THE 1st INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

YOUTH CULTURE

Reconstructing Society — Youth as Major Participants

KIYC

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KOREA INSTITUTE FOR YOUTH AND CHILDREN

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Opening Remarks

Yoon-Gu Lee
(President, KIYC)

Dear Vice-Minister of Sports Yong-Kyun Kim, President of Seoul Olympic Sports Promotion Foundation Tae-Kap Moon, Chair of KIYC Moon-Hee Kim; scholars and specialists representing UNESCO and other organizations and many countries, and other celebrities and participants! On behalf of the International Cultural Society of Korea and Korea Institute for Youth and Children, I welcome all of you here and appreciate your interest in youth culture and participation in this symposium. I am glad to make an opening address to this meaningful meeting.

It is a contemporary phenomena that the youth as an age group has become an important interest of national societies and a valuable subject of researches. From the ancient times to the modern times, children had directly become young adults without passing an intermediate period of "the youth". But now the situation is quite different. Even though the body of the teenage boys and girls have grown up like that of adults, they have been treated as children.

It becomes a characteristic of contemporary societies that we have a number of unstable young men, who are until late twenties too immature to act as an responsible social man or too poorly educated to have a job. Anthropological researches indicate that generally average life expectancy has been growing, but only the death rate among the age group between 15 and 24 has been increasing and become worrisome. The mumber of car accident, suicide, and murder has reached near to the three-fourths of the total death of American boys, and has been continualy increased since the 1950s. The youth problem has become one of the prime social problems of contemporary societies including bad health, drug abuse, impregnant of unmarried girls, runaway from school and family, and unemployment of the youth. The developing countries also have similar problems. Korea is no exception, and between 1980 and 1990, the cases of robbery by young men have increased by 50.8% and arson by 81.8%, respectively.

The word youth culture, a compound noun, was introduced to the world in the 1960s, a generation ago. Before, we learned life style in our early age through real life and became adult through a smooth process. But nowadays, it is quite different. The period for education and job training has become longer and more complex than before. Although in the late twentieth century, the youth occupy the center of industrial society, the social structure does not satisfy their basic needs. As a result, the stormy anti-systemic movement of students broke out in the European countries.

In the end of 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the thundering youth power rejected the old generation, traditional values, the structure of industrial society and pursued a new culture. The youth power has become so strong that it participate in the decision making for social development. The general assembly of UNESCO, which was held in 1968, introduced new words such as "conflict and resistance," "counter-culture," "youth culture." In the 1960s, the youth appeared as a new pressure group which was quite different from today's adult groups and independent from traditional family, education, and culture. However, fortunately or not, in the 1970s the stormy tendency began to decline. It could not establish itself in the universities of Europe or North America and could not dispurse its influence throughout the world.

In other words, in the 1960s, the utopian and idealistic dream of the youth grew to be thought as a great mind, and a humanitarian relation between man and man, a harmonious relation between man and nature, peaceful coexistence between national societies. But the worldwide economic crisis of the 1970s gave a fatal impact on the youth culture, acting like cold water on fire. Therefore, the youngsters thought the 1980s as a period of unemployment, anxiety, passive attitude, frustration, or existential crisis.

The youth culture has existed for the last 3 decades, which started as a rising new style of life in the 1960s, passed the frustration during the economic depression in the 1970s, and returned to a new focus of the world in the 1980s. Now youth culture becomes an important part of human culture, and a necessary factor for the new life, new man, and new world of the 20th century.

We prepared this conference in order to discuss the following questions. What is the youth culture? How different are the yougster's life style and value system from those of the old generations? What kind education and job should be given to the youth? How could we solve the youth's deviance, wrongdoing, and crime? What kind view of life, nature, or world should be created by today's youth culture which will be the main stream of the 21st century.

On behalf of those who prepared this international symposium, I expect you will find useful conclusions which will satisfy the various organizations related to the youth. I think this meeting of specialists in youth culture from ten or more Asian-Pacific countries is a historic event. I also hope this kind conference will, be regularly held among the Asian-Pacific countries.

I expect that we will create, at the end of this conference, an "Association to Study Asian-Pacific Youth" whose idea was raised in the UNESCO assembly in the last year. Before I finsh my address, I want express my thanks to Vice-Ministry of Sports Yong-kyun Kim, representing the Korean Government which gave us financial support, and Seong-jin Kim, President of International Cultural Society of Korea which also gave us financial support and became co-sponsor of this conference.

I wish you, scholars and specialists in youth culutre who came from the countries from Europe, Asia, and America, to give a great contribution to the conference, enjoy the beautiful autumn scene of Korean fields and mountains, and safely return to your home with satisfaction. I also hope you Korean scholars, specialists and all participants to "harvest plenty fruits" in this meetings, and discover courage and wisdom to shed light on the youth world in the 1990s.

I will finish my address, by quoting words of David Ambrose who was several years ago won an essay contest of American young students: "I want to criticize President Reagan's saying that our generation will perhaps see the end of human existence on the Globe. We will not easily give up our fate, but we are sure to control our own fate in the future. We should not underestimate youth power."

Although youth culture is not perfect, the bright ideals of David will lead us to escape a downfall which Mr. Reagan predicted.

Thank you very much.

Greetings

Dong-sung Chung.
(Minister of Sports)

I am glad to speak for the 1st International Symposium on Youth Culture, and welcome you, scholars and specialists in youth culture, who came from America, United Kingdom, China, and other countries.

The society of 2000 is said to be a society characterized by "high-industry and information-emphasis", "equality and diversity", or "internationalization". We all, particularly the youth, have experienced confilt or confusion in life style or value system during rapid industrialization processes in the developing countries. Mainly because the distruction of traditional ethical standard without creation of new norms, the youth problems such as frustration, delinquency, and crime have become one of the most serious social problems. Therefore, we should satisfy the youngsters' needs for guidence and support in education and social life, and so they could adjust themselves to current situation and prepare for tomorrow world.

In this situation, the Korean government established in May "the Declaration of the Youth" to promote the youngsters' ideals and progressive attitude, and made a general policy to train young elites who will manage the democratic, advanced, and unified Korea of the 2000s.

Ladies and gentlemen, though we live in societies with different language, customs, systems, and ideology, we meet here to discover solutions for youth problems by comparing the difference and similarity of our youth culture. I think our efforts are very meaningful for the future prosperity of mankind.

The 21st century will be the world of today's youth. I hope the meetings of today become the opportunity to supply the right direction and guidence to the peace, freedom, progress, and cooperation of the world youngsters.

I appreciate the efforts to plan this conference of the president and other officials of the Korea Institute for Youth & Children, and hope sucessful results of these meetings.

Thank you.

Socio-political Environment of Youth: What Society do the Youth Live In?

Virgilio G. Enriquez*

1.0 Introduction—Youth Power: Threat or Resource?

1.1 Identifying the Youth: A Question of Meaning and Numbers

The adult definition of youth needs to be clarified. In a Western post-industrial culture, one comes up, by way of example, with the confusing situation associated with the status change at age 18 of a "married soldier who may not enter a bar and drink, and who cannot vote, but who can procreate and kill." Males are subject to the draft and are adults for purposes of war by congressional decree. In many states of the U.S.A., they can marry without parental consent. However, they cannot legally consume alcoholic beverages.

In terms of function, the Western adult definition of youth is even more confused from the point of view of adolescents:

> Very few 12-year-old airline passengers who pay an adult's fare fulfill any adult role. Many 14-year-old girls are capable of bearing children and thus of functioning sexually as adults, yet there are no status categories to make this meaningful...(The) late teenage soldier is a perfect example of an individual functioning as an adult in many roles without actually having full adult status. Conversely, the automatic investiture of full adult status at age 21 in no way guarantees that all such individuals will function as adults, emotionally or otherwise (Settlage, et. al., 1968).

The youth can form the majority in many countries, but they do not necessarily have the corresponding legal power associated with numbers. In societies which revere wisdom associated with being old, and where the government is con-

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trolled by the very old, the young might even be sacrificed, as in Tiannamen Square, Beijing, China. In this particular case, the youth was seen as a threat.

Counter to the adult definition of youth is the definition of youth culture as the period of transition between the family of birth or the family controlled by powerful adults represented by one's parents and the future family of procreation or the family about to be controlled by the powerless young.

1.2 Our Future is in Their Hands: Tapping a Societal Resource

Dr. Jose P. Rizal, the national hero of the Philippines, exulted in the Filipino youth as the hope of the Fatherland in his prize-winning poem "A la Juventud Filipina" (To the Filipino Youth). This claim would hold true anywhere in the world. But going a step further, the youth could be tapped as a resource now.

The adolescent is not an imperfect copy of an adult; he does not need to bide his time until he achieves the perfection of adulthood as defined by adults. While adolescents behave as if they know everything, and every adult will attest to that, adolescents certainly know a lot about how they feel, what they want, what they think and what they hope for. The best authority on adolescents are not the adults, but the adolescents themselves.

1.3 Popular Culture: An Adolescent Take-over?

In post-industrial societies dominated by Western popular culture, the young has taken the center stage. As Asians revere the wisdom associated with age, mass media from Britain and the U.S.A. glorify youth. A notable exemption is the popular T V series entitled "The Golden Girls."

As if time stopped, the continuing popularity of the Beach Boys epitomizes the youth-orientedness of the children of the '60s. Certainly beyond their forties, the Beach Boys manage to pass themselves off as "boys".

The youth of post-industrial mass media technology are hounded by gimmickry in order to keep them patronizing TV and movie personalities, compact discs, Walkman, and other audio-visual products, T-shirts, and all sorts of accessories associated with singers, Mutant Ninja Turtles, The Simpsons, and the New Kids on the Block.

1.4 The Young Rebels and Adult Control

No matter how solicitous parents might be towards the well-being of their chilldren, the family is definitely under the control of adults. Even so-called filio-centric families are actually under the dictates of adult norms of behavior.

The decision to support or to control the youth is a decision that should be made not only at the level of the family and the community. The national government should have a definite stand on the function, rights and responsibilities of the youth sector of society.

2.0 The Socio-Political Context of Youth Experience

2.1 The Maternal Womb and the Autonomous Adolescent

The typical modern day child is still very much attached to the family. In Britain, there is a perception that the children of today is even more sensitive and caring than the children of yesteryears, although a very recent TV survey in London tend to suggest that not everybody is just as impressed with todayh's youth. The traditional hold of the family and the home as psychoanalytic extensions of the maternal womb on the child has weakened. The city streets are home to numerous runaway children not in poverty stricken countries but in the First World. The search for autonomy, changing life styles, teenage-pregnancies and marriages as well as changes in the nature of the family itself have led to dramatic changes in the social environment of the young.

Sometimes the family or the parents in particular lose their young to new religious groups at the same time that traditional religions lose their grip on the young. Once the mind is captive to the charisma of a belief system, its effects can be truly forceful, especially on young minds:

> ... self-appointed interpreters of God's voice wield "the will of God" as a magic shield to defend them from income tax, property tax, zoning ordinances, health and safety regulations, traffic laws, and any other rules which inconvenience them. The religious man who recognizes no authority but God's (as he interprets that authority for himself) is truly an outlaw. He belongs in no society. The vast majority of religious individuals and religious movements, ranging from the most mainline denominations to the most radical innovative sects, recognize that "the powers that be are ordained of God" and that it is the obligation of each believer

to "render onto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's (Streiker 1984: 106-107)."

Advanced societies leave little room for the manifestation of charisma, except perhaps in extreme conditions of social strain when whole societies feel their way of life threatened. When a charismatic figure does arise, it becomes evident to all that the trust he wins itself depends on the manipulation of highly technical facilities, particularly in the mass media, and these things are in themselves profoundly anti-charismatic. Charismatic claims are found only at the fringe of the social system, in the least routinised activities of society—at the very top level in politics (and there decreasingly), in entertainment and in marginal religious groups.

2.2 Peer Definition of Youth Identity

How you look is what you are: clothing, grooming, etc.—

Technologically advanced countries share the phenomenon of adolescents who fit the following description even if it means searching the back-alleys of London, Tokyo and Chicago: Long, unkempt hair, which is no longer a style relegated solely to girls; an over-sized shirt with a printed picture of a rock star no less untidy than the wearer; jeans to which every effort was made to make it look old and tattered; and heavy black leather shoes with shiny metal protection on the tips. You see them even in fashionable Ginza, but they certainly have a field day in Harajuku as they keep their approved garments in lockers. Garments which they will wear at the end of the day before they go home to their parents.

Moving a little away from the city, towards the posh suburbs, expect to find another group. Dressed in crisp, white shirts, with every button buttoned; pastel-colored slacks; and polished riding boots, they are enjoying iced-tea after a whole morning of horseback-riding. The appearance of an adolescent is an important index to his or her identity. His appearance is shaped for him by his parents and by meass media but above all, the final arbiter of how he looks as one of the "kids on the block" are not the fashion czars in Paris or London but actually his peers.

Tell me your musical and entertainment preferences and I'll tell you who you are.—

Likewise, an adolescent's musical and entertainment preferences reflect his or her identity. He may prefer the heavy-metal rockers "White Snake" over the jazz fusionist group "Chicorrea". On the basis of his choosing "White Snake" he could judgmentally be classified by adults as a criminally inclined drug user and admired by his peers as "hip", "Cool", or "in". For some reason, jazz is considered as upbeat and worthy of the anticipatory socialization of teenagers with young professionals.

Hanging around billiard halls or killing the hours playing Nintendo computer games or declaring one's dominion over streets by harrassing passers-by could be an adolescent's idea of having fun.

Open your mouth and give yourself away: prejudices; ethnic, political and sexual views. —

The peer definition of youth identity is not based on physical attributes alone. Oral and bodily communication habits and preferences also give away what an adolescent is. His or her peers will judge him or her as one of them depending upon the sexual expletives, religious declarations, intellectual assertions and political statements he or she makes in his or her day to day intercourse with other adolescents.

The way adolescents communicate these messages is a reflection of social class differences. These differences are "evident in the ways in which children are trained in the functions of language" (Youniss and Forth, 1967:249). As adolescents are exposed, in time, to different subcultural groups they are able to respond to a variety of language patterns.

Though outsiders might be hasty to categorize youth according to what they observe in them, the categories can prove to be false or derived from unfounded stereotypes. The adolescent wearing tattered jeans and sporting a weird hairstyle may turn out to be a rich Beverly Hills kid shopping around the ritzy boutiques in their neighborhood.

2.3 Work and Leisure

A trend towards gainful employment is evident among the post-industrial youth, particularly the variety that sports more-conventional dress, at least when operating in the adult world. However research, including one on mainstream oriented Filipino-American youth in Hawaii, show that sports and television get a big share of the adolescents time after school (Enriquez 1990). After sports, the electronic media is slowly captivating the heart of the the post-industrial adolescent, however, as an adolescent consumer of technology, his "true love" in the United States is still the car. Perhaps the Japanese adolescent has shifted to the computer game as his primary fascination but the car has a special hold on many adolescents:

> Although the car is greatly prized by the adolescent, this is not only or even primarily because of its utility as a means of transportation. Much of its importance lies in its suitability for expressing and gradually working out inner conflicts, through repeated experimentation. The car can satisfy many needs and have many symbolic meanings. The automobile can serve the purposes of independence from the parents and adult supervision; of defiance and escape; of mobility and freedom from restraint; of new-found power and action (Settlage, et. al., 1968).

