides a concise summary of recent research on neurotransmission and the ways in which commonly abused substances differ in their chemical and biological mechanisms of action. Representing the treatment literature, Poldrugo and Forti (1988) demonstrate clinical findings which conclude that there are client characteristics which interact with a particular drug and its effects. Some theories, exemplified by the work of Spotts and Shontz (1980), explore the general idea that there is a relationship between the specific drug and characteristics of the user; in the case of Spotts and Shontz' Life-Theme theory, several specific drugs are conceptualized as creating distinct "counterfeit ego states" which serve to compensate for particular personality defects. Some other theories of drug differences are narrower, applying to only one class of drug; Lettieri and colleagues, for example, classify two theories as focusing exclusively on opiates. In all, 26 of the 43 theories are identified as having either a primary or a secondary focus on one or more specific drugs.

The other boundary classification has to do with different populations of users. There are extensive research findings which show differences in patterns of substance use based on demographic identifiers. Findings which identify special characteristics of particular ethnic groups (e.g. Keller, 1970) have stimulated many authors to theorize about how cultural factors would play a role in making substance abuse either more or less likely. Lettieri and his colleagues use age, sex, and ethnicity as major population identifiers. Looking at age, the authors identify 10 theories

as pertaining especially to "youths and adolescents." Looking at sex, the authors find 3 theories which are considered to apply only to males. Interestingly, despite the progress in recent years related to women's special issues in addiction and recovery, no theory of female addiction is identified. Ethnicity proves a factor in identifying one theory applicable only to "Americans," and one other applicable to "White Americans." Lettieri, et al. do not note, however, whether or not each theory actually addresses the connections between client characteristics and drug use. While population specificity might be an important issue, then, it is not possible from this analysis to know which theories provide a handle for dealing with this issue.

It is in the final classification of theories as to their "components" that the Lettieri, et al. review makes its greatest contribution. The continuum of drug use is divided in to five phases: initiation, continuation, transition from use to abuse, cessation, and relapse. The authors' charts demonstrate that there is a systematic deficiency in explaining a particular phase -- that of continuation. This phase is by far the most likely to be left out; 12 of 43 theories appear to ignore it. As an exercise in evaluating theory coverage, strengths, and weaknesses, then, this focus on phases seems to be the most useful of the classification systems. Three "narrow" theories can be identified, which all focus on the early stages of initiation and continuation: these theories, Social Deviance Theory; Developmental Stages Theory; and Cyclical Process Theory, will be examined further below as the Social Role Negotiation Model is developed.

The field was updated by another review by Blane & Leonard in 1987. Blane & Leonard generally dismiss earlier theoretical attempts to extend some of the general psychological theories into the specialized area of substance abuse. They chose Tension Reduction, Personality, Interactional, and Social Learning approaches as representative of this earlier phase of theorizing.

Looking at more recent contributions, Blane and Leonard limit their focus to a few theories with substantial research grounding in the substance abuse arena. All are "narrow" theories: Expectancy; Stress Response Dampening; Self-Awareness; Self-Handicapping; and Opponent Process. The first four of these theories will be referenced below in examining the Social Role Negotiation model; Opponent Process theory applies only to the development of dependence and is not relevant to the current task.

A further development in theorizing occurred with Alexander's (1990) summary of work on the adaptive functions of drug use. This unified perspective assumes that any prevalent behavior must have adaptive consequences either for individuals, for the species, or both. Alexander proposes that drugs offer potential for resolving integration failure (Durkheim , 1951) by providing a substitute adaptation; otherwise social isolation, depression, and ultimately suicide are likely. He compares drug use to hibernation, a pattern with an adaptive function but not without costs -- in the case of hibernation, weight loss and vulnerability to predators.

Finally, the range of theories has been broadened recently by adapting a theory developed for other health-related behavior -- the Health Belief Model (Gonzalez, 1988). This perspective focuses on factors which influence an individual's decision-making when health is involved. As it relates to the early phases of involvement in drug use, this theory will also be examined below in relation to the Social Role Negotiation Model.

Summary.

The existing theoretical literature on alcohol and other drug abuse, then, demonstrates different levels of specificity and intentionality. Theories range from special-purpose theories which were developed exclusively for the purpose of explaining a particular aspect of drug-related behavior to general theories in which a drug-related symptom is explained through a theory of psychopathology or social deviance. Among the specific substance-abuse theories, a few appear to have special relevance for prevention; those theories focus on the early phases of drug use in which use is initiated and then continued beyond first use. These theories will be examined below concurrently with the presentation of the Social Role Negotiation Model, which is proposed as offering a special explanatory power and scope when compared with other models.

III. A SOCIAL ROLE NEGOTIATION MODEL OF ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUG ABUSE

The preceding discussion has portrayed the current state of substance abuse prevention as one which lacks agreement about a coherent set of goals and which often finds efforts at various system levels working in opposition to each other. A Social Role Negotiation Model of Substance Abuse is proposed as an integrated theoretical tool which will incorporate up-to-date concepts to understand drug abuse in terms of the needs and capacities of the developing individual; the interactive nature of human behavior; the centrality of conflict management in establishing and maintaining positive relationships with others; and the effects of chemicals in the human body. In keeping with the traditions of formal theory-building, the model will be presented here in terms of assumptions followed by illustrative material. Once its components have been introduced in this manner, the model will be summarized.

The developing individual

At the heart of this model is a conception of the individual as acting and thinking; this action and thought is modified through developmental processes. The most basic assumptions of the model are:

A. Human development is orderly and predictable.

and

B. It is characterized by increasing complexity and sophistication in both physical and cognitive skills.

These two assumptions apply equally well to the physical organism and to the behavior of that organism, viewing general patterns of human development as useful in understanding the development of a particular individual. As the child develops, providing development is not disrupted by disease, trauma, or genetic error, he or she manifests predictable changes in levels of skill and in the degree to which behavior, including thought, is coordinated. In the case of thought, an example of such greater skill and coordination is the ability to anticipate future events and therefore to make decisions based on expected consequences of ones acts . Clinical psychologist George Kelly (1955) attributed many kinds of disturbed behavior either to either overly simple, and therefore dysfunctional, patterns of thought, or else to overly complex ways of thinking which had not developed sufficient organization.

An area of skill development which has been judged as especially relevant for substance abuse has to do with social skills, or the understanding and management of social relationships (Eisenberg & Harris, 1984; Goldstein, Sprafkin, Gershaw, & Klein, 1980; Pentz, 1985; Russell, 1984). Much of this work has concerned itself with the question of how much these skills are subject to intervention; the following section will help to clarify this question.

Skill Theory.

This model builds on the work of Fischer (1980), who has proposed an updating of developmental theory called Skill Theory. He extends previous developmental theories by explaining that skill development is dependent on experience but is not an automatic result of experience; that it is influenced by an interaction between external and internal factors; and that the effects of these factors tend to be cumulative. Fischer's theory contributes a third assumption:

C. The great developmental variation among individuals and among areas of development within an individual occur because individuals interact with their environments to accelerate or delay their own developmental changes.

Fischer describes people's use of strategies which either confront necessary learnings or, alternatively, make it appear that they have acquired the necessary skills. The alternative of avoidance, he theorizes, exacts a price as the individual is even less prepared to face subsequent demands.

Fischers theory suggests that offering the opportunities for individuals to learn essential skills is not sufficient; they must take an active role in making use of those learning opportunities.

Psychosocial Development

Not only do various skills develop, non-skill areas of psychological functioning also come into focus at certain points during normal human development. The impetus for these stages of psychosocial development (Erikson, 1968) derives from interaction with caregivers and others; therefore the stages reflect both changes of internal capacity and changes in the kind of behavior the individual perceives (correctly or incorrectly) in others. Two stages which Erikson found to be characteristic of adolescence and young adulthood focus on the development of identity and intimacy: The next critical assumption, then, is

D. Successful development includes completing a number of psychosocial tasks; one of the most critical is developing a balanced sense of identity or "self" while maintaining one's connectedness to others.

The concept of self is a key element in many theories of individual development and social interaction; it is defined by Bandura (1977) and Sarbin & Allen (1968), in ways very similar to Erikson's concept of identity. Steinberg (1989) suggests that the focus on self-consistency, which is typical of adolescents, results from the overlapping influence of two special circumstances. First, the adolescent has gone through previous periods of rapid mental and physical change, but this is the first such change during which he or she is aware of the process. And second, the social situation of the adolescent demands many changes of behavior to meet expectations at home, in the community, and at school. A desire for self-consistency may be a natural reaction to the feeling that one is losing one's familiar self and is at risk of becoming a "puppet."

As it has been traditionally defined, a positive sense of self should enable the individual to evaluate potential goals and behavior for their appropriateness, rejecting career possibilities and relationships which could serve as distractions. But Erikson's followers (e.g. Marcia,) note that commitment to an identity may be premature, thereby creating subsequent problems. The need to renegotiate ones self may then prove as problematic as the confusion which faces the uncommitted. A few authors have addressed the issues involved in renegotiating identity (e.g. Fischer & Elmendorf, 1986; Sarbin, 1982), noting that such renegotiation is common and often overlooked.

Erikson's next psychosocial task, which critics believe may precede identity achievement in some individuals, involves the successful achievement of intimacy with another person. The question of which achievement must come first has been debated by many contemporary scholars of adolescent and adult development (e.g. Cooper & Grotevant, 1983; Craig-Bray, Adams, & Dobson, 1988; Gilligan, 1982). These critics suggest an alternative process involving a gradual evolution of a self-concept in interaction with a significant other. Beginning in adolescence, then, life would involve a cyclical process in which intimacy needs predominate, then become eclipsed by identity needs, and vice versa.

Social Cognitive Development

Selman, a clinical psychologist as well as a developmental researcher, has in recent years focused his attention on the applications of social cognition in disturbed children and adolescents. In apparent support of the preceding assumption, he has found specific deficiencies in interpersonal conflict management skills; these findings seem to fit with an anticipated difficulty in handling the conflicting demands of identity and intimacy. He divides the critical developmental changes into four dimensions, which are the basis for the next assumption:

E. The interpersonal skills of assessing a situation; role-taking; achieving empathy; and persuading another are essential skills, the lack of which may lead to social failure and emotional disturbance.

Fischer differentiates between the individual's level of actual skill performance (functional level) and his or her level of capability (optimal level), and cites experience as the reason why development is not uniform, why specific skills and abilities progress faster than others and all individuals do not achieve equal levels. Referring to the effects of experience, he takes a position which becomes another major assumption of this theory:

F. Performance is contextual -- as the individual understands the context to be a familiar one, it activates levels of performance based on experience in that context.

As the Social Role Negotiation model is proposed here as a specific theory to explain substance abuse in a particular setting, one which is generally unfamiliar to the new student, this is an especially important assumption. The next theoretical contribution will help to give specific shape to this general assumption.

Behavior in context: Symbolic Interaction

The basic conception that behavior is best understood within its context is not only an element of the newer developmental theories, it has its roots in the venerable intellectual tradition of Symbolic Interactionism, a tradition attributable for the most part to the influence of George Herbert Mead (1934) and his colleagues at the University of Chicago. The interactionist tradition contributes several assumptions to this SRN Model, beginning with:

G. Human behavior is assumed to have meaning for self and others.

This assumption of meaning applies both to completed and to anticipated acts; the meaning of an act therefore is at some level part of the individual's decision-making process. In the case of substance use, the meaning of the use is different depending on context. For example, the priest taking a sip of sacramental wine is assumed to be doing it for other than recreational reasons, except in the special case of a priest who is perceived as a problem drinker. As noted earlier, cultural differences in substance use are a consistent finding throughout research on addictions.

If substance use is viewed as a communicative act, it can be inferred that at least some drug use may be motivated more by communicative intent than by any desire to change mood or behavior. The things which can be communicated through substance use are limited only by the imagination, but cultural traditions provide many standard messages. Young males, for instance, can communicate their adherance to a macho ideal by drinking in a reckless, self-destructive way.

Furthermore, symbolic interaction contributes the assumption that:

H. The individual's choice among behavioral options is based on the individual's definition of the situation (Thomas, 1918)

The definition of the situation is the conceptual tool which explains people's different handling of what appear to be the same situational and cultural influences. One person, for example, may interpret a family history of alcoholism as a warning while another sees it as a challenge. The student who interprets fraternity rush as a temptation to sin is likely to respond differently from the student who interprets it as a critical test of his popularity.

And further,

I. Behavior is patterned, and patterns of behavior are influenced by external factors including the perceived expectations of others

At this point we can start critically evaluating the classic "peer pressure" theory of drug use. It is the *perception* of pressure which leads people to attempt to conform through drug use; the peers need not actually express any desire for conformity and they may, in fact, find such conforming behavior distasteful. Oetting & Beauvais' (1986) Peer Cluster Theory adds a useful element to the more general theory; they describe the individual as seeking membership in a peer group which will then exert a kind of influence the individual wants. If I wish to be pressured to use marijuana, then, I place myself in the midst of marijuana smokers and miraculously I get pressured into using.

A popular and powerful model for understanding the influence of others' expectations is the Dramaturgical Model developed by Goffman (1959), among others. This model uses the language of the stage to describe expectations in terms of roles and scripts. Unlike traditional theater, of course, ongoing interaction among people does not follow a written script which can be repeated precisely; each enactment of roles has the potential to change the roles for the future. Using this model, several symbolic interaction concepts can be stated clearly:

J. Role expectations are communicated directly and indirectly in verbal and non-verbal ways, and are subject to modification.

From this statement alone it may be assumed that the actor receives the script and follows it precisely. Such is not the case in the best theatrical performances, though. With expert actors and actresses the roles are not clear-cut, easily defined guidelines for behavior:

K. An individual's response to role expectations may be to accept, reject, or renegotiate them.

An actor tries out an interpretation of a role, and the director validates the interpretation or offers further guidance; in the end a strong, competent actor can convince the director to accept a discrepant enactment. This assumption of negotiation in role enactments is especially important for this model. It is not a new idea; yet in over 50 years of work in the tradition of Symbolic Interaction little has been done to examine its implications, for reasons which will be explained below during the discussion of conflict theory.

Role Theory.

The traditional assumptions of Symbolic Interaction were given additional shape with the development of Role Theory (Biddle & Thomas, 1966; Hardy & Conway, 1988; Sarbin & Allen, 1968), which is not truly a single theory but rather is a collection of theories which share the dramaturgical model as a basis. In one of the more complete and concise explications of role theory, Sarbin & Allen describe characteristics of roles and specify several dimensions of role enactment which they consider significant. The following assumptions follow Sarbin & Allen's main points:

L. Individuals' role enactments are subject to evaluation by a present or imaginary audience; criteria for evaluation include both skill and involvement.

Sarbin and Allen note that with different audiences the same performance may be evaluated differently. Shibutani's (1955) work on reference groups was an early attempt to describe this relationship between the individual and the group. If different evaluations may be received from different potential audiences, it would be helpful in understanding drug use to know the characteristics of the audiences an individual may have in mind. But inherent in the parent tradition of Symbolic Interaction is the realization that this knowledge may not be attainable.

One of the terms most frequently used in discussions of social skills, *role-taking* (see for example Goldstein, 1980 and Russell, 1984), can be appropriately used in this case to refer to skill in assuming the behavioral characteristics which are likely to lead to success in the role. (There is also a cognitive element to role-taking, which involves comprehending what the expectations are.)

Role-taking may be rather simple when the role merely requires that one do something inappropriate and embarrassing.

Another term used to describe role skill is role-making (Burr, Leigh, Day, & Constantine, 1979). This is the skill of creatively expanding on the bare-bones expectations received from others to produce a convincing performance. This concept is related to Sarbin's seven levels of involvement. Some roles, he says, can be all-consuming and highly preemptive; they require that the actor be "on" nearly all the time, and individuals occupying those roles become totally identified with the roles. The involvement of self in drug-oriented roles may be either quite high, as the effects of a chemical make it hard to be less than totally absorbed in the role, or quite low as the behavior is attributed to the chemical and is seen from a distance.

M. An individual can hold several roles at one time.

Having multiple roles requires the skills for performing them all; a wide range of role skills is advantageous in a complex society. It also requires reconciling their differing expectations, as one role may call for deference while at the same time another calls for assertiveness. The more roles being performed, of course, the more likely the actor will lose track of the expectations

N The nature of role expectations -- their degree of generality or specificity, scope or extensiveness, clarity or uncertainty, degree of consensus, and relation to formal or informal social positions -- can make it easier or harder to be successful in a role.

There are a couple of types of unclarity which can be identified. The first is uncertainty and vagueness of expectations, a common problem in complex societies. With only peripheral contact between occupants of interacting roles there is not always an opportunity for adequate communication. Furthermore, rapidly changing cultural norms may invalidate old norms on a daily basis. Second, there is often a lack of agreement among occupants of complementary roles. Lile Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf, many roles depend totally on another's performance. If Red interacts with a New Age wolf who rejects the history of violence and deception, she must create some new kind of crisis. It is easier to develop skill at finding reliable wolves who will play the old familiar game.

O. Roles exhibit a greater or lesser degree of fit with the self.

Sarbin and Allen refer to this issue as self-role congruence; to the degree that a role is congruent, the individual is likely to feel comfortable with its demands. Role theory helps to explain the distress felt by an individual who is successful at an incongruent role, and who feels invalidated by the image projected when performing that role. For example, one student sub-population which may become involved in inappropriate use of alcohol includes adolescents who are leaving homes with strict and inflexible moral codes. For these students the freedom of the college campus may give them the first opportunity to explore antisocial and self-destructive sides of themselves -- aspects of the self which they may have noticed for years.