2.4 The Power of Youth in and out of School

Education is traditionally valued. Regardless of an individual's circumstance, he or she is aware of the value of achievement in society and how education opens the doors leading to that goal.

How an adolescent would value education is not left to what he absorbs in school. Other sources of influence are present. Most notorious among the adolescents outside school are the socalled "drop-outs." As early as the 60's Lichter et. al. (1963) has documented how intellectually capable youngsters drop-out of school. Lichter et al. (1963) reported that:

> Forty-percent of American children drop out of school before high school graduation. Beyond these, tens of thousands of other youngsters are underachievers—do not function in school at the level of their intellectual competence. These drop-outs and underachievers represent a tragic waste of the resources of our young people at a time when our country needs their fullest productivity.

Not all drop-out are alike. For which reason, we need to take a closer look at what an out-of-school adolescent is like. In the Lichter et. al. study of 105 adolescent children referred by the Chicago public high schools as potential drop-outs, it was found that "all of them had at least average mental ability but were on the verge of leaving high school before graduation."

While the drop-outs differ in character from one another, each one unique by himself, a number of striking similarities were found. Among them are: (1) The drop-outs had unsuccessful and unhappy school experiences, (2) The drop-outs were not leaving to effect constructive plans, (3) Emotional problems were the major cause of the school difficulties and the resultant school-leaving, and (4) The emotional problems of the drop-outs were severe.

The adult reaction of alarm to the drop-out phenomenon is not particularly impressive. Adolescents are asked to "learn more and learn it faster". The knee-jerk adult response is "get rid of the (adolescent) misfits":

> ... the schools and the community are displaying a growing impatience with students who have problems with school. In part, this impatience stems from the concern that such students interfere with the progress of the other students — and they do. In part, it stems from discouragement and dissapointment that these students have not responded to the many attempts to help them with their problems (Lichter, et. al. 1963: 267-268).

2.5 The Government and the Law

Adults are annoyed and unlikely to show sympathy towards adolescent aggression. Adults don't necessarily find clowning among youngsters funny at all. Interestingly, it is also the adults who define delinquency among the young. On top of all these, more and more young people are being tried as adults in the courts as the legislatures in many countries re-examine penalties and sanctions so that what used to be called delinquency can now be classified as a crime. The legislative agenda becomes a lot more controversial if the crime happens to be a political one. Students rallies and student movements become a focus of attention once the "misdemeanor" happens to involve trampling on the car of the Minister of Education.

3.0 Conclusion—Deconstructing the Adult Construction of Youth

The way the youth presents himself is primarily influenced by his peers but the way he is perceived is a product of how adults see him. This perception and resultant image of youth becomes part of "conventional wisdom" due to adult control and dominance in mainstream society. Mass media support the maintainance and promotion of the adult construction of youth culture.

This process stigmatizes every youth. And any chance of improving one's self in order to remove whatever negative belief is held on them is lessened due to the mainstream adult perception of youth. Ironically, adults normally think positively towards youth as a stage in life.

In the same way that adults influence the portrayal of youth with the help of the media, the youth are also manipulated with regard to their needs or what they are led to think of as their needs. Of course, the youth do not remain as unsuspecting victims of media manipulation. James (1971) consistently found a generally negative attitude towards advertising among young students. "While their attitudes toward the communication media ... were positive, their reactions toward advertising manifested with increasing maturity, an increasing dislike and lack of confidence."

This paper concludes by way of making a call for greater emphasis on studies of youth which uncover their world-view. Surveys are fine but more phenomenological studies are needed. Similarly, government policy should be more sensitive to the needs of the young, not as a threat to society but as a valuable resource. Deconstructing the adult construction of youth culture by way of hearing their voices takes time and effort but this conference is a step in that direction.

Summary

Attention is called to the need to clarify the inconsistencies and biases in the adult definition of youth culture. The youth can form a sizable group in many countries, but they do not necessarily have the corresponding legal power associated with number. In some societies the youth can even be seen as a threat instead of recognizing them as a national social resource. The decision to support or to control the youth is a decision that should be made not only at the level of the family and the community. The national government should have a definited stand on the function, rights and responsibilities of the youth sector of society.

In post-industrial societies dominated by Western popular culture, the young has taken the center stage. The youth of post-industrial mass media technology are hounded by gimmickry in order to keep them patronizing youth-oriented images and symbols.

The typical modern day child is still very much attached to the family. However, the traditional hold of the family and the home has weakened. The city streets are home to numberous run-away children in the First World. The search for autonomy, changing life styles, teenage-pregnacies and marriages as well as changes in the nature of the family itself have led to dramatic changes

in the social environment of the young.

The apperance of an adolescent is shaped for him primarily by his peers as a mark of identity. Though outsiders hastily categorize them on the basis of their appearance, the categories are usually derived from unfounded stereotypes. After sports, the electronic media is slowly captivating the heart of the post-industrial adolescent. However, as an adolescent consumer of technology, his "true love" is still the car. "The car can satisfy many needs and have many symbolic meanings.... (It) can serve the purposes of independence from the parents and adult supervision; of defiance and escape; of mobility and freedom from restraint; of new-found power and action."

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This paper concludes by way of making a call for greater emphasis on studies of youth which uncover their world-view. Surveys are fine but more phenomenological studies are needed. Similarly, government policy should be more sensitive to the needs of the young, not as a threat to society but as a valuable resource.

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Young Generation and Their Life Worlds

Il Chul Kim*

Introduction

Contemporary world has to confront with problems of youth regardless of difference in their history, structure, and stage of development. It is because that young generation and their life worlds become structurally different from their ancestor's due to fast societal change. It seems therefore that problems of youth will never be died out as long as fast social change continues. The problems can momentarily be lessened at one time but there will be another problem being created as society moves along. Problems of youth seems therefore largely (not entirely) a function of fast social change and consequently discontinuation between the past and the present.

Based on this assumption, the present paper deals with nature of real situation of life world of youth in which youth has to live and behave. Their life worlds are full of dilemma, paradox, and difficulties as far as the life worlds of youth is concerned. This paper will attempt to look at, with sympathetic understanding of youth today, their unique situation in their socialization process. We must understand that their life worlds, experiences, and agonies are different from ours. The author wishes to bring out some of the characteristics of their life worlds needed to be paid serious attention when we try to understand them.

First: Discontinuity and Ambivalence

Contemporary society is in a sense diametrically opposed to that of the past. Various structural traits imply those differences. Industrial/urban-agricultural/rural; heterogeneity-homogeneity, democratic-authoritarian; urban anonymity-community familism; controlled-free; etc. There has been a great social,cultural,

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political, and economic discontinuation developed due to fast change. Sociocultural environments of today are thus no longer consistent with those of the past. Many important sociocultural institutions of the past have been replaced or modified by new institutions. Accordingly thought patterns and value judgements of youth today became different and also their behavior patterns are not same as their forefathers. They have been raised and socialized in the new way of life, appropriate way of adjustment in fast moving industrial society. There is however serious tension in this process of socialization, tension between major socializing agencies which are slowly changing in their goal and practices of socialization and individual youth who seek freer life without social constraints and individualistic way of life.

Because of the inevitable tension between old system and new system due to discrepancy and inconsistency of the two systems, generational conflict and distrust have been observed in many social issues, particularly relationships between parent and children, teacher and students, young and old, rising new system and old establishment. Values and behaviors of youth today therefore must cope with two different systems simultaneously. Consequently they develope dualistic approach to certain degree. For instance they have to try to be consistent with old system when they have to confront with parental generation in family life, and at same time, they also have to be consistent with new way of life when they confront with young generation and new system.

There are therefore behavioral differnce between front region and back region and ambivalent values and behaviors in youth today, having two contradicting values simultaneously. Goals of socializing agencies today are also unclear and contradicting, different goals between mother and grand parents, school and mass media, family and peer groups, etc.

In view of this, adult generation must understand difficult function of youth with duality and ambivalence of values and behavior. There are many difficulties for smooth socialization of youth today. Jeopardy of family life today makes good socialization of youth more difficult.

Second: Material Success Syndrom

As society moves toward more capitalistic, material criteria tend to become more important in everyday life by disregarding ethical and humanistic considerations. Standard of success is being measured by material achievements. All the physical conveniences and amenities become easily purchased by monetary means alone. Monetary success has thus become very important goal of life. Because of this, as we often observe, illegitimate means are frequently mobilized for gaining monetary success. Many deviant behaviors are often results of this material success syndrom. All the urban conveniences, luxuries and goods, products of capitalistic society, can easily stimulate curiosity and possesion instinct of youth and their behavior pattern. They require more cashes in order to meet their daily needs. Money becomes very important in youth life, They began to realize what is "good life" and "bad life".

Affluent life and miserable life can easily be judged. In the country where even the "minimum life" can hardly be guaranteed by the state, material aspiration can easily threaten dreams of youth because they feel serious insecurity for their future. Values and norms which can suppress excessive material aspiration are not sufficently nourished by society. Material success syndrom can be found in any other society. Important fact is that this syndrom is most actively and strongly prevail in contemporary society particularly in fast moving age.

Third: Inflated Aspiration

Aspiration for future is a very common feature of mankind, especially for youth. It is however hardly justified if following situation happens; every rural youth wants to leave countryside, majority of industrial workers do not like physical labor, every high school graduate wants to go to college, every college graduate wants to be in the top position, everybody wants to marry millionaire, etc.

Upwardly occupational aspiration,especially for youth, is to signify a very dynamic society. It is however to be worried that everybody wants to be in "governing position" and do not care about worth of life by only regarding physical and material standard highly. It is not meant that upwardly occupational aspiration is undesirable. It rather means that aspiration has to be matched by capabilities and efforts of individuals. Illegitimate means to achieve one's goal are often employed when corresponding capabilites and efforts are lacking but excessive aspiration is strong.

Excessive and unmatched aspiration when corresponding means are not supported calls forth unjustified and destructive violence because goal achievement by justified means is impossible to attain and repeated frustration in the failing attempts because of unbreakable obstacles will make one adopt "unusual" method. Aspiration is therefore to be not in the extreme unbalance with one's present status. "Excessive" aspiration often results in destruction when it is not being achieved. It is however very common phenomena that everybody in society, especially youth, has very high aspiration. We are constantly reminded that contemporary society because of its structural characteristics pushes many youth today to have higher aspiration than others and it is very easy to be in high mood of inflated aspiration and there are many destructive results due to this excessive level of aspiration.

As I perceive the issues of youth today, the above three characteristics of life worlds seem very responsible for the nature of youth issue. And those three factors appear to be very important in understanding youth today.

These three charcteristics can be termed aspects of external life worlds. These external life worlds may give rise to corresponding internal life worlds. Discontinuity and ambivalence of modern society create serious confusion as far as behavioral standard of youth is concerned. Application of double standards for the new system and the old system are required in their socialization. This often creates a confusion of norm so that only one standard is being applied to both systems and it invites serious challenge from the other system. Generational distrust and conflict are results of this. Confusion is therefore an internal result of structural discontinuity and ambivalence of cultural norms. In fast moving society, harmony and conciliation of two standards appear to be crucial importance for the smooth transfer of the system. When many youths have to move out their family at early time for their education and job, and they have less opportunities to get together with their parents because parents have more things to do by themselves, and time of mixing experiment of the two systems has been decreased. It thus widens the gap and created unclearness and confusion of applying appropriate norms.

Material success syndrom on the other hand also gives rise to displaced goal. Material standard of success is only means to achieve certain goal. Means cannot and should not be substituted by goal. Goal as a target of aspiration should accompany appropriate means. If money making and seeking is regarded as the end itself, seeking and use of money may be very problematic indeed. Pursuing material success should be justified as long as it remains as means. The ultimate end of one's life should be more than material achievements. If spiritual and subjective success is not highly regarded value of society, then that society will suffer from many illness because of this. Internal life worlds resulting from inflated aspiration would be frustration. Due to excessive aspiration beyond one's capacity and efforts there would be many frustrated youths. Their frustrations may either be a result of educational or occupational aspiration. Their frustration may often associated with violence or illegitimate behaviors.

Three internal life worlds of confusion, goal displacement, and frustration are a conditional consequence of external life worlds. The external life worlds are structurally given and the internal life worlds are on the other hand psychologically supported because all the surrounding environments of youth today can easily be percerived by them in that direction. Here lies crucial need of interventive measures which will not danger the existing system.

Carefully sought socialization of youth as a perventive measure has to be institutionally supported by school, mass media, and family. Among these family life should receive the utmost importance because family life is the melting ground of all life experiences. In this regard many carefully arranged social policies for building healthy family life should be developed in order to make chaildren unaffected by 'dangerous' environments and make them 'healthy' ajustment to 'hostile' environments. The state on the other hand also must make continuing efforts in order to reduce dangers from 'unhealthy' conditions of structurally given external environments of youth today.

Discussion (1)

William Treanor*

Thank you very much.

First, I would like to thank Dr. Lee and the Institute for Youth and Children for inviting me to address this conference on youth culture. I want to resopnd to the papers that we heard this morning and make some observations of my own about youth culture and its place in contemporary society.

I think it's important that in modern societies, a seperate or autonomous youth culture is, I believe, a permanent fixture in the social scene. It's not something that's going to go away. It's probably not even desirable that it should go away. All through, there are fixtures that I think everybody in this room will find objectional about certain youth characteristics of today. I think our task, as youth leaders and people who work in youth organizations and do youth research, is to both look for the positive as well as the problems and see what kind of bridging measures that we can take. Now, trying to have a positive impact on youth culture is increasingly difficult. In modern societies' frequently functioning institutions, the principal inputs into the youth culture are in fact commecialized. They are beyond the reach of government, schools, and youth organizations. In particular, I think of things like television, videos, VCR and music. Videos are increasingly important.

I think it's important to appreciate the increasing intenationalization of youth culture. When people, adults, still talk about such things as American blue jeans, they're not really American blue jeans anymore. They're just blue jeans. There are many aspects of things in youth culture that youth identified with their age, not with the particular country of origin as adults tend to do. In fact, some of the most recent developments in youth culture have truly been international. A lot of the contemporary music was particularly popular five or six years ago. The "hard rocks..." Some of this were actually developed by young people in different countries. Simultaneously they were actually exchaning tapes and that

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sort of thing between countries that never met each other. They were just sending these stuff back and forth completely out of sight of commercial channel. While they're playing their guitars in the guarages, cellars, and basements of their home, the young people are also using a lot of modern ways to communicate to have exchanges and developments of thier own culutre that is vitrually beyond the reach of any of the adult institutions. So, we look at these different aspects of popular youth culture.

Music, fashion, of course, are all being influenced increasingly by technology which the young are much more quicker to adapt to than the rest of us are. In fact, they have an increasing expectation to adpat to new technology where for older people, it's still a bit of an effort. As the youth evolves, I think it's important to look at youth and to see them as they really are, which includes some very good things and also some things that are not so good, not as we wish to see them. Governments can often be the biggest single participant in the wish projecting on the youth. They wish youth to be a certain way. They wish to see youth culture evolve in a certain way. They wish to see certain values among the young, but these are not necessarily shared by the young. Dr. Enriques has mentioned events in Peking of 18 months ago. There was a situation where just 6 months before there had been an international seminar on youth problem, in Peking, sponsored by the United Nations. The All China Youth Federation with some other groups came in and talked about sistuations of the Chinese youth and what was going on in China with student youth organizations and whatever. Of course, none of what was heard there squared it all of what happened 6 months later.