P. Role flexibility makes one better equipped for a variety of social situations.

Flexibility involves several factors. First, the individual must have competence in a variety of roles. Depending on role demands, specialized physical and cognitive skills may be required, and some roles are more difficult to enact than are others. Generally, the more difficult it is to enact a role the more it is valued, and individuals who have access only to low-status roles suffer a loss of confidence.

Second, he or she must be able to assess the situation as to its role demands. Perspective-taking is the most important cognitive skill for this ability; the ability to see a situation from others' point of view as well as one's own is an advanced ability which depends on the ability to construct an abstract image of the other's assumptions and thoughts. With specific experience in a general kind of situation such as dating, of course, most individuals become more competent at assessing the unique characteristics of a particular situation.

Third, the individual must be able to change role performances as it becomes necessary. The previously mentioned adolescent overconcern with self-consistency often conflicts with this need; in an effort to maintain a particular self-image, a young person may obstinately refuse to

adapt to role demands. More often, though, problems in this arena arise from a limited ability to see one's one role performance as others see it.

Strain Theory

Q. A condition of role conflict, resulting from either conflicting expectations for a single role or contradictory expectations in interacting roles, can lead to a state of cognitive strain.

Referring to Sarbin's 1962 and 1964 articles as well as to the seminal Goode (1960) article which inspired them, Sarbin and Allen describe 5 modes of adaptive response which are possible once cognitive strain presents itself. Saying that they are adaptive, of course, does not imply that they are totally adaptive or that they are without their problems.

First, the individual may perform instrumental acts. Actions falling under this category are ones which genuinely change the situation or improve one's performance relative to the situation. Taking music lessons would be an instrumental act if one were rejected for a spot in a newly forming band, while it might not be useful at all if one's role failure had to do with grades. Some kinds of drug use fall under this category, when the drug effects have a direct effect on role performance; use of stimulants for studying would be one such use.

Second, the individual may attempt attention deployment. This strategy, one which Freud and generations which followed him refer to as "denial," involves shifting attention to things which are more pleasant to think about. Taking music lessons would serve this purpose quite well if one's grades were bad.

Third, the individual may change his or her beliefs. A variety of changes is possible in any given situation. If the strain results from poor grades, one could decide that good grades are not desirable; this "sour grapes" strategy is well-known. One might also decide that grades don't matter until the Junior year, that one's current grades are the result of unique circumstances and next semester will be better, etc.

Fourth, the individual may use tranquilizers and releasers. While this category obviously includes chemical use it is not limited to such approaches. Meditation, vigorous physical exercise, and music listening are all common activities which serve to improve mood state. Some people resort to extreme activities such as sky-diving, while others use various kinds of drug; while the consequences are different, the function seems to be the same so long as the drug use permits adequate performance.

Finally, there may be no adaptation or an unsuccessful adaptation; Sarbin sometimes referred to this option as "leaving the field". The student who finds school a source of strain may, and frequently does, drop out. Drug use can serve this function as well, allowing one to drop out mentally even though still present physically.

The negotiation of social roles.

Beginning with the writings of Mead and continuing through recent work on symbolic interaction and role theory, a number of authors have acknowledged the importance of a concept of role negotiation; it is generally acknowledged to be an essential component of role-based interaction. Attempts to be operationalize this concept seem to be limited to Blumstein's (1975) experimental work with college students' self-presentations when attempting to get a date. In this study subjects vigorously asserted their own perceptions of self and attacked the prospective partner when she (all the subjects were male, research assistants female) demanded change in a central aspect of self. In the theoretical realm, Hardy & Hardy (1988b) explored some implications of the role negotiation concept according to assumptions of social exchange theory, positing that individuals would be motivated to gain the maximum profit from their interactions. As will be seen in the next section, neither of these approaches matches the complexity of an approach based on the extensive conflict management literature.

Conflict

Several generations of sociologists have agreed on the basic assumption that conflict at every level of human interaction -- interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup, and societal -- is a valuable and necessary component of social relationships. Conflict processes have been studied over the years by sociologists (Collins, 1975) and social psychologists (Deutsch, 1973; Rubin & Brown, 1975), and the literature is in agreement on many characteristics of conflict behavior. These will form the next set of assumptions.

R. Conflict is an essential part of human relationships, and problems arise not from conflict itself but from ways in which conflict is managed.

The positive effects of conflict can be summarized as contributions to the adaptability of social organizations. If conflict is avoided or repressed in an organization (which may be as small as a two-person interaction) change is difficult because change nearly always involves a conflict between new ways and old ways of doing things. In the case or role conflicts, new role behavior is a challenge to accepted ways of being perceived; the change may be as simple as getting a new hair style which threatens the old image, or it may be as complex as getting married or adopting a new religion which radically changes one's lifestyle. Conflict itself is often blamed for problems in social groupings, but the conflict is usually adaptive -- it serves the purposes of the organization IF it is handled properly.

S. The constructive management of conflict has several consistent features and has immediate benefits to a relationship or group.

Deutsch (1969) differentiated between constructive and destructive conflict processes, and a similar classification was used by Rubin & Brown (1975). These sources identify several characteristics of constructive processes. First, they suggest that the resolution of conflicts which are constructively handled generally leads to a feeling of satisfaction for as many participants as possible. Second, they predict that constructive processes will lead to greater understanding and intimacy between or among the participants. Third, they anticipate reduced stress because the constructive process not only achieves a temporary cease-fire but also deals with underlying conflict.

In analyzing the characteristics of such processes they define them as mutual problem-solving and compare them with what takes place in creative thinking by artists and ground-breaking scientists. The thought processes in all of these situations are flexible and often defy conventional logic. Such thinking requires maximum availability of higher-order thinking, and the environment which fosters this kind of thinking is one free of direct and indirect threat (not the kind if environment usually associated with conflict).

T. The destructive management of conflict has consistent features and is generally characterized by expansion of the conflict arena and escalation of tactics.

Deutsch (1969, p. 15) states that it is "easier to move in the direction from cooperation to competition than from competition to cooperation." Relating this statement to his assumption that individuals in conflict tend to be "rigidly self-consistent" (p. 12), he describes several characteristics which he assigns to the competitive process. First, communication is unreliable and impoverished; competitors do not display their normal ability to express thoughts precisely and to appreciate subtleties in the opponent's expressions. Second, competitors tend to believe that a win is only possible by force, deception, or cleverness; they trust neither in the good will of the other side nor in the potential for a lucky break. Third, competitors become increasingly committed to their strategies and positions, believing despite contrary evidence that they are guaranteed to win if they just persist. Fourth, competitors demonstrate increasing sensitivity to differences, minimizing similarities; stereotyping of the opponent is common, and misjudgment and misperception help to support a view of the other as almost non-human while self- motivation is seen as benevolent.

Conflict Management

U. The use of destructive or constructive strategies in conflict is related to cognitive developmental levels; behavior takes on the characteristics of lower levels under the influence of stress.

The table below shows the findings from Selman's & Demorest (1984) research on child and adolescent management of their interpersonal conflicts. He found that maturity led to changes in several factors. The changes can be summarized as moving toward (1) a higher awareness of the opposing viewpoint, and (2) a conceptualization of the conflict as not strictly a win-lose battle but as a complex problem which will leave each participant with some gains and some losses.

Sillars (1982) conducted a different kind of study of conflict processes, finding as have others that conflict management could be more or less constructive. He found clear evidence that the level of management changed with the degree of stress reported by the conflict participants. This finding relates, then, to the next assumption:

V. Conflict behavior varies with the situation; the conditions which tend to support productive conflict management can be identified.

Deutsch (1969) lists the following characteristics of an environment which supports constructive conflict management. First, the prior relationship of the parties: when there is shared experience and a basic level of trust and communication there is greater likelihood of a constructive process. Second, the nature of the conflict: some issues seem to be easier to resolve. Generally speaking, the more all-inclusive and impactful the issue the less likely is a constructive approach. Third, the characteristics of the parties: such factors as developmental level, self-efficacy, and sobriety enter into conflict processes. Fourth, estimations of success: participants who feel they stand a chance of getting their goals met are more likely to behave constructively than are those who expect failure. And finally, third parties: the presence of an audience (cf. role theory above) leads to higher-level management strategies.

Conflict management in Social Role Negotiation.

Applying the above research findings and theories to the negotiation of roles under circumstances of role conflict -- often involving ambiguous roles as well -- what are the implications? For instance, what do low-level conflict strategies look like in this kind of interpersonal setting?

Selman's low level strategies involve, at the bottom, violence and flight; at the next level, threat and bribery; and at the next level, manipulation and misrepresentation. Each of these strategies can be implemented through drug use. Specifically, when looking at alcohol and other drug use, this model proposes that the use of substances has not only pharmaceutical effects on behavior but also symbolic value within relationships. A clear description of the symbolic as well as the pharmaceutical effects must wait until the next assumptions are clarified.

Chemicals and Human Behavior

In this section the current state of knowledge about drug effects will be summarized and related to behavior in general, but more specifically to behavior in a context of social role negotiation. Generally speaking, it can be first assumed that:

W. Drug effects represent a complex interaction of physical and mental processes; a user may, under some circumstances, get a desired reaction even in the absence of any chemical action.

The past ten or twenty years have seen a rapid increase in the level of objective and accurate, as opposed to subjective and idiosyncratic, knowledge about drug actions. One area of investigation concerns the ways in which psychological variables generally known as set and setting influence the individual's response to a substance. The term, "set" refers to the

predisposition to enjoy an experience or to find it uncomfortable; "setting" refers to environmental effects, with many people reporting a greater drug effect under special circumstance. Expectancy Theory (Goldman, Brown, & Christiansen, 1987), one of the theories featured in Blane and Leonard's review mentioned above, examines the effects of set. Goldman, et al. report research demonstrating that differing expectations may exist for the same drug, and that people tend to get the effects they expected. Placebo studies as well have shown that extremely strong reactions may be elicited when no active drug is involved. It seems that drug use, then, may serve in some cases more or less as a "releaser" to permit desired behavior, even though the behavior is attributed to the drug.

There has been substantial recent research on the physical component of drugs as well, particularly on the actions of neurotransmitter substances, including hormones, in neural transmission[5]. An accurate prediction of a drug reaction requires complete knowledge of the individual's lifestyle including diet. The conditions under which the drug enters the body alter its effects, as do the performance of the circulatory system, digestive system, and excretory system. Use of a drug in most cases leads to the body's development of tolerance for that drug, further modifying its actions; for instance, habitual alcohol users require more alcohol to get drunk. Once habituated to even sporadic use of a drug the body demonstrates a withdrawal reaction to that drug, with the reaction varying with the substance; in some cases such as alcohol, the withdrawal may be fatal. Withdrawal reactions may be delayed in the case of drugs which remain stored in the body for up to two months after they were last used. Without an understanding of the complexity of these processes, in addition to the complexity of social and psychological influences, it is difficult to understand drug problems.

This seems to be the appropriate place to discuss the Health Belief Model (Rosenstock, 1974), which assumes that people's use of drugs varies with the extent to which they believe that negative consequences will result. This model accurately describes another aspect of drug use, in that expectations of use without consequences do not alter the drug experience. Negative consequences ensue despite some individuals' beliefs either that they are immune to addiction or that drug problems are exaggerated.

Differential effects of drugs

With this introduction, it can be said that:

X People use different drugs for specific effects; these effects serve particular functions when role strain is experienced.

Most users have one or more favorite substances whose effects they prefer. These effects fall into the categories of central nervous system depression, central nervous system stimulation, opiate-style suppression of pain signals, and generalized confusion, as well as combinations of these characteristics. Spotts and Shontz (1980) propose a life-style theory which explains some relationships between personality type and typical drug choices, and their theory has clinical support. Even within drug classes some drugs are preferred to others; depending on whether or not an effect is rapid or slow, short-acting or extended, some drugs lend themselves more to abuse than do others.

Several existing theories address the specific effects a drug might have and the purposes those effects might have. Stress Response Dampening (Sher, 1987), featured by Blane and Leonard, is a view of alcohol use which assumes that alcohol serves to mediate stress. This approach is quite appropriate as one way of viewing alcohol and other central nervous system depressants; it does not seem to relate to some other drug classes, though. Stimulants, for example, can increase an existing level of agitation and lead to a state of paranoia. The Self-Awareness Model (Hull, 1987) also is designed specifically for alcohol. This model partially

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5 Cohen's The Chemical Brain, already somewhat dated, is a concise summary of what was known just a few years ago.

attributes alcohol's appeal to its ability to reduce the self-monitoring component of thought, thereby reducing inhibitions and reducing the impact of negative self-evaluation. Furthermore, the model describes the ways in which alcohol can distort thinking and alter judgment.

These theories are representative of several which describe the four most frequently discussed alternatives which Sarbin identified for times when the individual is confronted with role strain:

- Use of tranquilizers and releasers -- relieving stress
- Attention deployment -- distracting attention from failure
- Leaving the field -- giving up on success in conventional terms
- Changing beliefs -- altering thinking so that failure looks like success

There has not been as much theoretical attention given to the other alternative,

- Instrumental acts. In many cases drugs actually can modify the actor's performance in a positive direction, at least for a short time. By becoming less reactive to audience effects, the drinker may become more glib and more self-assured. This process of "becoming one's ideal self" through drug use is often mentioned in fiction and personal accounts, although it is not so often addressed in theories. Stimulants, in particular, operate in this way much of the time.

The chemical effect of a drug may also reduce performance in some way. Depressant drugs cloud brain functioning; stimulants reduce tolerance for frustration. Even when the effect seems negative, it can perform a function for the negotiation process. Generally, the function is to reduce the level of negotiation, to move it lower on the scale. For the individual who is most comfortable at lower levels, this can be a relief.

The drug-use functions mentioned so far have related somehow to the effects, whether psychologically or physically caused, of drug use. Another set of functions exists, however:

Y. Drugs are used not only for their direct effects but also for their symbolic value.

It is in the area of drugs' symbolic value, so closely related to the core assumption that all behavior has meaning, that this Social Role Negotiation Model may offer some new insights into drug use. Even in this sphere, however, significant work has been done; what will be accomplished here is not so much to generate new ideas as to tie old ones together. In each of the following ways, this model sees drug use as involved symbolically in the role negotiation process:

Punishment of opponents.

Selman's work described above, described some kinds of low-level negotiating behavior which attempted to influence outcomes by punishing the opponent, either physically or verbally. Drug use is such a powerful symbol that it can be used effectively to punish either individuals who have taken strong anti-use positions or the entire society which communicates disapproval of certain kinds of use. For the individual who comes from an abstinence-oriented background, either family, church, or both, or who lives in a substance-free dorm, this potential is especially great. The user does not need to appear in public under the influence of drugs or to use in front of others. Merely having the alcohol or other drugs found in his or her car, room, or luggage is guaranteed to bring on suffering in the person who finds it. This person will then wonder, "How did I fail him (her)? Should I be more understanding? In the negotiation process, the user has played a powerful card. Of course, the same exchange may happen with an entire community's response if a significant number of individuals violate abstinence norms.

Abandoning the contest

Selman suggests that low-level strategies are typically either "win" strategies or "lose" strategies, depending on the individual's history which leads to an expectation of success or failure. Drug use not only can be used to win, it also can be used to guarantee a loss. Passing out before the end of the party eliminates the possibility of an embarrassing scene as one's date

struggles over whether or not to leave with a new-found friend; it signals that they are free to pair up without a struggle. Similarly, blowing up and leaving in the middle of an argument leaves the field open for the opponent to go ahead with what he or she wanted to do. In such cases, the drug serves to validate the losing behavior and make it more convincing.

Deviant identity formation

In this case, the symbolic value of use is that it validates self-labeling as a juicer, freak, head, alkie, doper, or whatever other label is available. In the film, "The Breakfast Club," the characters can be seen bolstering their self-perceptions through use of a variety of props. Since all use of any substance by individuals under the age of 21 is illegal, even the use of alcohol implies criminal activity. For users of illegal street drugs the "heaviness" of the drug is related not so much to the pharmacological effects as to the distance one must travel from the "straight and narrow" to acquire the drug. Kandel and Logan's (1984) observation that drug use follows a predictable sequence has its parallels throughout the social deviance literature (e.g. Bell, 1976); in every deviant culture there is a sequence of steps one goes through to move from novice to full "journeyman" owner of the deviant identity.

The adoption of a deviant identity is frequently an effective solution for the individual whose pursuit of success in conventional roles has produced strain. First of all, most deviant roles are easier to access than are their conventional alternatives. There are few skills required, and rather than excluding people most deviant cultures tend to encourage new members. Second, deviant roles generally offer opportunities for success and recognition; drinking games reward people who otherwise never get noticed. Third, deviant roles may offer escape from the ambiguities of daily role negotiation at home, at school, and in the community. Wearing a purple Mohawk or a "Party Naked" sweatshirt sends such a powerful antiestablishment message that few normal expectations will be applied to their wearers. And finally, a deviant role can guarantee the kind of rejection which will validate the self-perception of a person who has never been accepted. Especially in a new situation where others do not yet know that people back home don't like Jodie, she can arrange to get a familiar reaction by finding a behavior pattern which will frighten them.