Youth are not just any other part of society from the point of view of governments and those who seek to stabilize things and extend the status-quo. They are, by their nature, revolutionaly class of people who are willing to risk more for change than any other segment of society. There are numerous examples. One of my favorite is that ten years ago the average age of the Sandinistian soldiers in the revolution of Nicaragua was fifteen years old. Governments realized that if they cannot contain in channel in a positive way, the aspirations of youth will lead to considerable trouble. We have certainly seen that in a mumber of countries, particularly, in Eastern Europe just in the last year. I had the opportunity to be in East Germany two months before the wall came down and met with many of the young leaders, youth officials and German Democratic Republicans. You would never know that if there was anything missed in a country which now, only months later, doesn't even exist. So, youth and the manifestations of youth culture in popular culture represent tremendous challenge to governments and to societies.

I think one of the more important ways of channelling youth energy is through regiment, well thought out means of youth participation in their various organizations that affect them. Both student organizations and the out of school organizations are the youth organizations that, in many societies, play an increasingly important role in youth socialization. I believe that one of the most important tasks, certainly in the U.S. and I also believe here in Korea, is to build stranger youth organizations serving out of school. For youth, particularly the youth experiencing the most problems of alienation of economic dislocation, cultural shock of transition from rural to urban, whatever their problems might be, there's tremendous role played by the youth organizations that recieve support and encouragement from the government. If were not able to, that is the adult society, interact positively with youth culture or youth subculture, the result, which we see sadly in the U.S., is a tremendous waste of youth talent which doesn't stop with the drop-out problems and the teen pregnancy programs, but it ultimately results in huge prison populations and just a large number of problems that are very expensive to society both in economic terms and psychic terms.

I agree with the problems of inflated expectations that was addressed in Dr. Kim's paper. I would say that often adults are not necessarily in the best position to discern the line between inflated expectations and youth ambition. Youth are, by their own nature, an aspiring group of people and they will reach far, sometimes too far.

I can certainly see, in my country, some absurd gaps in terms of inflated expectations that some of our young people have. On the other hand, we must be careful not to stifle youth ambition and youth. While making young people be "realistic" in terms of their expectations, we don't have to look much further than the history of the last century to see numerous examples of people who's ambitions and ideas were considered absurd at the time that they persued them as young people, and then to see what has come to those ambitions. One example is Dr. Gafield who was the first rocket scientist in the U.S. As a kid, he was constantly ridiculed by everybody for his interests in rockets and going to see the moon and all these things. He was considered sort of a crazy young person and of course now, he's a revered figure in American science. So, we need to have a certain amount of balance in our perceptions of young people and try not to be overly judgemental in looking of youth culture. We have to, I think, be more than just concerned about the manifestations of youth culture.

Men's wearing earring is something that I'm a bit uncomfortable with, but it's the fashion, in Western countries, at least. Theenage boys wearring one or two earings, girls wearing rings in their noses, whatever are in way harmless. What we need to look for is to be sure that young people have adherence. The kind of respect for human rights and human values is what is necessary in the world that we find ourselves today. Many people would call for certain attributes in certain youth policy for youth organizations to internalize certain values in society of patriotism, conformity, pride, discipline, and those sorts of things. I'm certainly not opposed to those, per say, but I would like to point out that those were all shared by, for instance, for the Hitler youth movement of the 1930'S, and that was one of the most evil youth movements in world history.

It's not enough for the positive manifestations of youth adaptive to adult expectations, but we have to have values that our whole community can agree on. I think I would just like to close an observation about children and youth in general and that is to call the participants here's attention to the United Nations' convention on the rights of the child which doesn't in fact have very much enforcement. It's a very positive statement of the minimum rights of children and young. People, I think, a century or more from now will look back upon us and say, yes, this set the minimum standards by which the adult society should treat their children and their youth. Unfortunately, it appears that my government will be the few in the world that is not going to ratify that convention, but it marks an important step.

Finally, I would like to say as someone who has been involved quite a bit through my work at the American youth work center with international collaborations in the children and youth field, there is much to be gained and little to be lost by developing collaborative links amongst countries, particuarly being discussed here in the research area. Youth is a very quickly changing group in society. I think we would all agree to that in terms of their values, interests, tastes, fads, and the trends amongst young people. It's particularly important that there be a collaboration amongst researchers of different countries because many of these traits are, in fact, as I said earlier, being internationalized. I would hope that the proposed age of pacific collaboration in youth research would come into being. I think that in the U.S. we would find it a very productive partner to work with in the youth research area. Thank you very much!

Discussion (2)

Soung-yee Kim*

The two presentations gave me really a good impression to think about the youth programs in our current society. Professor Enriquez's suggestions such as, the youth is not a treat, but societal resource; the youth buy cars for independence from their parents and from their adult supervisions. Such examples gave me really good ideas. Dr. Il-chul Kim's presentation was also nice. I got a wider understading on youth problems. These two presentations have different view points, that is, Professor Enriquez's stand point is oriented to the youth individual in terms of some psycholosically oriented, and Kim's was from social orientation. I say it's a sociological view point. These two different views can compensate each other. It seems to me that these two presentations have the same views on the following points. First, they both emphasized sympathetic understanding to serve the youth program. Secondly, they agreed to the effect of the social environment on youth behavior. Thirdly, they emphasized the social power conflict among generations. These three points are important, and that's why I add my own to ideas these to make things be more clear and useful.

First, I will talk about sympathetic understanding. I would like to mention that both professor Enriquez and Dr. Kim urged that we need sympathetic understading of youth. I, also, accept sympathetic understading, but the first step of this is that we, adults, should recognize and accept the youth's perception. We insist that we need sympathetic understanding, but few would actually use the concept in reality. Many times we emphasize the dialogue between the young generation and the old generation. The dialogue cannot start without the mutual recognition. In many cases we also label youth, for instance, delinquents and dependents on behalf of adults. Adults will regiment youth and order them around, allow them no thinking, and use the old forms of norms as a measureing bar. I found that many delinquents believe that their behavior is right and that is the best thing they can do. When I visited the delinquent in-

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stitutions and asked them why they used drugs, they said that the use of drugs was the best choice for them at the time, and they really don't understand why adults prohibit them from using drugs. By using the drugs they could find a meaning for life. Some persons mentioned wearing earrings, bad language, and other kinds of special gestures which from an adult's point of view is meaningless, but the youth think that it is the most meaningful work of which they're doing. Everybody would give their own meaning on their behavior by themselves, and the youth have their own meaning for work. However, the adults don't accept the youth perception nor their own definition of meaningful work.

Secondly, social environment is an important factor. They both mentioned on social environment. I think that the social environment is connected with character buildings, as mentioned by Dr. Kim. Character building cannot be achieved by simply teaching moral rules. Values cannot be enforced from outside. It can only be achieved when young people are given the appropriate exposure to the meaning of life, to the experience of other people. Youth do not build up their character by a set of rules, but by modeling. Tha adult of society is responsible for providing model. If we concerned about the coming generations we must realize that it's important to give a deep consideration in modeling. It's time that we direct our concern from more economic goals to the genuine human goals and be human models, not economic animal models. The new direction of the social environment policy should be based on humanity among the institutions which work to expand humanity. I think that the non government organizations are the most significant ones. the role of non-government organization in preparing youth for natural adulthood is of particular importance in our context. Because the government has lost its reliability in the eyes of the youth, it's hard for the government to play a significant role in preparing youth for adulthood. As professor Enriquez mentioned, the Tienanmen Square accident in Chaina and some other problems in Korea gave us some impressions. Non-governmental organizations can strengthen their advocacy role. This means that non-governmental organizations need to participate in policy making and practice when the non-govecnmental organizations establish the policy. The organzations should include the aged groups and the peer groups.

The reason for including the aged group in making youth policies and practice is that usually a society cansists of 3 generations. The first generation is the aged group, then the middle aged working group, and then the youth group. The first generation has enough spare time and wisdom. The tme and the wisdom are very important factors to transfer the culture from generation to generation. The middle aged, the second generation, hasn't enough time to share with the youth groups. It is the most important role of the first generation to transfer the traditional values to the youth. Now, some confusion mentioned by Dr. Kim will be covered. The reasons for including peer groups in making policies and practice is to work with groups and to look at them as a life. It's important to practice the cultural transference. In this point, we can adapt the concept of peer groups, mentioned by professor Enriguez, in making policies for the youth. It is the base concept in making youth policies. For instance, peer group therapy, peer tutoring, peer counseling, and other methods to treat the drug abused youth. Also, it's a connected concept with autonomy pretence of youth.

Thirdly, as Dr. Kim mentioned, adults should share their power. Professor Enriguez asked whether the youth were seen as a treat or societal resource, and they concluded that youth is a societal resource. Also, he was worried about the situation of the future family of procreation which was controlled by the powerless young and he argued that the best authoriry in youth are not the adults, but themselves. If we accept his idea on the power we have to share power. This is the time we ask ourselves how many times we, adults, make concession and share our power with our youth. Involving young people in the whole national development process is the best way to develop their sense of social responsibility. We always say that today's youth is tomorrow's leaders. By saying this, we imply that youth want to and can be today's leaders, too.

Young people want to participate now. By participation, we mean to involve youth at every stage in social life, including decision making. If we do not involve young people in decision making that means we don't trust them. It is impossible to ask young people to take up social responsibility if the society doesn't trust them. Young people should have freedom to dream. The adult in power should tolerate the critical and sometimes label the posture of youth with growing people. Now I conclude my discussion saying, "Involve the youth, trust them, let them participate, and share power." This is the only way to prepare our young people for adulthood and taking up responsibility.

Thanks!

The Japanese Youth

Tamotsu Sengoku*

In Japan, two concepts, namely the consummatory and the differentiation, have become useful to analyze the sense of values of the youth. Originally, the term consummatory is a technical term used in the field of sociology as an antonym of the term "instrument". The concept of instrument signifies a means or a tool as opposed to the purpose. The consummatory is a concept that can be called a type of "now"ism which has been made to be a purpose of itself. Also, the differentiation, or emphasis on it, is a symbol of the post-modernism. These two concepts, the consummatory and the differentiation, have become key concepts to symbolize the mentality of the Japanese youth.

While there are too many phenomena to enumerate showing the consummatory or the differentiation, let's take an example of the refusal of promotion. Young people have become to hate the efforts that they need to make to be promoted. The ratio of the youth that want to be in higher or more respected positions is now only a little more than ten percent of their contemporaries. On its way of economic development, young people had a very strong desire to be in higher or more respected positions. Nowadays, however, the great majority of the youth hope for happy families and life styles that fit their likings on one hand and disclaim the values in matters relating to society or production on the other hand. Long and painful efforts would be just waste of their young days for them. The just hope to enjoy every minute of their young days.

The value that used to be prodominant in Japan showed strong orientation for future. They were willing to sacrifice the present for the future. The key concept there was the diligence. Our economic success and affluence have been the result of the diligence.

In Japan, one can live along without a fixed employment. There is a certain style of work called a "free-albeiter" style. The term "free-albeiter" is a compound of the English word "free" and the German word "albeiter". This free-

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albeiter style is a type of part time working system which allows a young person to do the work which he or she wants to do when he or she wants to work. A lot of young people now work on this "free-albeiter" basis. Indeed, there is an established industry in Japan which publishes advertisements for help as a free-albeiter and this industry cannot now be dispensed with. Young people, which view that Japan has already realized an affluent society, have been losing goals of life or goals of work, which older people use to have. We can say that we are having a so-called no-purpose-era. The concept of the consummatory has grown in these environment. Its growth has a lot to do with the fact that the young people have been discarding purposes as goals. We are now in an era where the young search for new goals. Purpose-rationality and instrumental-rationalism, which were the paradigms of the modernization have lost reasons for existence. Of course most of Japanese older people still believe in those paradigms and work very hard. In their world, supervision and control are accepted as a matter of course and the functionalism is still regarded as most important.

The consummatory is a concept to enjoy every minite of the given or chosen situation and find a meaning in action itself. It refuses to be a means for a goal and finds values in acting itself. The antonym of consummatory is instrument, tool or means. This concept excludes an instrument as a tool for some purpose and recommends a momentary happy life.

The consummatory, therefore, is translated as "itself" or "instant self" against means, which is difficult to be understood by the people educated in the industrialized society. In Japan, there is a new word "nori" which means, for instance, to be in an ecstatic mood at the discos or to have a good understanding of each other after a lively talk with gags and metaphor. I have used the word "nori" to translate the word consummatory into Japanese. I have no doubt that the consummatory will soon become a key concept in Japan.

Many young people, however, began to object to old paradigms. They began to think that they do not have to be bound by such old paradigms of the older people and that they do not have to be promoted by accepting the paradigms of the older people. The young people believe that promotion is accompanied only by responsibility according to their view.

As society becomes affluent, materialistic motivation weakens, making values of means represented by diligence and economy insufficient.

People begin to question themselves why they have to work so hard and save money. At the same time, they will place more importance on individualistic values and openly opt for them. As individual needs diversify, types of needs diversify, which leads to a further increased variety of needs. They become consummatorized and come to put values not on means for purpose but on acting itself.

This situation suggests the shift of paradigms from modernism to post-modernism. Ten years ago, about half of the Japanese youth replied for the survey that they worked for "contribution to society" and for "self-discipline", and only a little over 50% of them said that they worked for income. But ten years later, in 1989, only a little over 30% of the young people regarded work as "contribution to society" or "self-discipline", while many of them regarded it as a necessary evil for income. There is a similar situation in Korea. Although less than half of the youth there think of work as a means for income, the rate of the youth who think of work as "contribution to society" and "self-discipline" dropped from 61% in 1984 to 54% in 1989. (The Forth World Youth Attitudinal Survey)

In the industrialized society, purpose of labor of the individual coincides with that of society or enterprise, whose common interest used to be accumulation, a paradigm in the industrialized society. There are of course jobs which satisfy, please and interest people. Some of such jobs here in Japan are a fashion designer, a coordinator in various fields, an editor, a sales girl at the boutique. They genuinely enjoy work.

This has been the example of refusal of promotion, but consummatory phenomena and differentiation phenomena can be seen almost anywhere where there are young people. New phenomena have been taking place in respect of relations with friends, work, study, pleasure, finding jobs, crimes, delinquencies and so forth.

For them friends are not for cooperation with each other toward some goals. They prefer someone who is good at jokes or who has a distinctive character. This is because they can have a good time with those friends. Therefore, much smaller number of young people have so-called bosom friends of their own. The concept of the bosom friend is very familiar to older people but it is somewhat alien to the young generation. The existence of bosom friends would be bothering to young people. When everybody was working together with the same goal of increasing productivity, everybody working together had to know each other and help each other and thus the privacy of individuals had to be often sacrificed. This formed among the Japanese the orientation for groups, but this world seem to the young people to be too restrained and to fit only to the generation of the pre-modernization.

The Japanese young people say that they have a lot of friends. Friends to play tennis with, friends to dance, friends to talk about fashion and so on. They have a separate set of friends in each field. These friends are only partners for the consummatorized enjoyment and for the satisfaction of desire for differentiation. These friends are no longer partners to achieve high objectives and goals together. There is a vogue word in Japan "*otaku*" group which means "you" but, as used, in the context where the individuals cannot truly understand each other and emphasizes the fact that they are not one and together.