Group membership

Of course, using alcohol and other drugs is not always seen as deviant. In such cases membership in a group may be cemented through symbolic actions which demonstrate shared values and traditions. When joining a group of drinkers, it is antisocial to refuse a drink. In a group of heavy drinkers, it is antisocial to assert one's right to remain relatively sober. When one is offered an expensive gift of some exotic substance, it is only common courtesy to accept it and express joy in taking it.

Symbols play a variety of roles in group identities. As *agents for inclusion*, they serve as "gate passes" which allow outsiders to first gain access and they serve to some extent to help members to recognize each other. A quick look around the room tells the party arrival who the beer drinkers are, and guests without drinks are immediately suspected of being a negative influence. As *bearers of traditions* they serve as reminders of historical events, geographical roots, group aspirations, and idealized personal characteristics. Marijuana, for example, symbolized the Hippie belief in openness, childish delight, oneness with nature, and release from the constraints of time and space. And as *agents of exclusion*, they can serve to drive away people who are threatened by the group's lifestyle. The conspicuously brandished beer bottle not only welcomes the fellow beer drinker, it also warns off the person who would be offended by drunken behavior.

External attribution of success and failure

Blane & Leonard's selected theories included one particularly intriguing one which seems applicable to higher education -- Self-Handicapping Theory (Berglas, 1987). According to this

theory, alcohol use is functional in that it provides the achievement-oriented individual with an explanation in case of failure. The student who parties all weekend before the big test can believe, "I could have aced it if I hadn't been hung over." The would-be lover can believe, "I would have been irresistible if I hadn't passed out." Of course, the concept applies as well to other substances in that the use of something -- anything at all -- offers the potential to later blame errors in judgment or performance on the drug rather than on the self.

But despite the probability that much substance use is, as Alexander says, somehow adaptive in its intent:

> *Z. Heavy or continuous use of drugs in most cases leads to psychological and / or physical dependence, and different drugs lead to different kinds of problematic use or addiction.*

In addition to the symbolic functions described above, which may be individuals' covert goals in substance use, it is also important to acknowledge that symbolic effects are not always positive. While it may be helpful to attribute failure to an external cause, consistent use may also lead to a pattern of attributing success to the external cause. This is a basis for a psychological dependency such that the individual doesn't believe he or she can function without chemical help.

Furthermore, the perception of inability may in fact be true. The use of drugs for coping can result in diminished use of positive coping alternatives and ultimately in the loss of such resources as cognitive flexibility and interpersonal skills. Theories such as van Dyk's (1980) multidimensional model and Shipley's (1987) Opponent Process Theory attempt to explain the ways in which high-risk use leads to dependence and other problems. This phase of the process is beyond the scope of this theory, although its existence is acknowledged.

An Integrated Social Role Negotiation Model

The assumptions above can be combined into a fairly simple statement of a social role negotiation model:

The social context

People desire success in their interactions with each other and with their reference groups. This success requires somehow coordinating their behavior so that their own expectations and the expectations of their "audience" are met. When this coordination fails, negative consequences are common. To avoid these negative consequences some kind of negotiation process is needed to resolve the conflict.

Conflict processes

Conflicts of all kinds share the characteristic that they must be resolved or they are likely to escalate in their intensity. The outcome depends on how they are handled. With cognitive and personality development come the potential for high-level, cooperative problem-solving which allows all participants some measure of success. More primitive approaches to conflict result in clear wins and losses, often leading to retaliation and escalation. People who generally use low-level approaches often exhibit a strong expectation of failure or, alternatively, a willingness to take any necessary measures to win.

Individuals who perceive a current or future conflict can alter the course of that conflict by the ways in which they define the conflict; the ways in which they represent themselves to their opponents and the efforts they make to understand their opponents' viewpoints; the settings in which they address their differences; and they ways in which they identify, assess, and choose among their options for resolving the conflict.

Adaptive functions of chemical use

Chemicals serve a variety of adaptive functions in people's lives, including both positive and negative functions. Some of the more positive functions might include the facilitation of social interaction by reducing anxiety or increasing intensity, and the reduction of stresses resulting from social change and possible or real failures. Nearly all the positive functions tend to erode with continued use because of physical adaptation to the chemical, and the negative functions begin to dominate the user's life. Some frequently-observed negative adaptive functions include serving as a bargaining chip to punish the opponent in a negotiation; providing an external cause on which to blame social and other failures; offering clear symbols which define the self as similar to, or different from, other individuals based on their patterns of use; and qualifying the self for membership in a user's subculture (an extreme version of the above).

Social skills and attitudes

Individuals who possess a wide range of social role negotiation skills and who have a greater acceptance of the situational variability of their behavior should have greater role success and should have fewer needs for the positive and negative adaptive functions of substances. Those who are less socially adept, or whose skills do not transfer readily to the setting in which they find themselves, may be especially vulnerable to use of drugs for their adaptive functions during periods of rapid social role change.

Maladaptive effects of chemical use

In time, continuous use of chemicals as a means of coping or avoiding a coping response will lead to predictable maladaptive effects.. The most often-mentioned of these effects is physical dependence. Additionally, chronic users are likely to suffer from a reduced feeling of self-efficacy; a self-defeating pattern of externalization when negative events occur; reduced cognitive functioning; shame; and the dangers of deviant identities and lifestyles.

Need for a contextual approach to prevention

In the end, prevention efforts must be contextual to reduce the adaptive advantage of substance use over other strategies. The most basic contextual effort must be the creation or maintenance of a society or social group in which all people are valued for whoever they are or choose to be, rather than feeling a need to make role changes which are not desired.

IV. THF CHALLENGE OF CAMPUS ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUG ABUSE PREVENTION DEFINED IN SOCIAL ROLE NEGOTIATION TERMS

Having now set the stage for viewing the college or university campus within a social role negotiation framework, the next step is to attempt a cataloging of the aspects of campus life which lend themselves to such an analysis. This section of the paper will progress from global descriptions to several focused examinations of especially significant elements.

College as a special experience developmentally

Viewing the college campus in developmental terms seems simple if the campus is seen as populated by 17-23-year-olds who are in a transition from high school to entrance in the job market. In this idealized image of the campus, arriving students are all unmarried; they are accustomed to living at home with their parents and therefore expect little in terms of freedom and privilege; and their lives will revolve around the campus. This is not the case now, if indeed it ever was. But some things which have always been true of higher education may be more true now than ever.

First, people come to colleges and universities for the purpose of making changes in their lives. No one intends to leave the campus exactly the same as he or she came onto it; the school is expected to help development take place, and therefore both the nature of those expectations and the realistic basis for those expectations deserve examination. And second, the nature of the institution of higher education is that it promotes and facilitates change through, at least in part, a process of evaluation. People know how they stand on a campus in a way they may never have known in other parts of their lives. Not only do they receive grades, so they can compare their performances with others (provided the others are honest), students are able to hear in each other's questions and in the professors' responses some differences in understanding and recall. The campus social sphere is often a hotbed of social comparisons on the basis of money, looks, and connections.

Age itself is not a very useful way to predict developmental status. Fischer (1980), as noted above, developed his theory in part to explain the considerable variation which exists among age-mates on any given skill. He also was challenged by the fact that individuals who display a high level of skill in one area may be far lower in another. B.F. Skinner is reputed to have said that he rejected developmental approaches because "age isn't a very powerful variable in analyzing human behavior." He, or whoever actually said this, was overlooking the fact that age and development are only loosely related. This point is being made to emphasize that knowing a student's age is not very helpful in saying anything about the student; far more information is needed to say what developmental issues are uppermost in the student's life and what skills are available for dealing with those issues.

One of the additional bits of information needed is the gender of the student. Males and females experience many things differently, and developmental researchers continually struggle to separate out the biological source of those differences from the environmental sources. Typically, women reach physical, cognitive, and emotional maturity first; the lower end of the developmental spectrum on a campus are likely to be the younger males. Most of the literature on adult development has been gathered from male subjects, which makes it hard to make clear statements about men and women in mid-life; some authors suggest that a mid-life theme switch is common, with women assuming a more goal-oriented lifestyle at the same time men are assuming a more relationship-oriented way of living. In looking at the campus, then, we can assume different agendas and different degrees of readiness depending on gender.

It was mentioned above that in the now-outmoded image of the campus as belonging only to the young, it was assumed that all students were single. This image began to erode in the 1970's; it was discovered that many unmarried students were nevertheless living together in sexual relationships. Now, of course, the married student is more common than before (Professors report having both parent and child in the same course). Family responsibilities also go beyond marriage. As access to education improves more single parents find ways to get back into school, and increasing numbers of mid-life adults find themselves with responsibility for aging parents. The campus can no longer assume that the student's attention is all focused on school, and the student's personal involvement with themes of sexuality, aging, parenthood, and loss cannot be anticipated.

Even while no predictions can be made, it is necessary to recognize that developmental crises are occurring in students' lives. In the old days the crisis was the student's departure from the parental home, and this still occurs for many students. By and large, the group in freshman dormitories demonstrates this pattern. But many students are also dealing with issues as varied as:

- a son's or daughter's wedding
- birth of a grandchild
- testing positive for HIV
- election to public office
- puberty
- parents' divorce
- son's or daughter's incarceration
- mother's or father's remarriage

Viewed in social role negotiation terms, all these are crises which somehow involve a renegotiation of people's roles with each other. Added to the ever-present theme of the campus as a place where people are trying to change, this list suggests that there are large numbers of students who are poised on the brink of a new phase in their lives -- or newly plunged into one. These are people who need skills for managing social role negotiations; without those skills, they are vulnerable to the appeal of substances which promise to make things easier and take away the pain of failure.

Multiple and conflicting roles of the college student

Social role negotiation is demanded not only by change, of course, but also by situations in which one either (a) occupies roles which conflict with each other, or (b) occupies a role which is the subject of disagreement between self and others. The second of these, while pervasive, is not something which is unique to higher education. From birth we are all confronted with others whose interpretations of our roles are different from our own, and this reality doesn't change with becoming a student. Probably the closest the college and university experience comes to offering a genuinely new experience of this kind is the experience of having roommates. Most adults who occupied shared housing during their student years have stories of at least one difficult roommate relationship.

More special for the student, though, is the complicated network of roles with conflicting expectations. The following roles, some positive and some deviant, may all be available to a single person at one time and some students may attempt to simultaneously perform them all. Each has somewhat different role demands. Success in all of them at once requires not only a wide range of skills but a superb ability to manage the role conflicts which result.

- son or daughter
- young professional
- party animal
- sex object

- scholar
- spiritual seeker
- parent
- teacher
- performer
- consumer
- fraternity-sorority member
- athlete

Student athletes have begun to get more attention recently for the high degree of discrepancy among their roles. While their coaches count only baskets or touchdowns, their professors are expecting assignments to be completed and their wives and children are expecting an active, involved member of the family.

Another group receiving more recognition is traditional age freshmen. The new student leaving home for the first time has the sole responsibility to educate his or her parents about the expectations of campus life, and may be torn between loyalty to the family and the desire to achieve social and academic success in what is being represented as the most important peer group he or she will ever enter.

Regardless of the specific group being studied, one finds that student status brings with it some new opportunities for deviant roles as well as demands for the performance of acceptable roles. To the extent that a student begins to perform a deviant role such as that role performance, too, contributes to the number of roles and to the degree of conflict among them.

Sources of role strain

Each of the roles listed above has its own specific role-related sources of strain. The role of consumer is one at which few people feel competent; immediately after buying textbooks at one store the student is likely to find that some of them could have been bought for less somewhere else. Parenthood is a demanding role in which successful role enactment is hard to evaluate; children at every age (inducing adult children) present their parents with a mixture of positive behavior which the parent would like to take personal credit for and negative behavior for which the parent may feel somehow responsible. Even the party animal faces role strain; being misperceived as a sincere, hard-working student could result in a crisis of identity for a serious beach bum or snow bunny. There is not a role in existence which can be enacted in such a way that the performer is free of concern about the way he or she is being evaluated.

Furthermore, the campus is a place where evaluation is the name of the game. Grades, election to honorary societies, participation in limited-access seminars, reference letters from professors and colleagues, all these trappings of student life consist largely of getting a kind of explicit feedback which is often not a part of other role settings. It takes an extremely confident individual to ignore the constant feedback and creatively explore the options for role enactment on the campus. Decision-making itself is stressful; choosing to take a difficult course may lead to a low grade, joining an honorary group may look good c the resume but may add demands to an already full schedule, and spending time with people who share interests and lifestyles can exclude one from groups who could be of more help professionally.

But on top of these stresses some circumstances can also increase role strain. One of these circumstances is rapid change in roles; even a change in the roles of one relationship can be hard to manage if it happens abruptly. People say such things as, "It'll take me a while to get used to your new appearance," or "Give me some time, I'm not yet used to calling you Spike." Multiple rapid changes require many people to change at once, and even the individual who is trying to impel the changes forward may slip back into some of the old role behaviors -- especially if not everyone has accepted the new ones.

Families and friends have a particularly hard time with some of the kinds of changes students are likely to make within the context of the campus environment. For the single student returning home only at holiday times it may be possible to avoid dealing with role changes; either

side can choose to act as if there is no conflict. For the commuter student, however, the constant shuttling back and forth between different sets of values and different behavioral expectations can create a kind of schizophrenic life.

Resources and coping mechanisms

Strain theories agree that individuals' resources and coping mechanisms are the first line of defense when successful role performance is difficult to achieve. The college student is generally assumed to be a resourceful individual, one who is capable and has a well-developed repertoire of coping mechanisms. But this assumption is flawed in that it does not recognize how much people's abilities vary with the situation. Several kinds of circumstance may limit or even disable a student's ways of coping with role strain, but the most relevant circumstance for the present discussion is the rapid change in the student's life.

Resources which were once available to a student may cease to be available for many reasons. For some students, newly divorced housewives for example, the decision to go to school coincides with a new life of poverty -- a kind of lifestyle to which they have not been accustomed. Having been able to call for professional help with household emergencies, these students may now have to get help from friends and relatives or learn to do their own plumbing repairs. Other students experience less change in economic level but instead relocate into new communities where they do not know anyone except their classmates. Accustomed to having close friends, they may have no one to talk with about personal problems. Even students who remain in their familiar community surroundings can experience disruption as the socioeconomic differences between their "new lives" and their "old lives" cut them off from feeling the support of friends, spiritual advisors, or relatives. This kind of change is progressive; a student may feel more supported during his or her first few semesters, and then experience a sudden change in relationships with certain old friends or family members.

Not only may resources change during the rapid transitions of student life, coping mechanisms can become unavailable as well. Especially for the student who is experiencing a major change in lifestyle, new strategies may have to be developed to replace strategies which now seem inappropriate or inaccessible. The graduate student who partied every night as an undergraduate now finds it necessary to study constantly. The freshman who combined academics with sports in high school isn't competitive in college-level athletics. The former calf roper or log roller finds that his new friends don't appreciate his obsession with such "unprofessional" pursuits. Even such basic tools as language can become inaccessible, as expressions and vocabulary which fit in the old neighborhood are misunderstood or are considered to be in poor taste. Yes, the student is a capable individual who is resourceful; but it can take a while for him or her to develop alternative ways of handling stresses which would have been easily manageable under other circumstances.

The context of student drinking & other drug use

Given the combination of strain and reduced coping capability, it is easy to imagine that a student may make experimental use of chemical means of coping even if they never had any appeal before. And the environment in higher education is one which makes such experimentation likely.

First of all, the traditional age college student inherits a hundreds-of-years-old tradition of excessive drinking. He or she confronts this tradition in drama and literature courses, where characters in plays, stories and novels show that what students do is to get drunk. History, philosophy, and religion courses contribute images of university life as a setting in which some of the world's finest thinkers acted self-destructively. Closer to home, parents and family friends may communicate an expectation that the young student will struggle with the "developmental task" of gaining control over reckless drinking, and other advisors will more clearly express their belief

that the real goal of college is to provide a place to practice getting drunk. Neighbors, teachers, uncles and aunts prepare the high school student for college with stories of their own drunken exploits as students; they may act envious of the wonderful time the student will have at the endless party which is college.

The alcohol and other drug industries, of course, contribute their own efforts to propagating this image of college life. Even before arriving on campus most students have been exposed to commercials which portray spring break as an endless drunken party. Once on campus the student is targeted for advertising through community and school newspapers, posters, brewery-sponsored events, and sponsorship of athletic teams. Drinking establishments tend to cluster as closely around a campus as local law permits; in most college neighborhoods, bars outnumber bookstores. And free food at happy hours, absurdly cheap drink specials, and entertainment help to draw even the reluctant student into the bar. Other drug sales as well may concentrate around the campus, either through businesses which act as fronts for drug sales or through an informal sales force of students.

The institution itself and the community around the campus generally demonstrate mixed responses to the image of the drunk or stoned student. For some non-students the student is living out the fantasy life they wish they could attain; for others the student represents the worst of human potential for evil. These competing groups support, alternately, irresponsible partying of the "animal house" kind and abstinence. Of course, many people's attitudes would fall between these extremes. Where strong feelings do not arise because of beliefs, responses are often determined by the extent to which people feel the impact of student substance abuse. Property damage, poor academic performance, legal liability, and negative image for the school tend to motivate restrictive responses, and profits tend to motivate encouragement of drug use. Probably the greatest need in organizing prevention efforts is the need to make more administrators, staff, and faculty aware of the negative impact of alcohol and other drug use; with greater awareness, they can be expected to respond in a helpful way.