The results of the survey about who wins popularity in class at school showed a great difference between Japanese and American junior high school students. Only less than 10% of the Japanese students answered that the most popular person in class is the one "who does well academically" and "who is a good athlete" and 60.5% of them answered it is the one with "sense of humor". While in the United States, 36.1% of them opted for the one with "sense of humor", 18.8% for the one "who does well academically", and 13.8% for a good athlete. In the same survey, 30% of the Chiense students opted for the one "who does well academically", and 30% for the one with "sense of justice", showing a great contrast to the Japanese students.

Also, one cannot basically expect work that is consummatory. Work is a means for production and is a representative of an instrument. Many young people give up from the beginning the work that is consummatory. If the work cannot be consummatorized, they cannot but accept it as it is and the concern only becomes to be to get more money. In the recent ten years, the sense of value in working has changed dramatically and one's purposes of work have changed from the contribution to the society and the self-improvement to those of obtaining money.

The young generation which is interested in consummatorization and differentiation is now leading the consumption in society and therefore, products now have to be those that meet the need of the young. Because of the development in technology, automobiles, watches, cameras and other products basically have the same function and quality regardless of the manufacturers. Now products have to have additional and particular values in addition to the original function of the products. An automobile that can be tuned by its owner, a watch that is distinctive from others and so on. The important thing is that the product is differentiated. This tendency has been changing from the symbol of brands to the symbol of individual consumers. Companies now have to meet these needs of the youth in order to compete. The needs of the youth cannot be understood by the older people who are oriented by functionality. The needs of the youth can only be understood by young people. Thus, changes have taken place in the process of development of new products and generally in the process of work itself. Consummatorizing effect has brought about new ideas to enjoy work as if it were a game. The cleaning job of Tokyo Disney Land is typical of consummatorization. There the instrumentality of cleaning has been changed to consummatory performance by having cleaning done dancing.

The idea of doing cleaning dancing is something that is unimaginable in the paradigm of modernization. Cleaning was something that is not liked by people and that must be done with patience. In Tokyo Disney Land, quite contrarily, the cleaning is done dancing as if an actor or actress. Cleaning is analogized with disco dancing and does not involve patience that is usually involved in cleaning.

Working used to require patience and used to be patience in itself. Consummatorization, however, has actually affected this domain. Of course, not all the work can be consummatorized. The Japanese young generation has tendency not to choose the manufacturing, construction or computer operation industry or job. In Japan now, the fact that young people do not seek employment in the manufacturing industry is one of the major social concerns. Interestingly, many graduates of university technical faculties now find jobs in the financing, insurance, securities and other service industries. There service industries have become to depend on technologies and cannot compete without technical staff. Thus there has occurred a severe shortage of technical researchers in the manufacturing industry.

The paradigm of the industrial society is based on the idea of purpose-rationality of Max Weber. There are commentators that believe that work that is not liked by the youth will be able to be done by machines and the work that will be done by humans will be consummatorized. They believe that post-modernization work is only the work that is enjoyable and interesting. In my view, this will never be the case.

Enjoyable work cannot possibly be all the work available. The paradigm in the production society lies in the purpose-rationalism and requires the functional-rationality which can only be realized by means of supervision and control aiming for increased productivity and increased sale. There, the function of instruments if definitely necessary. But for such production, the needs of the youth would not be satisfied and the differentiation would not be possible. We will probably see in Japan the conflict of modernizm and post-modernizm.

Modernization was, as Max Weber says, ''processes of rationalization'' of society. It regards society as a system with various functions, which improves their performance in the processes. Efficient achievement of the purpose was necessary in order to improve the performance, and the organization based on management control came into being. Excessive rationalization made a Japanese enterprise a machine for efficiency. Modernization was, in terms of a personal level, the process of giving priority to the behavior of purpose-rationality instead of to the traditional one. The structure was developed where each individual functions by performing his role and is rewarded financially in accordance with his amount of contribution to the function. Organization with a seniority system, typically Japanese, has a severe competition for efficiency within.

Let us now suppose the word system to be that of generalization of interaction from the point of view of ''function''. Modernization would be, then, the process of rationalizing everything in social life functionally and of taking this mechanism of social system into every sphere of life. This would eventually enhance dominance of instrument-rationality, which is one of the values of the industrialized society.

However, not all behaviors of society or people are unified in functions or instrument-rationality. At the stage where ''freedom from necessity'' was not achieved because of a low standard of living, it was reasonable enough for function-rationality to penetrate into all spheres of life. People were able to enjoy a rich life this way. There was the concurrence of rationalization of life by control management and development of the industrial society. At the stage, though, where a rich society is realized in some way or other and ''freedom from necessity'' is proceeding, people begin to insist on what has been suppressed. As mentioned before, the Consummatorization takes place when people's needs are diversified according to their individualistic values and they begin to seek the value in acting itself. In a broad sense, the tendency here is a phenomenon related to ''fullness of meaning''.

People do not act merely to perform social functions according to instrument-rationality. There has been an emphasis on the point that each individual forms a unified world, the life world by giving a subjective meaning to the behavior, which is accumulated into a society. In short, we should grasp an individual who behaves not as a purpose-rational being but as a capable member who makes up the world. We must humbly accept the problem presented here. People's life is not to be limited to their small self-control toward the achievement of purpose. It is also an important part of life to have a substantial meaning and re-evaluate it.

Among the youth phenomena in Japan are the gourmet boom, brand boom and retro boom. They have something in common, and it is that they want a feeling of fullness out of life such as "feeling like a rich man", or "wanting to do something unusual". In short, it is important for the meaning to be different or differentiated like doing something different. When this difference or differentiation is related to each individual's motive or intention, it is called a subjective meaning.

Thus, it leads us to think that it matters in the life world based on the meaning that each individual acts according to his motivation of difference. "Difference motive" or "change movive" are important. An idea of "difference motive" is deeply related to the arrival of an affluent society. It was ignored at the stage where "freedom from necessity" was a big issue. But as the tendency of consummatory presupposes affluence, it brings up an inner problem that the difference motive and differentiation undermine affluence itself.

In Japan, on one hand, the patience as an instrument in required. Without the patience, there would be no production. This, on the other hand, conflicts with the consummatory in the post-modernizm. In this situation, various orientations among the youth, orientation for consumption, traveling and so forth make us to believe that Japan is heading toward a nation of decline.

The youth have been fleeing from companies that were the bases of modernization. Also, they have been fleeing from schools that were nothing more than the preparatory institutions for companies. Refusal to go to school and withdrawal from high schools are an escape from supervision, order, control, memorization and obedience, which used to be the essence of modernization.

As the difference motive is the foundation of consummatory phenomena, we should explore the motive a little more in detail. H. Maslow proposed "five stages of man's needs and diminishing of needs." Maslow theorized that, in essence, man's needs advance from the most basic needs to the more sophisticated ones in steps and that, if the basic needs are not satisfied, the needs in the next step do not emerge. Physical need to satisfy hunger and thirst is the most basic, which is followed by need for securityk need for affection, need for respect by the others, and need of self-realization or need to have meanings in life and achievement of goals.

There is another characteristic about Maslow's idea about human needs. It is that, when a need is satisfied, it diminished. However, Maslow's idea of this diminishing need is not acceptable and we can see this in the phenomena we encounter every day. Let us take, for example, the gourmet boom in Japan and in other advanced countries. It looks as though people were becoming more and more interested in the most basic physical need, and the need does not diminish even though it is satisfied. In search of differences, the Japanese are flocking in the ethnic restaurants. Therefore, we find a problem in Maslow's diminishing needs. It is that Maslow based his theory on "lacking". When a need is not satisfied, we are lacking and the need is strongly felt. Even if the basic need is satisfied, the next higher need is not. Man tries to satisfy this higher need. We could say that Maslow's needs are based on "lack motive".

As we have entered the age of affluent society and are "free from necessity", we are no longer motivated by "lack motive". We are left with more variations in needs. The needs are different from individual to individual. Elements that become motives are found in differences, which is the basis of the "difference motive". Youth these days are calling for individualizations and diversification, and I think this is an evidence that conversion from "lack motive" to "difference motive" is in progress. When lack motives were predominant, the goal for the people was to move up the steps of needs. In other words, even if the manner for satisfying needs in one stage was unified and uniform, there were differences. However, as majority of the people becomes wealthy, satisfying the higher needs no longer functions as the goal for needs.

"Lack motive" and "difference motive" will end up with semiotics of consumption. But this will change not only the consumption behavior of the youth but also the corporate behavior in order to satisfy the needs of the youth. In this manner, we will be moving into the society of post-modernism.

In Japan, many companies have already adopted small lot and increased a variety of production in coping with the difference needs. However, we must note that there is no ultimate difference and that difference is endless. We find in the young fashion a trend for anticipating difference in difference. Since the ultimate difference does not exist, we cannot but express the difference in only "trends". I think this is the reason why the word "trendy" has emerged and become popular, which means something new.

Another idea that can be used to analyze the Youth in Japan is the relativism. Now that we have achieved some degree of affluence, our society has become a kind of no-goal society. We are in a situation where such spiritual props as endeavors and patience have been lost. Endeavors have been a spiritual prop of the Japanese and have been regarded as the absolute and universal value.

One commentator analyzes and says that the circumstances prevailing in Japan a while ago were those of pre-modernization in which the individualism has not yet matured. Even if that is true, the fact that the Japanese had lost the spiritual props that the Japanese had long believed in must have caused a great deal of confusion in the sense of values among the people.

Because of the collapse of the sense of value that would require certain things be done in certain way at anytime, anywhere by anybody, the youth has found a most important value to be to do everything as each individual likes. An older man tells a young man, "study hard and work hard". The young man replies, "there can be a person who works hard, but there can also be a person who doesn't." There is no standard that can be applied absolutely or universally. Thus the key words of the young have become "true to myself" and "faithful to myself". Today in Japan, being true to oneself has a most important value. It is somewhat hard to convey in English the true meaning of "being true to oneself." It is a kind of individualism and means "to respect the individuality as much as possible."

Being true to oneself is a claim of the relativity and can be found in the environment which can be described as an individual relativism in the stream of cultural relativism. This is analyzed by one commenator to be individualistic sense of value acquired by the Japanese due to a sudden jump from the pre-modern to the post-modern society. It may well be true that in Japan the idea of individualism in the paradigm of the modern society was and has been missing. The relativism in Japan, coupled with the consummatorization, has been directly the Japanese youth towards more differentiation.

The relativism and the consummatorization have produced such new type of relations with friends as "*otaku*" group as mentioned before. They can continue talking even indefinitely with others who have the same interest in a very peculiar area. But one they leave this small group they turn to be reticent and indifferent in their other lives. These young people, who belong to the "*otaku*" group cannot communicate with others. In 1989, one noteworthy incident occurred in Japan. One young man become a maniac of child pornography and kidnapped and killed several little girls one after another. He reportedly ate the flesh of the girls to become one with those little girls. It is surprising that, in his room, 5,000 volumes of child pornography video tapes were found piled-up from the floor to the ceiling.

This incident cannot be treated as an exceptional crime by an exceptional person. The Japanese youth certainly has not the mentality and sense of value, namely the relativity, that are similar to those of this young man.

Summary

In Japan, two concept, namely the consummatory and the differentiation, have become useful to analyze the sense of the youth. Originally, the term consummatory is a technical term used in the field of sociology as an antonym of the term "instrument". The concept of instrument signifies a means or a tool as opposed to the purpose. The consummatory is a concept that can be called a type of "now"ism which has been made to be a purpose of itself. Also, the differentiation, or emphasis on it, is a symbol of the post-modernism. These two concepts, the consummatory and the differentiation, have become key concepts to symbolize the mentality of the Japanese youth.

The value that used to be predominant in Japan showed strong orientation for future. They were willing to sacrifice the present for the future. The key concept there was the diligence. Our economic success and affluence have been the result of the diligence.

Young people, which view that Japan has already realized an affluent society, have been losing goals of life or goals of work, which older people use to have. We can say that we are having a so-called no-purpose-era. The concept of the consummatory has grown in these environment. Its growth has a lot to do with the fact that the young people have been discarding purposes as goals. We are now in an era where the young search for new goals. Purpose-rationality and instrumental-rationalism, which were the paradigms of the modernization have lost reasons for existence.

In the industrialized society, purpose of lavor of the individual coincides with that of society or enterprise, whose common interest used be accumulation, the paradigm in the industrialized society.

The consummatory phenomena and differentiation phenomena can be seen almost anywhere where there are young people. New phenomena have been taking place in respect of relations with friends, work, study, pleasure, finding jobs, crimes, dilinquencies and so forth.

The results of the survey about who wins popularity in class at school showed a great difference between Japanese and American junior high school students. Only less than 10% of the Japanese students answered that the most popular person in class is the one "who does well academically" and "who is a good athlete" and 60.5% of them answered it is the one with "sense of humor".

While in the United States, 36.1% of them opted for the with "sense of humor", 18.8% for the one "who does well academically", and 13.8% for a good athelete. In the same survey, 30% of the Chinese students opted for the one "who does well academically", and 30% for the one with "sense of justice", showing a great contrast to the Japanese students.

The young generation which is interested in consummatorization and differentiation is now leading the consumption in society and therefore, products now have to be those that meet the need of the young. Because of the development in technology, automobiles, watches, cameras and other products basically have the same function and quality regardless of the manufacturers. Now products have to have additional and particular values in addition of the original function of the products. An automobile that can be tuned by its owner, a watch that is distinctive from others and so on. The important thing is that the product is differentiated.

The cleaning job at Tokyo Disney Land is typical of consummatorization. There the instrumentality of cleaning has been changed to consummatory performance by haging cleaning done dancing.

But enjoyable work cannot possibly be all the work available. The paradigm in the production society lies in the purpose-rationalism and requires the means of supervision and control aiming for increase productivity and increased sale. There, the function of instruments if definitely necessary. But for such production, the needs of the youth would not be satisfied and the differentiation would not be possible. We will probably see in Japan the conflict of modernism and post-modernism.

Modernization was, as Max Webers says, "the processes of rationalization" of society. It regards society as a system with various functions, which improves their performance in the processes. Efficient achievement of the purpose was necessary in order to improve the performance, and the organization based on management control came into being. Excessive rationalization made a Japanese enterprise a machine for efficiency. Modernization was, in terms of a personal level, the process of giving priority to the behavior of purpose-rationality instead of to the traditional one. The structure was developed where each individual functions by performing his role and is rewarded financially in accordance with his amount of contribution to the function. Organizatiion with a seniority system, typically Japanese, has a severe competition for efficiency within.

People do not act merely to perform social functions according to instrument-rationality. There has been an emphasis on the point that each individual forms a unified world, the life world by giving a subjective meaning to the behavior, which is accumulated into a society. In short, we should grasp an individual who behaves not as a purpose-rational being but as a capable member who makes up the world. We must humbly accept the problem presented here. People's life is not to be limited to their small self-control toward the achievement of purpose. It is also an important part of life to have a substantial meaning and re-evaluate it.

Among the youth phenomena in Japan are the gourmet boom, brand boom and retro boom. They have something in common, and it is that they want a feeling of fullness out of life such as "feeling like a rich man", or "wanting to do something unusual."

As the difference motive is the foundation of consummatory phenomena, we should explore the motive a little more in detail. H. Maslow proposed "five stages of man's needs and diminishing of needs." Maslow theorized that, in essense, man's needs advance from the most basic needs to the more sophisticated ones in steps and that, if the basic needs are not satisfied, the needs in the next step do not emerge. Physical needs to satisfy hunger and thirst is the most basic, which is followed by need for security, need for affection, need for respect by the others, and need of self-realization or need to have meanings in life an achievement of goals. We find a problem in Maslow's diminishing needs. It is that Maslow based his theory on "lacking". When a need is not satisfied, we are lacking and the need is strongly felt. Even if the basic need is satisfied, the next higher need is not. Man tries to satisfy this higher need. We could say that Maslow's needs are based on "lack motive".

As we have entered the age of affluent society and are "free from necessity", we are no longer motivated by "lack motive". We are left with more variations in needs. The needs are different from individual to individual. Elements that become motives are found in differences, which is the basis of the "difference motive". Youth these days are calling for individualization and diversification, and I think this is an evidence that conversion from "lack motive" to "difference motive" is in progress. When lack motives were predominant, the goal for the people was to move up the steps of needs. In other words, even if the manner for satisfying needs in one stage was unified and uniform, there were differences. However, as majority of the people become wealthy, satisfying the higher needs no longer functions as the goal for needs.

Another idea that can be used to analyze the youth in Japan is the relativism. Now that we have achieved some degree of affluence, our society has become a kind of no-goal society. The collapse of the sense of value that would require certain things be done in certain way at anytime, anywhere by anybody, the youth has found a most important value to be to do everything as each individual likes. An older man tells a young man "study hard and work hard". The young man replies, "there can be a person who works hard, but there can also be a person who doesn't." There is no standard that can be applied absolutely or universally. Thus the key words of the young have become "true to myself" and "faithful to myself".

Today in Japan, being true to oneself has a most important value. It is somewhat hard to convey in English the true meaning of "being true to oneself". It is a kind of individualism and means "to respect the individuality as much as possible".

Juvenile Justice Issues in the United States

Ira M. Schwartz*

Introduction

The juvenile justice system in the United States is in the process of change. This paper examines the changes that are underway and considers their implications for the future.

The Juvenile Court

The historical roots of the juvenile court date back to the Child Saver Movement at the turn of the century. The social reformers of that period, troubled by the fact that juveniles were processed in the adult criminal courts and often confined in adult jails and prisons, felt that children should be handled differently than their adult counterparts. They felt strougly that children should be treated for their misbehavior rather than punished (Schwartz, 1989).

These concerns led to the creation of a special court for children. This new court was built on the following assumptions:

1. Children are not responsible for their actions. Therefore, the primary consideration should be to discover the causes for a child's actions and provide appropriate treatment and rehabilitation.
2. Decisions should be based on what is in the "best interests" of the child. The judge should act and make decisions as if he or she is a responsible parent. This subsequently became known as the Parens Patriae model.
3. The social and behavior sciences should provide the knowledge and insights needed to properly diagnose and treat problems.

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4. The juvenile court should not be burdened with the due process and procedural safeguards typically found in the adult criminal courts. Adversarial proceedings were felt to be an impediment to the rehabilitative process. Also, it was believed that the proceedings should be informal and confidential in order to protect the child from public ridicule and in order to establish an apporpriate atmosphere for examining problems and identifying solutions (Ibid).

The Parens Patriae model survived virtually unchallenged for more than half a century. Then, in 1967, the United States Supreme Court handed down the landmark *In re Gault* decision. In deciding this case, the Court declared that juveniles had a constitutional right to counsel, a right to confront and cross examine their accuser, and that a record must be kept of the proceedings (Gault, 1967). In 1970, the Court decided *In re Winship.* In this case, the Court ruled that the standard of proof in delinquency cases had to be "beyond a reasonable doubt"—the same standard of proof required to determine guilt in adult criminal cases (Winship, 1970).

These decision, as well as others decided in state courts, represent a direct assault on the Parens Patriae model and mark procedural and substantive convergence between the juvenile court and the adult criminal courts (Feld, 1990). Also, revisions in the purpose clauses of state juvenile justice codes calling for a greater emphasis on punishment and emphasizing that juveniles can and should be held accountable for their behavior are additional examples of the erosion of the Parens Patriae model (Ibid).

Although decisions by the Supreme Court carry the weight of law and are the final authority on a particular issue, implementatin of the Court's decisions in juvenile justice have been slow in coming. For example, recent research indicates that a substantial number of the young people appearing before the juveniles courts for delinquency and status offense cases are not being represented by counsel (Feld, 1989). Many of these youths are being encouraged to waive their right to counsel. This is occurring despite research indicating that juveniles who waive thier right to counsel do not understand the meaning and implications of their decision (Grisso, 1980: Feld, 1984, 1989)

The controversy surrounding the juvenile court is likely to continue well into the future. The most critical question that needs addressing is "Is there a need for a separate juvenile court to handle delinquency matters?" Given the difficulties the juvenile courts are having with complying to the Gault decision, one wonders whether the only way to insure that juveniles receive due process is for delinquency cases to be heard in the adult criminal courts.

Juvenile Arrest Trends

The 1960s and early 1970s were the ''baby boomer'' years. During this period, the child population in the United States increased dramatically. The increasing growth in the child population was accompanied by corresponding increases in the rates of juvenile delinquency.

The child population leveled off in the mid-1970s and declined during the 1980s. This decline resulted in a slight downturn in the rates of juvenile crime, particularly serious juvenile crime.

Between 1977 and 1987, the rates of arrest for all types of juvenile delinquency (e.g., serious violent and property crimes, misdemeanor, and status offenses)declined from a rate of 6,940 per 100,000 eligible youth to 6,477. More importantly, as reflected in Table 1, the rates of arrest for serious violent crime stabilized while the rates for serious property offensed declined.

[Tabe 1] United States Juvenile Arrest Rates for Part I Offenses 1977-1987

	1977		1983		1987	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
Part I Violent	81,368	260	74,682	258	72,829	264
Part I Property	745,534	2,384	579,581	2,000	585,662	2,120
Part I Total	826,902	2,644	654,263	2,257	658,491	2,383

Source: Steketee, Willis, and Schwartz, 1989, *Juvenile Justice Trends 1977-1987,* p. 15.

These same trends have been documented by others. For example, similar findings have been reported from the national self-report delinquency studies conducted by Elliott and his colleagues (Elliott, D.S.,: Ageton, S.S., & Huizinga, D., undated).

Demographic studies now indicate that the child population in the United States is beginning to increase, particularly minority children living in poverty. This trend could lead to increased juvenile delinquency rates when these youths reach their early and mid teen years.

Juvenile Court Trends

Diverting juveniles from formal court processing was one of the major juvenile justice policy initiatives of the 1970s and 1980s. The best available evidence suggests that the policies targeted toward this goal have had little or no impact. For example, the number and rates of juveniles referred to the juvenile courts during the yeras 1975 and 1981 were relatively constant (Krisberg, Schwartz, Litzky, & Austin, 1986). In addition, the number of delinquency and status offense cases formally disposed of by the juvenile courts during that period was relatively stable as well (Dalma, Snyder, & Sullivan, 1981; Snyder, Hutzler & Finnegan, 1985; Snyder, Finnegan, Nimick, Sickmund, Sullivan, & Tierney, 1988).

Juvenile Incarceration Trends

Juvenile Detention

Juvenile detention centers are physically secure facilities designed for the confinement of juveniles awaiting their apperance in court. There facilities should be reserved for juveniled accused of serious offenses and considered too risky to release on their own recognizance of under some form of community-based supervision.

The rate of admissions to detention centers in 1987 was virtually the same as it was in 1977 (Steketee, Willis & Schwartz, 1989). While this suggests that the rates were stable, they actually declined by about 15 percent between 1977 and 1984 and then increased to their previous level.

[**Table 2**] Juvenile Detention Centers One Day County by Offense February 2, 1977

	Number	Percent
Part I Violent	1,807	12
Part I Property	4,368	29
Part II Offenses	7,889	53
Status Offenses	833	6
Totals	14,897	100

Source: Steketee, Willis, and Schwartz, *Juvenile Justice Trends 1977-1987*, p. 41.

Although the consensus of professional opinion is that detention centers should be reserved for juveniles accused of serious offenses and youths who are a clear and substantial threat to the community or are likely to abscound if released, these facilities are largely populated with minor and petty offenders. The data in Table 2 shows the number of youths confined in detention centers on February 2, 1987 (the latest day that such data is available) and the most serious offense they were accused of. As can be seen, almost 60 percent were confined for Part II offenses (primarily misdemeanors and status offenses).

Training Schools

Training schools are public youth correctional facilities where youths are committed after being adjudicated by the courts. with a few notable exceptions, these institutions are large congregate care facilities operated by the various states. As Table 3 indicates, the rates of admissions to these facilities were essentially stable during 1977-87.

In addition, and similar to detention centers, a large proportion of the juveniles confined in training schools are minor and petty offenders. In fact, as data in Table 4 incarcerated in such facilities are serious violent or property offenders.

[**Table 3**] Rates of Admission To Juvenile Training Schools 1977-1987

1977		1982		1987	
Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
66,098	227	56,568	205	61,339	236

Source: Stekee, Willis, and Schwartz, *Juvenile Justice Trends 1977-1987,* p. 23.

[**Table 4**] Training Schools One Day Counts by Offense February 2, 1987

	Number	Percent
Part I Violent	5,204	20
Part I Property	8,609	33
Part II	11,395	44
Status Offense	560	2

Source: Steketee, Willis, and Schwartz, *Juvenile Justice Trends 1977-1987,* p. 42.

Discussion

During the past several decades a number of major attempts to reform the juvenile justice system in the United States have been made. These reforms have had limited success. For example, U.S. Suprems Court rulings aimed at insuring that young people are accorded some of the same due process and procedural safeguards accorded adults while, at the same time, preserving the Parens Patriae model, have fallen short of protecting the rights of children. This is leading to calls to abolish the juvenile court's jurisdiction over delinquency matters and having such cases tried in the adult criminal court. This, the abolitionists maintain, may be the only way to insure that children receive due process.

The national data on juvenile incarceration presented in this paper is discouraging. In 1974, Congress enacted the juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. This legislation called for the deinstitutionalization of status offenders, the removal of juveniles from adult jails, and encouraged stated to develop community-based alternatives for non-violent and non-chronic delinquents (U.S. Congress, 1973). The United States Congress, juvenile justice reformers, and child advocates expected to see large declines in the numbers and rates of juvenile confinement. These expectations are yet to be realized. Moreover, and in light of the growing child population in the United States and the growing number of children living in poverty (particularly minority children), it is not unreasonable to expect that the rates of juvenile incarceration will increase in the years ahead.

Fortunately, the juvenile incarceration picture is not quite as bleak when one looks beyond the national data and examines the trends and developments in the states. For example, existing data suggests that the juvenile training school populations in many states are declining. Also, there are studies suggesting that training school populations can be reduced without compromising public safety and that such policies are endorsed by the public.

For example, the rates of admissions to training schools declined in 23 states between 1977 and 1987. While the declines were slight in some instances (e.g., Arkansas, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kansas, New Mexico, North Dakota, and wisconsin), rates of admissions dropped by 20 percent or more in a number of states. California's rate declined from 446 per 100,000 eligible youths in 1977 to 291 in 1987. Delaware's rate declined from 553 to 368. Florida's declined from 368 to 60. Kentucky's dropped from 137 to 90. Louisiana's declined from 222 to 121. Missouri's declined from 194 to 103. Oklahoma's declined from

240 to 89. Pennsylvania's dropped from 92 to 60 (Steketee et al., 1989). Moreover, there is evidence that policymakers and youth correction officials in other states (e.g., Maryland, Arkansas, Virginia, Oregon, and Tennessee) are also beginning to reduce their training school populations.

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) evaluated the youth correction systems in the states of Massachusetts and Utah. These are states where youth correction officials closed their large training schools. They developed a few small high security treatment units for violent and chronic offenders and an extensive network of community-based programs for all other delinquent youths in state custody.

With respect to massachusetts, the NCCD researchers concluded that the movement toward a deinstitutionalized system did not unleash a juvenile crime wave. Also, youth placed in the custody of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services "...committed far fewer crimes (while) under DYS supervision than before their commitment" (Krisberg, Austin, & Steele, 1989, p.42). Moreover, the "...declines in offending in the first year were sustained over the next two yers" (Ibid).

Similarly, the evaluation of the Utah system indicates that "the imposition of apporpriate community-based controls on highly active serious and chronic juvenile offenders dose not compromise public protection" (Austin, Joe, Krisberg, & Steele, 1990, p.1). Their was also evidence suggesting that "short periods of confinement may be as effective as long periods of confinement" (Ibid).

These evaluations, coupled with recent public opinion surveys in such states as California and Michigan indicating broad suppot for community-based services for delinquents (Krisberg, 1990; Shcwartz, Abbey, & Barton, 1990), suggests that the number of states moving to reduce their reliance on training schools may increase in the future.

Unfortunately, the excessive use of juvenile detention continues to be a major problem that is largely being ignored. Recently, the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services and the Annie E. Casey foundation collaborated on an experiment designed to reduce the incidence of detention in a large county (Broward County) in south Florida. This experiment was quite successful (Schwartz, Barton & Orlando, 1990). The success of the project could well lead to a major effort by the Annie E. Casey to attack the problem of detention nationally.

The controversies surrounding the juvenile court will, in all likelihood, lead to reforms during the decade of the 90s. At the very least, state legislatures can be expected to enact legislation mandating that juveniles be represented by counsel. Somewhat less likely, but nonetheless a distinct possibility, some state legislatures may abolish the juvenile court in their jurisdictions.

Summary

As stated earlier, the juvenile justice system in the United States is in the state of flux. It is a system that has proven to be remarkbly resistive to change despite the fact that it is in desperate need of reform. The system is characterized by excessively high rates of referral of cases to the juvenile courts, over reliance on pre-and post-adjudication institutional care, and an inability to adequately protect the rights of young people.

These issuses are of great concern to elected public officials, juvenile justice professionals, academics, and child advocates in the United States. These concerns may well lead to major changes at the federal and state levels before the end of the decade.

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Hopes, Frustrations and Revolts:
Korean Youth Culture in Changing Environments

Kyung Soo Cha*

I. Korean Youths in Traditional Society

Before the coming of industrial societies, it was clear that young people did not form their own distinct consciousness or value systems. In other words, they shared ways of living and thinking with older generations. It was no exception in Korea. In traditional society of Korea, as elsewhere in East Asian countries, adults as well as juveniles lived mainly under Confucian value system.

As it is well known, Confucianism put main emphases on spiritual value, morality, filial piety, respect for teachers and seniors rather than material value or success. Man and woman were supposed to be separated out of doors, their relationships were not open. Confucian value system was lineal rather than individualistic or collateral.

People's attitude toward time was more past-oriented than present-or future-oriented. With regard to nature, they had the attitude of harmony, that is, the relation of "man with nature," not "man over nature."