V. APPLYING A SOCIAL ROLE NEGOTIATION MODEL ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUS: EXTENSIONS OF THE MODEL

In this section a few of the many possible connections between the model and possible applications will be treated in some depth. It cannot be stated often enough that the goal of this model is to generate thinking which should lead to ideas which are truly novel. The reader should not assume that that next step of the work is complete; in fact, it is just beginning. Any approaches developed within such a framework must face the consequences of believing that people all inhabit their own realities. One consequence is a conclusion that one cannot approach any group of people assuming that their beliefs and attitudes can be predicted; some of the time such a prediction will work for some of the people, but the exceptions are often the highest-risk individuals. Another consequence is an awareness that, because of peoples different interpretations of experience, some efforts designed to reach one group will have a negative effect on another group and some strategies may cancel each others effects. While multiple approaches are called for, they must be carefully coordinated and evaluated as a system.

As an illustration of this truth, the classic supply-side approach to prevention serves as a useful example. Control of the source for substances will be effective with some. They will evaluate the effort and risk required to obtain their substance of choice and will conclude that these factors outweigh the value of the high. But the same control will be inflammatory to another large group and will almost assuredly activate a rebellious response on their part. This rebellion is likely to be acted out in drug-taking, considering the nature of the stimulus; furthermore, the risky behavior required to obtain the substance becomes as much a problem as was the substance itself. Viewed as a system this strategy and its responses appear to have mixed results which lead some observers to doubt the strategy. The strategies which follow, then, cannot be viewed independently from the context in which they would be applied and they should not be attempted without monitoring the actual response.

Make role changes/choices overt

The first, and most fundamental, of these strategies would make the process of role change -- and the college or university's need to help students with role change --more visible. Students come to the campus for the purpose of either changing their performance of current roles or gaining access to other roles. Virtually no student intends to leave school exactly as he or she arrived. Not only the students themselves but also their families and the community expect role change (and fear it, in some cases).

Some faculty and staff members may be threatened by this definition of their jobs, especially if they have always resented the need to deal with the human aspects of higher education. These individuals would rather believe that the college and university operate at the level of pure theory and accumulated facts. But many others in higher education will find this redefinition helpful, and will in fact feel validated. They knew all along that they were agents of role change, but they didn't have a language for what they were doing.

The process of making choices and being intentional about change is one not every student will find familiar. Olivieri and Reiss (1981) found that members of any given family seemed to demonstrate a similar approach to problem-solving, and some of the families they described were ones which essentially denied that choice is possible. Individuals who are accustomed to taking a "things just happen" approach to life may need assistance recognizing that they make choices in their lives. Orientation days or weeks may be an appropriate time to bring out this aspect of the student experience, and the need for this focus is not limited to the traditional-age student.

Returning students have a particular need to realize and confront the likely social consequences of their decisions regarding education.

If the campus is to become a place where exploration of roles is an explicit part of the student experience (and how many parents who fondly remember their own student days are actually responding to this aspect of it?) it makes sense to provide an ongoing forum where students can actually discuss this agenda with experts and with their peers. In many cases this function is performed admirably by chaplains or counselors, and in some settings this work is done in the best possible format -- in groups. But in many other schools there is no place to go with any serious question about life, the universe, and everything.

At the University of Detroit Mercy a pilot program called the Alternatives Project has been under way for two years, funded by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. The Alternatives Project has provided a free, one-credit-hour seminar in which students are given the opportunity to reflect on their decision-making processes and the expectations which guide their decisions. Alcohol and other drug use is one focus in these discussions of decision-making, but the topics range widely into relationships, careers, lifestyles, and feelings about self and others. The key to this program's success has been the seminar leader's ability to make each participant feel welcome to speak (there's a tendency in the first few hours for the most vocal students to occupy center stage). The students' response to this seminar has been overwhelmingly positive, and the Athletic Department has elected to make the seminar a requirement for all student athletes during their first year on campus. Several academic programs are considering similar requirements for their majors.

Not only awareness is needed, however. Decision-making is a complex skill which calls upon high-level cognitive abilities and, as Fischer (1980) points out, people don't operate at their highest levels unless they are familiar with the kind of task they are facing. The campus might provide a seminar or other special kind of activity during the early part of the year (or semester, as many students enter mid-year) in which the skills of decision-making are both taught and practiced. Accepting the possibility that some students may be making decisions in a handicapped manner, of course, could then require the institution to provide extra temporary support in the form of advisors, peer mentors, or other resource persons.

Finally, information is an essential element in decision-making. Academic communities are often accused of becoming isolated in their "ivory towers" and not dealing with the realities of life. This kind of error is less easy to make in the many contemporary institutions which receive a large number of adult students; they will not put up with lies and oversimplifications. But for the younger student or the student who is making a transition into a new social sphere, it is possible for professors and advisors to create a set of expectations which will lead to frustration and maybe failure.

Students entering fields where jobs are scarce should be told this; those who romanticize about marrying while in school should have access to information about that option and its realities. An open discussion of role choices must be conducted in an information-rich environment where students can access the facts and opinions they need to help them evaluate their choices. On a campus which sees this as a relevant challenge everyone must become involved in contributing to the education about life -- not just about subject matter. Faculty and administrators must share the responsibility for knowing about both the world outside the campus and the range of activities available on the campus. But campuses are complex environments and the larger the institution the harder it is to even find out what experts exist. The institution should continually reevaluate its mechanisms for helping people find the information they need.

Reduce forces creating role strain

Having identified role choice as a central element in student life, and acknowledging that conflicts between roles and conflicts between audiences make such choice difficult, the institution might seek ways to reduce such conflicts. Some of the conflicts typical of contemporary higher education are inevitable, while others appear unnecessary and beg to be eliminated. Priority should

be given to the most stressful conflicts, recognizing that the extent to which a conflict is stressful for a student will depend not only on the nature of the conflict itself but also on the student -- his or her readiness for a particular kind of choice-making.

The first role conflict in many cases is likely to be one between the family and the school. Many families of traditional-age students attempt to minimize this kind of conflict by choosing a school which shares their political and/or religious orientation, and others attempt to manage it by keeping their children at home as commuter students. Nevertheless, there always seem to be areas in which the school (either the institution or the student culture) permits or even demands behavior which violates family norms. Many parents express anxiety about this conflict ahead of time, and students as well anticipate changes in the rules which will govern their behavior. One University handles some of these parental concerns by using a skit during an orientation day to stimulate discussion of fears and stereotypes.

Older students as well may experience conflicts between family and school expectations, but with the older student (or the young parent) it is likely to be a conflict over allocation of time and other resources such as money, space for studying, or access to the computer. Frequent family/school days or family newsletters might help, as they do at the elementary or high school level, to make the family feel a part of the student's efforts (this is brought home by frequently heard comments at graduation: "It's so nice to see where all of Dad's time has been spent for the past few years.") With family members and old friends as well, conflicts may not be as simple as time spent; value differences and even speech mannerisms may become fuel for conflict. A few schools offer mediation on campus to help students resolve roommate disputes; this kind of approach could be extended to off-campus relationships as well.

Another area of conflict exists between classroom expectations and other demands on campus. Some schools have found creative solutions to some of these conflicts, for instance providing a class-free hour for campus groups to schedule. Interestingly enough, this is one of the negotiations which has been handled by fairly low-level means in the past and the college classroom has often lost. Campuses with a tradition of Thursday-night partying have found that eventually they stopped scheduling classes on Fridays. Professors also report avoiding Monday exams for the same reason. If the conflicting demands are related to positive and valued efforts, of course, the negotiation should proceed so that both the classroom activity and the extracurricular activity get the time they need.

In the end, some of these classroom/activity conflicts may have to lead to reevaluation of whether or not an activity is consistent with the goals of the institution. Some universities have concluded that football, for instance, did not contribute to the quality of education; others have decided to eliminate such activities as ROTC.

Teach negotiation skills

The next strategy focuses on the mechanics of negotiation, or cooperative decision-making. The basic skills of handling conflicts in a productive manner are skills which are not taught to most people in contemporary U.S. society. When the subject of negotiation does come up, it is often in the context of "how to get the best of your opponent." Our cultural deficiencies in this area are so great that many people do not even believe that constructive handling of conflicts is possible. Therefore the school should ensure that students have not only language and math skills but also negotiation skills.

The techniques of negotiation do not have to be taught in a social role context for them to be useful for this purpose, although that is one of the possibilities. Other possible contexts for teaching negotiation on campus are business courses and seminars on conflict resolution in the workplace; dormitory seminars on handling roommate disputes; sociology courses on conflict resolution at the societal level; and home economics courses on negotiating family disputes. To be useful the courses must teach not only the principles of productive conflict management but also the techniques; practical workshop settings perform better than do classroom lecture settings.