We should keep in mind, however, that there was strong humanistic tradition in old Korean value system, which placed the highest value on human beings. This humanism has been the base of Korean culture throughout the history. It would be hard to discuss about youths' consciousness without mentioning humanistic tradition of Korea, because it has been so much changing recently. We interpret that filial piety, morality and emphases on spiritual values are all deeply related to this cultural tradition. However, the tradition began to change abruptly after the end of World War Two, especially through the 1960's, when industrialization in Korea rapidly progress.

It may be natural that youngsters of today be much different from those of

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the past time. Adults, however, who are accustomed to old ways of living, are frequently astonished to face new behaviors of young people. Now, we are living in a rapidly changing world where a new understanding for young generation is seriously needed.

II. New Patterns of Youth Culture

Although there are a number of studies on Korean youths' consciousness and value systems, the writer would like to concentrate mainly on three of them, which are considered relatively reliable and give succinct, but important suggestions for policy formations. The three studies will be presented below. In addition to them, *A Summary Report of The World Youth Survey, 1989* was of great help to examine youth culture in Korea. The report was made by Youth Affairs Administration, Management and Coordination Agency, Prime Minister's Office, Japan in 1989 from an international survey of 11 nations (Australia, Brazil, China, France, Japan, Korea, Singapore, Sweden, United Kingdom, U.S.A., and West Germany), asking questions to about 1,000 young people in each country aged between 18 and 24.

The survey was conducted to measure and compare young people's attitudes and opinions on such matters as family, school, job, friends, free time and community, nation and society, and outlook on life. An international symposium was held in Tokyo, October 13-20, 1989, organized by The Japanese Youth Affairs Agency to discuss the results of the Survey, in which the writer was fortunate to participate. It is very interesting to find that the results of the Japanese Survey are completely equivalent to those of researches done in Korea. The related parts will be mentioned, where considered necessary, to make characteristics of Korean youth culture clear.

(1) "Development-Oriented" and Frustrations

According to the 1984 study of Korea Survey (Gallup) Polls, Ltd., Korean youths have strong desire for independence from home and school, and show very positive attitudes toward job and everyday life. They have very clear objectives of life, while being very anxious to achieve "something big" in short time. This may represent the tendency of Korean industrialization since the 1960's. In a word, Korean young people are very much "development-oriented." If properly maintained, experts predict, Korea may continue recent developmental trend for the time being.

On the other hand, Korean youths are experiencing serious psychological conflicts, frustrations, mistrust and alienation. The same questionnaire was given to Japanese youths in 1984. It was reported that Japanese youngsters were less aggressive toward life, more satisfied in life, and had less feeling of alienation than Korean counterparts. Young people's frustration may come from the fact that they wish to achieve impatiently too many things in too short time, or that their aspirations are too higher to achieve with their abilities in reality. In fact, such conflicts were the results of socio-economic surroundings of Korea, as the debates have been common since the 1970's.

We can find the same tendency in the report of *The World Youth Survey, 1989,* published by Youth Affairs Administration, Management and Coordination Agency, Prime Minister's Office, Japan. In that report, Korean young people are quite modern-minded and achievement-oriented, that is, the number of people who think personal effort and abilities as major determinants of success is highest among 11 nations. At the same time, it must be noted that the rates of dissatisfied people with home (highest), school (second) job (third) and society (highest) are very high compared with other nations.

(2) Critical Consciousness on Social Matters

In the report on *Value Systems and Ideology of Post-War Generation in Korea,* published by the Institute of Social Sciences, Seoul National University, 1987, Korean youths show highly critical tendency toward political, economic, social and educational matters in Korea. University students are very liberalistic and anti-authoritarian, showing deep concern over morality, populace, unification, anti-foreign powers and even socialist ideology. They reject all kinds of authorities, norms and customs which, they think, lack legitimacy.

They are especially critical against dysfunctional effects of high economic growth, government controlled economic management, pollution industries, monpoly of large industries, corruption of entertainment business, inequality, injustice, gulf between rich and poor and labour problems. Such critical consciousness is also well reported in *The World Youth Survey, 1989.* Koreans were largest among 11 nations in answering "gulf between rich and poor," "right and justice do not always prevail" and "everything is measured by one's social status and one's birth is overestimated" as the major reasons for dissatisfaction with society. Also, it should be noted that the rates of Koreans are highest who responded "resort to illegal measures, if necessary" or "actively appeal to various lawful means" rather than "use of voting right" in case of dissatisfaction with society.

(3) Agonies and Psychological Conflicts of Korean Youths

Korean teenagers are in serious psychological agonies with school work and generation gap between parents and children, "Teenagers in Korea," a 1988 study done by *The Joong-ang Daily News,* a leading newspaper in Korea reveals. The research says that a discrepancy between parents' high expectation for children's school work and low ability of their own is one of the most serious problems of Korean adolescents. It is common to hear that young people are not able to find a place to stand or rest in the midst of "driven study" by parents and teachers. Young people say that such pressures at home and conflicts at school are two major reasons of possible runaway from home and truancy. It must be a problem that we are not providing our children with pleasant home and joyful schools.

Again, we are not very much successful in providing young people with opportunities to have contact with high cultures such as scholarships, historical human thought, science and fine arts. Young people are spending their leisure time mostly in watching TV, popular magazines and simple talking with friends. In a word, we worry that they are leading lives "without philosophy."

We also find similar psychological worries and value conflicts of Korean young people in *The World Youth Suvey, 1989.* According to the report, Korean students' worries about school work are most serious among 11 nations. It is also interesting to find in the report that father's role in teaching children and deciding important family matters is most significant, but fathers have least time to talk with their children among 11 nations. From these materials, we have no problem to say that there is significant gap between family structure and young people's consciousness. That is, while young people's consciousness is quite modern-minded, the family structure still keep old style of patriarchal system, although it is changing.

III. Prospects and Policy Implications

We examined so far some characteristics of Korean young people's consciousness about home, school, job and social problems with the studies done in Korea and the data in *The World Youth Survey, 1989.* It seems worth while to note that Korean young people show the highest rate of dissatisfaction with home life, school work and social matters among 11 nations in *The World Youth*

Survey, 1989. From the above analyses, we can find several important policy implications for the youth.

First of all, we have no problem to recognize that adolescents in contemporary society, especially Korean juveniles, are suffering from psychological conflicts and tension due to tight and pressure-giving surroundings of home, school and society in general. In order for today's youths to become capable leaders of the 21st century, we, with deep understanding toward young people, must let them experience humanistic love in home, school and even on the street, and must help them remove feeling of alienation.

Secondly, we must be careful as well as generous to listen to young people's criticism against political, economic, social and educational matters. While trying to let them maintain high motivation for development, we must help them alleviate their alienations and dissatisfactions, by making them understand reality or reforming social matters, if necessary. Anyway, close attention must be paid to the huge gap between structure of society and consciousness of young people. In some cases, older generations should be prepared to make concessions to young people concerning privileges that they enjoyed as adults.

Finally, in the home and school, we should provide our youths with various work experiences in addition to studies. We must keep in mind that our real problem is not "too much study," but "too little work." For this new direction of education, families and schools are expected to develop innovative programmes for work experience. Schools and industries are also advised more than any time to invent cooperative programmes in order to allow new activities. We are sure that today's youngsters will benefit more from such divergent programmes and activities by sharpening sense of responsibility, strengthening leadership to advance and increasing creativity to solve problems for the coming 21st century.

IV. Programmes of Youth Policy in Korea

As social-psychological-cultural researches on youth problems progressed, the concern over young people's environments such as family, school and society increased for sound growth of youth. Under these situations, it is very significant that an independent chapter on "Youth Section Plan" has been included in the Sixth Five Year Economic and Social Development Plan in Korea (1987-1991) for the first time in history. Youth Section Planning Committee, composed of twenty members of scholars, youth organization leaders and government officials had held numerous meetings to develop innovative programmes for youth, completing the report in 1988. Based on that report, basic principles and programmes will be introduced below.

1. Four Basic Principles

Youth development programmes are recommended to be developed with the following four basic principles.

(1) We must help youth enjoy the joy of life and take a pride in whatever he is doing. We should also guide youth to have positive attitude toward life, keeping them from having a feeling of powerlessness and alienation.

(2) Adults should behave as a model citizen so that youth can imitate. We should know that contemporary youngsters no longer listen to adults who violate norms. Adults themselves must practice what they want youth to do, particularly refraining from indulging in demoralized entertainment activities.

(3) Education for youth should be conducted in a way that youngsters can internalize autonomously social norms. It is very clear that self-control is a basic principle of character formation in democratic society. Self regulation and autonomous behaviors are especially needed in rapidly changing societies to keep up with an up-to-date living.

(4) Youth development policy in Korea should be harmonious with traditional culture, especially respecting human-centered value system in old Korea. Although it is very difficult task, we must try to promote a modern youth policy with minimum change of traditional values.

2. Policy Programmes

With the above basic principles, policy programmes concerning family, schooling and social environments will be suggested below.

1) Family

(1) Opportunities for dialogue among family members are enlarged. Work office allows "Day for Family" at least once a week for family conversation. Each school provides with "Dialogue Classroom with Fathers", bringing fathers to school for dialogue with students.

(2) Educational or teaching-learning materials for child rearing and parent education are systematically developed. These materials include characteristics of youth, techniques of teaching methods, roles of parents and case studies of successful parent-child relationship. The materials are made in diverse forms

of books, magazines, slides, and movies.

(3) "Respect for Age" thought is enhanced. Social atmosphere for this thought is expanded through books, comics, slides, movies, newspapers and televisions. The tax is deducted for those who support old parents living together with them, and "Parents Support Allowance", which is given to employess, is increased.

(4) Financial support to "minor household family" is increased by the form of living expense support, scholarships, cost of food and clothes, and medical care help. At the same time, children from poor family or without parent are also supported by various financial assistance.

(5) Counselling organizations for family problems are expanded throughout the country. In-service education for professional counsellors is improved with the help of social welfare organizations, religious foundations and business firms.

(6) Television, radio, magazines and newspapers prepare innovative culture and social education programmes for youths and parents. The programmes aim at the change of parents' value orientation toward schooling from status seeking education to wholeman education, which gives enormous effects on schooling.

2) Schools

(1) The competitive school atmosphere is transformed into more humanistic climate by strengthening wholeman education programmes. Student's extracurricular activities are emphasized. Outdoor activities such as camping, sports, participation in youth organizations and art works are also encouraged.

(2) Individual lessons in schools are strengthened to promote close ties between teachers and students. For this it is recommended to decrease the number of students per classroom. Diverse teaching and learning materials are developed to avoid learning by memorization.

(3) The number of school counsellors are increased to strengthen counselling service. Their teaching load is decreased, counselling rooms are enlarged in schools. The counselling courses are also improved for students in teachers training schools and for teachers in service.

(4) The relationship between parents and schools should become more close than now. Schools invite more often parents for PTA meetings or to perform the role of "One Day Teacher." Schools expand the parents' voluntary teacher programme for special events, counsellors, and academic helpers.

(5) The facilities of schools are improved in science room, laboratory, exhibition room, swimming pool, tennis court, dining hall and music or art hall.

3) Social Environment

(1) Police authorities strengthen the control over educationally harmful places near schools such as entertainment houses, hotels, inns, movies, drink shops, liquor stores, and game rooms. Citizens are encouraged to report these illegal places to authorities by using hot lines when they find violations.

(2) Nesspaper or television companies are encouraged to enlarge youth programmes such as counselling service, music concert, essay contest, sports games, and other cultural activities. Commercial advertisement in mass communication must strengthen educational character. Newspapers and televisions are suggested to make "public interest advertisement" and it should be released throughout the year.

(3) In order to keep residential and school area moral and clean, the zoning system, which separates housing areas and schools from commercial or entertainment places, is more strictly practiced. Urban development programmes or the construction of large buildings such as the movies or factories should be started after getting approval from "Education Effects Evaluation Committee" of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

4) Youth Organizations and Youth Facilities

(1) Special financial assistances are extended to youth organizations to expand sports and recreational facilities, especially camp facilities or "Youth Home in Mountains or Seasides." Tax deduction and low interest long term loans are given to those who invest in youth facilities.

(2) Youth Sports and Culture Complexes are constructed for physical and cultural activities of youth. These facilities include exhibition room, performing stage, lecture room, stadium, audio-visual room, lodging, and other service sectors such as dining hall and resting spaces.

(3) Culture programmes for youth are designed so that they can contact with high level of culture and the world of thought such as philosophy, literature, arts, and science. Culture Centers of facilities are recommended to give special discount rate or free admission tickets at a certain parts of the seats for working youths or those who need special financial assistance.

(4) Youth organizations are financially assisted by welfare foundations, business and government. Programmes are made to improve the professional quality of youth leaders and to enhance their socio-economic status. Family and school are also requested to help youth organizational perform their proper roles

by letting students participate in the activities of youth organizations.

(5) Apartments for rent are expanded to working youths, and Working Youth Welfare Centers are also expanded. These Centers are recommended to have seminar room, lecture room, swimming pool, lodging, culture activities room, and consumer's cooperative shop.

(6) As we see in diversion theory on juvenile delinquency, youth organizations are expected to play important roles in policy making on youth problems, training of youth leaders, cooperation between youth organizations and government, and the development of socio-psycho-cultural programmes which deal with delinquent juveniles. For this, cooperations among psychologists, educators, specialists in juvenile problems, youth leaders, social workers, and law enforcement officers are expected. These specialists are also expected to design the programmes of counselling, vocational education, social service activities and even sports and recreation.

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Discussion (1): The Impact of Mass Media and Peer Group In The Changing China On Adolescents' Development

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Introduction

Over the past fairly long period, China's social science workers have had little knowledge in sexual maturation, sexual conciousness and sexual knowledge of China's contemporary adolescents and the mass media's impact on them in this field, lacking a systematic analysis and study. However, a large-scale national survey on Adolescent Education conducted by the Institute of Youth Research of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences in 1988 has changed such a condition. This survey had a random questionaire of about 3,000 male & female teen-aged students in 5 areas in China to investigate the development conditions of life environment, sexual maturation and sexual conciousness of the adolescents and the mass media's impact on them and etc. And the published findings of the survey aroused extensive concerns and attention in the society. This paper attempts to probe into some issues about China adolescents in a changing society based on the findings of the survey so as to offer systematic and cogent data for further understanding and researching on the adolescents in the changing period of China, especially issue about the impact of mass media and peer group on the development of contemporary adolescents, founding the theory of adolescents' development of our own, thus making the theoretic preparation for a new and significant education mode of adolescence.

Mass Media in the Changing China

Over the past 10-odd years, lots of changes have taken place in China's society. With the reform and opening to the outside world of China, significant changes have also taken place in China's mass media. The survey concerning adolescents' life environment, sexual maturation and sexual consciousness reflects such a

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fact that mass media will undoubtedly place the adolescent in an open environment by their large quantity, new means and high frequency.