This teaching of negotiation skills can also be extended beyond the classroom or workshop experience. Resident assistants, academic advisors, and counseling center staff can take this approach into their interactions with students. Rather than present a student with only the facts needed for a decision, or addressing a behavior problem as the result of poor judgment, the advisor would reinforce the concept of role choice and can help the student prepare for the negotiations which a different choice might precipitate. Of course, to be effective at this kind of intervention with students the key players on campus should have received some training in a conflict resolution model which they can teach and repeatedly reinforce.

Support positive lifestyles

As students confront the role choices which confront them, they face a variety of information sources of widely differing availability, intensity, and credibility. In the case of lifestyle information credibility is troublesome; for instance, peers know what's acceptable in their culture but know little about the professional community toward which they are headed. Institutional representatives may be expected to know part of the social world beyond higher education, but they may also be assumed to be ignorant of certain subcultures. The spectrum may appear from the students perspective as extending from the highly present, rather intense, and seemingly credible peer network through the moderately present, low-intensity, moderately credible administration to the extremely intense, highly present, but positively incredible beverage advertising industry. The institution can choose to address its presence in students lives, the intensity of its message, or its credibility, but it is hard to improve all three at the same time.

Assuming that obstacles are overcome and that the school is able to gain acceptance as a valid source of lifestyle information, it must then look at what messages are presently being sent and at what kinds of message are desired. In many cases, a serious look at campus traditions shows that heavy drinkers and other druggers enjoy high status. Some school mascots, for instance, are essentially parodies of an inebriated student, and even enforcement of alcohol control laws can backfire; the student who violates campus rules becomes a kind of hero by acting out other students autonomy urges. In many cases the most popular Greek groups are those which most consistently receive censure for their inappropriate behavior. The school may glamorize self-destructive lifestyles by organizing activities such as homecoming celebrations or spring break trips which consistently turn into drunken brawls. Changing this kind of a picture requires not only increasing information about positive role choices, but also disrupting some of the patterns which have tended to glorify negative choices.

Positive role choices are most convincing when delivered as part of a whole wellness package which addresses all aspects of a quality lifestyle such as exercise, nutrition, and spirituality. But the missing ingredient in many campus wellness programs is fun! When an alcohol-free but dull event is compared with a drunk but lively one, it takes an especially committed student to choose the alcohol-free one. At the same time it cannot be assumed that fun is defined in the same terms by all students. At the University of Detroit Mercy a sizeable group of new students spends the first two weeks playing their way around a life-sized game board on campus; not everyone finds the game compelling, but for others this is a pleasant distraction and a safe way to form relationships with others.

For packaging and delivering either messages or alternative activities it is wise to take a look at the kinds of effort which have traditionally succeeded with students. One of the most successful traditions, one which will be used as a model here, is that of the fraternity or sorority. Many of these groups were started not by students but by idealistic graduates who wanted to offer an alternative to the meaningless pursuit of pleasure. How have they survived and even flourished?

The fraternities and sororities have sold not only an activity but an identity; through a combination of lucky self-selection and conscious choice the successful groups have projected an image which appealed to large numbers of people. This has often been a negative, self-destructive image but other times it has been one of achievement, creativity, social competence, and self-

acceptance. At their best the Greek organizations have created a feeling in their members that they were validated for who they were -- they had found a place where they fit.

The Greek groups have also succeeded because outsiders could see a comraderie, a sense of belonging. The social event has been such an important recruiting tool for fraternities and sororities because it is in interaction -- in their ways of spending time with each other -- that these groups have been most compelling. If new members can be recruited only through single representatives sitting at tables in a hallway (as has been tried in some attempts to control fraternal organizations) the groups seek opportunities to show their cohesiveness to the community by having a regular table in the cafeteria, sponsoring social events for the whole campus, or wearing special clothing.

And for all their focus on the present, fraternal organizations have also helped members to organize their future. Fraternities and sororities alike have benefitted from their relationships with their alumni, as members have had opportunities to make strategic contacts with social and professional leaders in the community.

Successful efforts to promote positive lifestyles on campus should look to such traditionally successful programs for clues as to how to attract and hold the attention of students. The elements described above may not be the most important ones in the Greeks success; this is an unsystematic attempt to make sense of this movement. But whether the fraternity, the chess club, or the marching band is selected for a model, any new effort will have to meet students needs and expectations or it will not succeed.

Give permission for role mistakes

As mentioned above, the campus is an environment which revolves around evaluation. This emphasis not only serves as a source of stress, it also encourages maladaptive behavior in that some students will choose the "safe" alternative rather than take a necessary risk. But making a change in this overall pattern would seem to threaten the existence of higher education.

The solution may lie not in a dismantling of the entire system, but rather in a more focused attempt to also communicate an antidote message. The following sample message contains several useful elements, but is probably not all-inclusive. It is also a bit preachy. But it may give a sense of what is possible:

"The most important thing in your college education is that you learn -- learn facts, learn skills, and learn about yourself and the world you live in. If you plan to eventually try out some new behavior -- being a leader, for instance, or performing in public -- this is a safe place to do that. We are all trying to grow here, and we promise not to ridicule your efforts."

As part of a campus environment which gives permission for mistakes, then, one-time errors in judgment related to substances deserve not only the essential response of zero tolerance but also a clear message of forgiveness. Repeated mistakes should lead to attempts at rehabilitation rather than lead to suspension. The campus is a place to learn how to make choices, and people should stay until they get good at it.

There is one more area in which institutions commonly penalize students for mistakes, however, and this is one where change might need to be more drastic. Curricula which require a student to make an early choice of major, and which then leave the student having to sacrifice time and money invested in one major when a change is desired, may make sense from a pedagogical point of view but clearly create decision-making problems. The student who finds out, after a few months or a couple of years on campus, about other more attractive careers is rewarded financially for staying with the less desireable (and possibly less appropriate) choice.

One can only fantasize about what might be possible: Change of major insurance policies? Special rebates for students who trade in a low-mileage transcript on a new program? Lease options which provide unlimited credit hours on a four-year contract? As career advisors predict that the future will see rapid development of new career fields and disappearance of old ones, schools may want to consider a lifetime learning contract with unlimited refills! The rest of the

marketplace has seen a rapid shift toward liberal return policies, even reaching the point where one major department store chain advertises that children's clothes which wear out will be replaced. Can higher education afford to ignore this trend forever?

Encourage honesty and congruence

In a highly evaluative society such as the college campus, some people are challenged to perform at their best; they know that if there are going to be winners and losers, they stand a good chance of being winners. But many others, either because of accurate assessment of their own skill deficits or because of distorted perceptions of their exclusion from the social whirl, conclude that success for them will only come through cheating or misrepresentation. The campus, which often is an impersonal environment where people are often able to "start over" with no one really knowing their social history, is well-designed for these kinds of strategy. Students can sell and buy test papers and term papers; invent families they don't have, job histories which are fiction, skills they don't possess, and successes they have never achieved. The environment rewards these approaches. Yet as long-term strategies they are not very sound, and they often backfire in the short run as well. Substance abuse is one of the results.

A supportive community which is concerned with the genuine welfare of all its members cannot afford to encourage this kind of self-deception and deception of others. Honesty and congruence should be so conspicuously valued on the campus that people lacking other characteristics of success will be honored merely for being authentic. The military academies have found great success with their honor codes but they don't go far enough; they still reward interpersonal deception and posturing. Every campus has honor societies for academic excellence and achievement. How about an honor society for excellence in living?

Provide a forum for discussion and exploration of roles

If the campus is to become a place where exploration of roles is an explicit part of the student experience (and how many parents who fondly remember their own student days are actually responding to this aspect of it?) it makes sense to provide a place where students can actually discuss this agenda with experts and with their peers. In many cases this function is performed admirably by chaplains or counselors, and in some settings this work is done in the best possible format -- in groups. But in many other schools there is no place to go with any serious question about life, the universe, and everything.

At the University of Detroit Mercy a pilot program called the Alternatives Project has been under way for two years, funded by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. The Alternatives Project has provided a free, one-credit-hour seminar in which students are given the opportunity to reflect on their decision-making processes and the expectations which guide their decisions. Alcohol and other drug use is one focus in these discussions of decision-making, but the topics range widely into relationships, careers, lifestyles, and feelings about self and others. The key to this program's success has been the seminar leader's ability to make each participant feel welcome to speak (there's a tendency in the first few hours for the most vocal students to occupy center stage). The students' response to this seminar has been overwhelmingly positive, and the Athletic Department has elected to make the seminar a requirement for all student athletes during their first year on campus. Several academic programs are considering similar requirements for their majors.

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