First, the increase of the mass media in China at present is surprising. According to the statistics of 1976, there were only 182 newspapers and periodicals & magazines in China in all, however which increased up to 3,866 in 1985, a 20-time growth in a decade. And the total circulation of the mass media of China in 1985 amounted to 30 billion copies. The great increase of mass media means that they have gone into every family in China, which has made the Chinese adolescents more well-informed. The survey also shows that at present most families of the middle school students in China subscribe to newspapers, periodicals & magazines, among which those of boy students account for 74.88%, those of girl students account for 79.44%, and those of the boy students subscribe for two newspapers or periodicals/magazines account for 27.57%, three account for 19.94%, four account for 9.58%, five or more account for 15.54%. Those of girl students subscribing two newspapers or periodicals/magazines account for 25.83%, three account for 20.07%, four account for 10.17%, five or more account for 14.85%. Most of teenagers spend certain time in reading newspapers or periodicals & magazines every day, 69.14% of the boy students and 64.33% of the girl students spend about half an hour in reading newspapers, periodicals/magazines, and 23.36% of the boy students and 29.72% or the girl students spend about an hour in reading newspapers, periodicals/magazines.

Modern mass media have a variety of means, such as telecommunication, radio broadcasting, television, tape-recording, video-recording, telecommunication satellite, and lots of others. In recent years, television sets and tape recorders have been entering more and more urban homes and the home-owned video recorders are also on the increase. According to the findings of the survery, most students' homes own radios, television sets, tape recorders and most of the students watch TV two to three times per week, among whom 45.80% of the boy students and 49.29% of the girl students spend two hours per time and 30.95% boy students and 31.32% of the girl students spend one hour per time in watching TV.

The modernization of the technologies in telecommunication & broadcasting greatily speeds up the transmission of the information, therefore the mass adlolescents are able to receive all kinds of informations simultaneously and the simultaneity has narrowed the cultural gaps among various areas. Based on the findings of the survey, we have come to the conclusion that adolescents in various areas show a common interest in a sort of movies or TV programs, i.e. the movie or TV program favorite of those in inland. It can be deemed that a sort to the effect of the modernized transmission media.

The Impact of the Mass Media in the Changing China on the Adolescent

In china where mass media are developing rapidly, the information from their parents and teachers has not been able to satiate adolescents already, they are eager to seek the most interesting, urgently-needed and latest information by various kinds of modernized transmission means. Developmentally, adolescence is an important stage in life for coming to grips with personal identity, a place in society, relationship with peers, as well as the formation of political attitudes and behavior (Erikson, 1968; Vander Zanden, 1989). It is in this stage that the knowledge about adolescent psycological development and sexual development, the courtesy and way to approach the opposite sex are what adolescents are eager to know (Yao Peikuan, Sun Zhongxiong et al, 1990). Therefore it can be said that modern mass media have more and more important impact on the development of adolescents, which shows chilefly in the following two areas:

The first is the precocious maturation of adolescence. Mass media make the sexual sense of adolescents tend to be open. 57-70% of the surveyed middle school students think that sex is the common thing that everybody has, 60-75% of the students adopt a nonchalant attitude toward the amorous scenes in the movies, which runs counter to the conventional viewpoint. The amorous scenes and descriptions in the movies and books also have a certain impact on the sexual psycology and sexual behavior of middle school students. The findings of the survey show that the adolescents' initiative yearning for the opposite sex, interest in sex, sexual impulse, masturbation, sexual dream appear at the ages of 6 or 8 to 18 or 19, averaging 14 to 15 (Yao Peikuan, Sun Zhongxiong et al, 1990). The survey also shows that there is an obvious difference in sexual physiological maturation between male and female adolescents, however there is hardly any difference in sexual psycological maturation between them, that can be partly ascribed to the effect of mass media.

Second, mass media have changed the conventional information receiving modes of parents-children type or teachers-students type, however the peer type is playing an important role, thus promoting a sort of new peer group culture. The findings of the survey show that in the regard concerning the resource of all kinds of sexual knowledge, lots of adolescents deem their parents and teachers only offer them little knowledge in this respect. 41.97% of the boy students and 44.50% of the girl student deem only little sexual knowledge is offered by their parents, and 23.17% of the boy students and 24.18% of the girl students deem only littel sexual knowledge is offered by their teachers. However, the influences of the mass media and the peers are the dominant among all the factors that influence adoloescents' sexual consciousness and sexual behavior, and those of the school curricula, parents and teachers are much less (refer to table 1).

The impacts of mass media and adolescent companions on adolescents' growth and development are getting more and more important, which is the result brought about by the social reform in China in the past 10-odd years. Tradi-

[**Table 1**] Various Factors Influencing Adolescents' Sexual consciousness & Sexual Behavior

Factors	Boy Students		Girl Students	
	Number	%	Number	%
Parents	36	2.94	81	6.34
Teachers	68	5.56	50	3.91
School-mates & Friends	138	11.28	128	10.02
Brothers & Sisters	6	0.49	16	1.25
Medical Books	359	29.35	295	23.08
Newspapers & Periodicals	267	21.83	271	21.21
Movies & TV	85	6.95	118	9.23
Broadcasting	42	3.43	83	6.49
Literatural Books	172	14.06	154	12.05
School Curricula	33	2.70	48	3.76
Other	18	1.39	34	2.66
Total	1223		1278	

tionally, the influences of teachers and parents were the dominant on adolescents, the moral norms and various kinds of knowledge were the ground for adolesents' growth and development. Now the change has raised the problems to us how to assess the adolescent peer group and its culture and how to promote adolescents' development with the influence and effect of adolescent peer group in a correct way.

The Peer Group in the Changing China

From a developmental perspective, adolescents and youth have a strong need to affiliate, especially with peers. It is the peer group that often mediates between the young individual and the larger society, and in "Changing Society" such as China, the adolescent group may become all the more salient.

Psychologically, the group becomes an important source of ego-identity, which is especially powerful during the stage of adolescence as young people search for a sense of self or question "Who am I?" Knowledge of age-group dynamics and role of the group in conflict and cooperation become essential in Understanding the diverse attitudes and behavior of youth in any society (Braungart and Braungart, 1989).

At present, the Chinese adolescents have a strong desire to make peer friends. Most adolescents regard their young companions as close friends. Findings of

[**Table 2**] Close Friends of the same sex of Middle School Students & their Relations

		Sex	
		Male (%)	Female (%)
Those have cose friends of the Same Sex	Parents	8.11	9.57
	Sisters	1.75	8.21
	Brothers	3.60	0.46
	School-mates	16.79	20.76
	Companions	23.34	29.51
	Other	0.28	0.37
Those have no close friends of the same sex		46.13	31.14

the survey show that young companions account for about 40% of the close friends of the same sex of the boy middle school students and about 50% of the girl middle school students (Refer to Table 2).

From Table 2, we can find that the colse friends of the same sex of the adolescents account for over 50% (53.87% for the male and 68.86% for the female). In addition, there are a number of teenagers who have close friends of the opposite sex. 22.18% and 18.35% the surveyed boy students and girl students report they have had close friends of the opposite sex already, among whom the youngest male is aged 8, the oldest male is aged 19, and the average age is 14.33, the youngest female is aged 8, the oldest is aged 18, and the average age is 14.90.

Because of the precocious sexual maturation of the adolescents and the opening tendency of their sexual consciousness, some teenagers have lovers. Among the surveyed 1,053 boy students, 7.88% of whom have lovers, the youngest is aged 10, the oldest is aged 19, and the average age is 15.16. Among the 1,070 surveyed girl students, 5.70% of whom have lovers based on their own report, the youngest is aged 12, the oldest is aged 19, and the average age is 15.30. Moreover, some boy and girl students have had the experience of private appointment, embrace, kiss, fondle, sexual intercourse and so on (Refer to Table 3).

However, 91.66% of the boy students and 95.4% of the girl students deem adolescents of both sexes ought to associate with each other "Publicly and col-

[**Table 3**] The Middle School Students' Behaviors To Contact the Bodies of the Opposite Sex

Behavior	Sex	
	Male (%)	Female (%)
Hand in hand	67.43	71.37
Embrace	9.54	12.03
Kiss	10.53	9.54
Fondle	8.22	3.73
Sexual intercource	3.29	2.07
Other	0.99	1.24
Number of surveyed Students	304	241

lectively'', only 3.86% of the boy students and 2.83% of the girl students deem that adolescents of both sexes ''Ought not to associate with each other,'' and 4.48% of the boy students and 1.71% of the girl students deem the association ought to be ''private and lonely''. Therefore, it can be concluded that the tendency of collective association between both sexes and making close friends of the same sex is a striking characteristic of the Chinese adolescent peer group at present.

What is the determinant that is unanimously popular in the peer group and the association between boy and girl students? The determinants of various nations and in various historical epoches are different from one another. Over the past fairly long period in China, because of the lack of the data based on empirical studies, it was generally dogmatically deemed that ''Developing in an all-found way morally, intellectually and physically'' was the determinant. But the findings of the survey have proven that such a viewpoint dose not totally conform with practical conditions. In a question concerning ''the motive of association with friends of the opposite sex'', the order of answers of the boy students are as follows: a. prettiness and lovableness, b. mutual understanding, c. kindness and cordialness and d. ability and helpfulness; that of the girl students are as follows: a. mutural understanding, b. ability and helpfulness, c. to learn social skills and d. sense of safety and stability. Obviously, boy students value the appearence of the girl student more, whereas girl students pay more attention to the internal temperament of the boy student (Yao Peikun, Sun Zhongxiong et al, 1990).

Characteristics of Peer Group and Adolescents' Development

At present, there is a strong desire to make friends with each other among the adolescents in China. In the meantime, the influence of the companions and peer group on the growth and development of the adolescents is strengthening, and that of the parents, teachers and others is weakening. This chiefly is the result brought about by the on-going social reform in China. According to Erikson, during the period when great social changes are taking place, it is very difficult to attain the identity accepted by all, this is because the elder generation cannot offer the proper role model for the younger generation. Under such a circumstance, young people are likely to reject the role model of their parents and turn to their peers to seek the new one, thus, the influence of the peer becomes more important. The role model that a young people attains in a clique makes him/her to be identified with the context of the society. The social reform of contemporary China makes the role model of the existing elder generation hardly accepted by the younger generation, therefore, the status of adolescent companions is enhanced further.

From adolescent development perspective, adolescence is a period when an individual develops dramatically psychologically and physiologically, and the development makes him/her have a new unexperienced expectation, as well as a desire for self-esteem. Under such a circumstance, others' help and support become more necessary for him/her. For instance, he/she gets much of the knowledge on sex from his/her peers. If a young people has not any channel for such knowledge, the normal development of his/her psychology may be hampered, or the development will deviate from the normal way.

Further exploration in this field also proves the feelings nurtured in the early stage between adolescents and parents are gradually alienating. This alienation in feeling also means the adolescents' gradual independence of the relations with their parents. After the adolescents' psycological estrangement of their families, they will undoubtedly place their sentimental energy in their peers so as to seek a new reliance in feeling. But that is a complicated course, which contains not only the differences in sex and family background but also that of the independence formed previously at home. During the course, when they cannot become self-centered, they will urgently need others' understanding and support, especially those from their peers. Because they are of about the same age and are compeers, they have equality, and only by which can they have sentimental tranquility and stability. Thus, it is this equality that makes them learn the necessary knowledge, skills and attitude in social life.

The nature of adolescence also lies in the exploration. During this stage, they must be able to judge whether a behavior norm should be accepted or not and what personalities of them are favored or rejected by others. In order to make a trial of a new sort of behavior, they must find the way to conform their needs and motives to social conditions and find the role model that conforms with their own development. This stage of finding is sometimes fruitful and sometimes perplexing. All these have to be solved in the peer groups. Therefore the friendship among adolescents and the effect of peer group become exceedingly important.

According to J. E. Horrocks, the principal significance of the friendship among adolescents are as follows: a. bringing about a sense of tranquility, b.

spending a happy time, c. gaining the experience of getting along with others well, d. being made broad-minded, e. having the opportunity to learn social skills, f. having the opportunity to criticize others, g. offering the experience of love, and h. promoting the development of honesty (Zh Peili, 1985).

All in all, we must attach great importance to the friendship among adolescents of about the same age and the impact of the peer group on the development of adolescents, taking advantage of the mechanism that is in favor of the physiological and psychological development of adolescents so as to promote their development.

Conclusion

Based on the large-scale national survey concerning Chinese adolescents in the 1980s, we have come to the conclusion that the influences of the modernized mass media and peer group are the principal external factors for the growth and development of them. And the social reforms on-going in China make the two agents which influence the development of adolescents have various characteristics. The modernized mass media are promoting the formation of the youth culture with uniform and simultaneity, and the adolescent peer group further catalyzes the formation. However, the mechanism and effect of the explore further. The exploration of the relations among the modernized mass media, the friendship among adolescents or peer group and the youth culture will undoubtedly help us understand and care adolescents and promote them to develop well.

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Discussion (2): Female Youth in The United Arab Emirates "Reality and Ambitions"

Shafika E. Abbas*

Youth have been a major issue ever-since the student revolt in the late 60's. Henceforth, a major concern to policy makers and sectors concerned with their welfare. Therefore over the years extensive research has been carried out on youth, their needs and problems through conferences, symposiums and workshops in order to find solutions regarding this vulnerable and crucial group.

Youth, the group that is the issue at this symposium, as cate-gorized by the UN, fall between the age of 15 to 24-an age which has been at constant "battle with their older generations", assuming that nobody cares to understand their needs and feelings-the "generation gap". The vital importance of this age group is better expressed by H.H. Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahayan: "Youth are the pillars of every nation, pillars of the present and the future."* Hence every action should be taken to face up to problems arising within this age group.

Many countries have taken extensive steps to provide for their needs; others have been trying; and yet others are still in the process of thinking of means of provision.

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) may be categorized in the second group. Nonethe-less the major concern is geared towards "Male" youth while "Female" youth are ignored in many areas. Therefore, this paper will focus on female youth in the UAE.

Social Structure in the UAE

Ever-since the federation of the UAE on the 2nd of December, 1971, and the establishment of an institutionalized society, a great number of developmental projects has been proposed and, in fact, carried out. A high percentage of the

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* His Highness Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al-Nahayan, President of the United Arab Emirates.

budget has been spent on the execution of such projects. For example, the 1986 budget of the Ministry of Education (see Table 1) constituted 12% of the overall 1986 budget.

And the number of students enrolled during the year 1975 to 1989 (see Table 2). clearly indicates the attention and concern which the UAE has paid for its youth.

On the other hand, the economical upheaval in the UAE which resulted from the oil boom, has invited a variety of cultures into the country. It is perhaps

[**Table 1**] UAE Annual Budget - 1986[1]

(in 1000 Dh.)*

Total Budget	Ministry of Education	Percentage
13,373,553	1,632,704	12%

[**Table 2**] Development of Student Numbers by[2), 3)] Sex and Educational Level

Public and Private: 1975-1989

Educational Level	Year / Gendre	1975	1980	1985	1989
High School[2]	M	1,602	3,948	9,628	12,662
	F	1,042	3,508	9,241	14,989
	T	2,644	7,456	18,869	27,651
Technical Schools[2]	M	1,341	1,611	1,712	2,186
	F	—	—	—	—
	T	1,341	1,611	1,712	2,186
University[3]	M	—	1,397	3,291	4,190
	F	—	1,029	4,998	9,643
	T	—	2,606	8,289	13,833
Total	M	2,943	6,956	14,631	19,038
	F	1,042	4,536	13,739	24,632
	T	3,985	11,492	28,370	43,670

1) Ministry of Planning. Annual Statistical Abstract. Central Statistical Dept; Twelfth Ed., UAE 1987, pp. 281-83.
2) Ministry of Planning. Economic and Social Development in the UAE. UAE: 1975-1985, p. 214.
3) Abbas, Shafika, E., The System of Higher Education in the UAE. June-1990, p. 13.

interesting to note that of the total population of the UAE, less than 30% are nationals, while the remaining (70%) are foreigners, comprising citizens from all over the world.

The impact of foreign presence on the UAE society, specifically on the younger generation, has been multi-faceted. An obvious effect has been a moral one-a clash between the values carried by the incoming foreign communities and those prevailing in the hosting country. In simple terms, the youth have been found lost between the traditional and conservative values of their ancestors on the one hand, and the new, liberal values practised in this growing society on the other.

Women in societies such as this one have been put within an outlined frame, where female movement is only permitted within its boundaries. However, the development of the society and the awareness of women of their social, financial, and even political rights, coupled with the impact of education and the ongoing changes of the cultural values in the UAE society, have all led women to hope for and pursue a more effective role in their society. Such attempts by women, however, have received mixed attitudes from the UAE community at large. These attitudes could be identified and briefly described under three headings: the conservative view, the liberal view, and the moderate view.

I. The Conservative View:

The conservatives base their judgements and attitudes on Arab Socio-cultural and Islamic values which prevailed in the 15the and 16th centuries. In doing so, proponents of the conservative view hinder and restrict any attempt on part of females to meet up to the natural changes of an age of technology. In other words, it seems difficult, or rather impossible, to expect any changes in the roles of present day females, when value criteria are based on those which prevailed centuries back. However, because conservatives use (or rather misuse) culture as a weapon against progress, they have succeeded in gaining the sympathy of the UAE older generation. The following example could perhaps clarify the point. Conservatives, for example, restrict the domains of females, allowing for male-female segregation. A case in point is that female contribution is encouraged in the field of education (teaching in female schools). It is, therefore, obvious that the conservative view fails to recognize the fact that modernization (in the sense of the active participation of all members of a society in all fields) cannot succeed unless equal opportunity is given to both males and females. And as such this view has been interfering with female aims and aspirations.

II. The Liberal View:

Contrary to the conservative view, the liberals are greatly influenced by western societies and the new tends of liberation. Furthermore, the liberals reject and bitterly attack all traditional, social views, and call for 'revolutions' against their old values and outdated ideals. Such extreme attitudes, which in fact are represented by a minority group in the UAE community, disregard the cultural differences between the western societies and their society. And although liberals represent a minority, their views cannot be ignored in any research, aiming at handing the issue of youth.

III. The Moderate View:

This view is characterized by its liberalism-a liberalism which comprises an understanding and, in fact, an acceptance of the traditional values of the society, but which at the same time advocates liberal changes as an inavoidable part of the process of development, change and modernization. The Moderates express full consciousness of the fact that the so-called 'generation gap' cannot be bridged by adopting extreme antagonistic attitudes towards existing values in a particular society. Rather, they, the moderates, compromise, and advocate understanding, negotiation, and agreement upon points of differences. for example, they claim that the UAE society cannot at this stage go back to the pre-oil era; it also cannot be expected to accommodate itself to a totally liberal 'western-like' society. Rather, this society needs time in order to allow for the process of change and development to follow a slow, though aiming, path towards progress and modernization. The moderate view gains sympathy from the majority of the UAE community-with reservations from the two other views discussed earlier.

Youth in the UAE:

The UAE society could rightly be called 'society of the youth' because the percentage of those who belong to this age group is high in the community as shown in Table 3.

It is an obvous fact that the number of UAE nationals is continuously decreasing while the total population growth is increasing. The UAE national ratio in the year 1975 was 63.3% while in 1980 it estimated 27.9% of the total population. The reason behind this staggering figure is the continuous increase in Arab and foreign manpower entering the UAE for work, the majority are single men above the age of 25.[1]

The UAE female gained access to modern education in 1954-a date which puts her behind her counterparts in other Gulf State, such as Kuwait, Bahrain...etc. However, the motivation to learn is extremely high, given the short period of time in this process. And ever-since, the UAE female has faced many social barriers. However, especially after 1971, education has become a weapon by which the UAE female has established her social identity, and by which she has proved her intellectual ability compatible with (if not ahead of)her male counterparts (refer back to Table 2).

[Table 3] Population by Age group and sex[a), b)] 1975-1990

Age	Gendre	1975			1980			1985*			1990*		
		Youth	%	Total Population	Youth	%	Total Population	Yough	%	Total	Youth	%	Total Population
15-24	M	83,498	15	386,427	123,102	12	719,712	65,244	4	—	83,014	—	—
	F	30,412	5.5	386,427	60,557	6	322,387	54,658	3.5	—	76,382	—	—
	T	113,910	20.5	558,000	183,619	18	1,042,099	119,902	7.5	1,622,464	159,396	—	—

a) Ministry of Planning. Annual Statistical Abstract. Central Statistical Dept; 11th Edition., UAE. 1986, pp. 21-24.
b) Abbas, Shafika, E., The System of Higher Education in the UAE. June-1990, p. 1.
* 1985 and 1990 = estiomation, last detailed sensus published by the UAE was for 1980.

Female Youth and Life styles:

Female youth in the UAE are living in a dilemma between what the society expects from this young group on the one hand, and their wishes, needs, and aspirations on the other. Therefore, female youth are in a situation of what might be termed 'lost identity'

The UAE, as most developing countries, has a major task in formulating

1) Council for Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in the Gulf States. Youth Symposium on Related Problems in the Arab Gulf Society: Vol: 3. Baghdad, Nov./23-27/1985, p. 5.

national youth policies, and fully aware of youth issues and related problems. Therefore, several governmental and private organizations are responsible for implementing various progammes to meet the needs of this age group.

The existing national machineries available for youth could be identified as follows:[1]

1. Formal education.
2. Adult education and Literacy progammes.
3. Summer clubs for Youth, where various sports and artistic activities are persued.
4. Institutions of higher learning "universities and technical colleges".
5. The Supreme Council for Youth and Sports, established in 1980, provides sport activities through the various sport and youth clubs around the country. These sports activities are mainly intended for males. The council emphasises on sports while programmes to meet needs of importance such as psychological, emotional, intellectual, religious and spiritual, among other areas, are uncatered for.
6. The Ministry of Information and Culture provides educational, social, cultural and a variety of entertainments for youth through television and other forms of media.
7. Women Associations provide vocational programmes, such as typing, computing, revival of heritage handicaraft, foreign languages, besides providing health care for mother and child.
8. The Ministry of Health contributes through health programmes provided for students at the various stages of their education.
9. Ministry of Socail Affairs provides programmes in the form of non-formal education for females such as: foreign languages, computer programming, typing, handicrafts, home economics and vocational training for the various different forms of handicapped youth.

Among the various programmes, which are intended for female youth, are more-or-less in the form of education and what women associations have to offer, which is unfortunately unutilized by young females due to the redundance of their programmes to these offered by the schools.

In a study conducted by Hassan, Ali, H.[2] et. al, the researchers identify the

1) Abbas, Shafika, E., Establishment and Development of National Machineries For Youth in the UAE. 1989, pp. 1-3.

2) Hassan, Ali, H., et al. Youth in the United Arab Emirates-"Case Study Female Youth". UAE University. 1988, pp. 10-12.

problems from which young females in the UAE suffer. The problems fall into three categories and could be summarized as follows:

I. Social Problems:

1. Lack of recreational facilities to meet the needs of young females.
2. High rate of spinisterhood (unmarried women).
3. The reluctance of national males from marrying national females.
4. The feeling that society prefers males to females.

II. Psychological Problems:

1. Suffering from undurable and painful free-time (boredom)
2. Disturbed emotions over trivial matters.
3. Uncertainty about the future.

III. Cultural Problems:

1. Lack of woman participation in social domains.
2. Family's orthodox outlook towards the working female.
3. Inhibition in expressing themselves.
4. High rate of illiteracy in either or both husband and wife.

In a brief survey conducted on 140 (age between 15 to 24) female youth for this paper, about the reality of their life styles, and ambitions in the UAE, three different categories of youth materialized.

1. Freedom alloted group	6%
2. Parental-controlled group	36%
3. Conditioned freedom alloted group	58%

Group 1

In response to questions asked, they stated their freedom in choice of husband, dress, profession, high social status, personal freedom and family trust. This sector in society is a minority group (6%) and are not considered as a typical UAE national. On the other hand, many youth, when asked about their situation within the society, avoid truthful answers, and are always on the defensive, prefering to deny the existence of any problems.

Group 2

This group which estimates around 36% is under strict family domination. Females in this group have, for example, no say whatsoever in the choice of their husband. They, furthermore, are expected (rather obliged) to dress according to the traditional Islamic code. They are not free to hold jobs in domains other than those which are female proper, such as teaching in female schools. Others who opt not to go into an educational profesion (for lack of interest for instance) find themselves confinded to their homes. Staying at home deprives these young educated females from enjoying any social roles or personal freedom. They, in brief, live in the shadow of their parents, shying away from expressing their minds and needs in order not to upset their families and disrupt social values.

Group 3

This group which adds up to the largest of 58%, may fall somewhere between group 1 and 2. Females may have a choice but a limited one under the supervision and approval of their parents. They have a choice in accepting or refusing a marriage proposal, only after a thorough screening by parents who approve or accetp him as worthy of their daughter.

Young women are allowed some freedom of choice of dress. But still they remain under a thorough supervision of their families. As such their social status and personal freedom remain restricted-despite a certain degree of freedom, which puts them in a better position than their counterparts in group 2.

Ambitions of Female Youth in the UAE:

Female youth in the UAE are not much different than any other youth in the world. Due to the uniqueness of the structure of the UAE society, where youth are surrounded by the various nationalities residing in UAE, find themselves in constant contact with these various cultures. Besides they are affected by the continuous development of eastern and western technologies, and the mass media which is more or less western-oriented.

Therefore, these foreign cultures are bound to rub on them, especially since they are at an age, where dreams and ambitions are what push them forward, with a willpower to conquer all.

The dreams and ambitions of female youth according to the result of the survey are stated as follows in priority order:

1. Obtaining a university degree.
2. Working in desired and suitable positions.
3. Getting married.
4. Worrying about peace and security in the Gulf area and the world.
5. Being an active and important gendre in society.
6. Changing societies outlook towards women, and having freedom to express their rights.
7. Wishing for various programmes to be provided for female youth.
8. Travelling and seeing the world.
9. To be allowed more freedom to do and go where they please.
10. More understanding between males and females.
11. Being a good citizen.

— Their major concern surrounds obtaining a university degree, so as to escape their dull and routine life at home, and to be independent financially. Therefore the desire of obtaining a degree is related to job opportunities as a means of escape.

— Another major concern is finding a suitable husband, and at many times it is first on their priority list. As they fear the outcome of not being offered a hand in marriage, although the percentage of males exceeds that of females. This fear is related to the fact that UAE males prefer to marry other Arab or foreign nationalities, than marrying a national, due to the high dowry that is demanded of them, when many a time is beyond their capacity. Therefore, many women especially youth accept the first marriage proposal offered to them, so as not to lose the chance of marriage. Divorce rates are increasing in the UAE, and many a time, it is due to early marriage, based on the lack of understanding and impulsiveness.

— Due to the recent political upheavel facing the Gulf area, youth are very disturbed and insecure, and seek, as most do, to live in peace and security.

— Female youth are very concerned about the traditional outlook of society towards women. Therefore they dream of having a more positive and active role in societ, of being somebody important; and have society look at them as able and dependable citizens, and to have the ability of voicing their feeling and needs.

— Another ambition is the desire to travel around the world and learn about the various cultures.

— A number of them with more courage than other, voiced what is unexpected, which is, to have more freedom to do and go where they please, without being chaperoned by some family member or other.

— Since the UAE is an Arab Islamic country, with the segregation of men and women, this young gendre hope to have some basis of understanding between the two sexes, to understand their needs and find some solutions to the most important need in their lives, which is marriage, home and or family.

Conclusion:

It is an obvious fact that there is a distinct paradox in the lives of the female youth in the UAE in as far as their lifestyle and the standard of their intellectuality are concerned. There is a desire to fulfill certain aspirations in life generally, but regretfully these ambitions are not provided for in society.

Therefore, the paradox of this age group of youth is obvious between the style of their living and is relationship to their mentality, which carries a lot of the elements of western and foreing cultures, whereas western views conflict with their home culture. It could therefore be stated that there is a cultural gap between the fast pace of cultural change and the slow pace of social change in the UAE. This remains the gap that the female youth are suffering from in the UAE.

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Education and Job Opportunities for Youth

Raja G. Gomez*

Introduction

The purpose of this International Symposium has been stated as the exploration of youth culture in the rapidly changing societies of our time and through such exploration the understanding of how the youth and the adult differ in their ways of thinking and acting.

The Symposium is specifically stated *not* to be another attempt to map out guidelines or shape models for youth in accordance with values or principles of older generations, but to support youth through a richer understanding of the way they see their lives.

I believe that some research and other studies undertaken by the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP) over the last five years in the area which is the topic of the present presentation will be helpful in achieving these aims. As a sub-objective of the Symposium has been stated as the search for common denominators across various cultures and regions, it is my hope that the experience of those commonwealth countries about which I speak will help in this process too.

The processes of education, job seeking and employment (including self-employment) form an important part of the "youth culture" that we are considering. Indeed for most youth their whole view of the future from, as we shall see, their very young days is influenced and conditioned by the aspirations, including their positions in employment, which they hope to achieve through the educational opportunities open to them. In recent years the drive to seek certificates of educational qualification, visible throughout the world, but most noticeable in the countries of Asia, has been made more pronounced by the knowledge that the technological revolution of the late 1990s is probably going to cause greater divergencies than existed earlier between the various levels of

* Commonwealth Programme, U.K.

education and job opportunities available in the countries in different stages of development.

I should add, in concluding this Introduction, that my comments will be particularly relevant to the experience of developing countries and the way in which their youth seem to view the future. I offer them as thoughts to help stimulate our discussion. By the very nature of this presentation, including its brevity, they are not always connected into a unity but are often instead a set of separate comments.

Job Opportunities and Preferences

One of the earliest realisations of young people, affecting their whole behaviour thereafter, must be that youth unemployment, and mass youth unemployment at that, is a situation that has existed for a long time, is currently existing and cannot be looked upon as temporary. According to ILO figures there has been a marked increase in young population seeking work, with figures of an increase of 50 per cent between 1983 and 1987 not being uncommon in the age group 15-24 for countries in the part of the world in which we are meeting. Of course this must be seen against the figures for general unemployment but here agin even in a country like the Republic of Korea the growth in overall unemployment was as much as 20 percent in the last decade. Given the percentage of population in the youth category being higher in developing countries the situation will be more pessimistic for those than for newly industrialised and developing countries.

It was in this context that the Commonwealth Youth Programme engaged itself in studies on occupational preferences of youth. Decisions relating to these matters and to the related ones of education and training are crucial to the long term career and social development of youth. They also give us indicators about the balance that would need to be struck between individual satisfaction and the needs of society at large. Much of our completed work so far has been done in the Caribbean and Asia: more work is proceeding in Africa and will be extended in due course to the South Pacific. There are great similarities in the results obtained so far between the various regions studied and while asking you to be aware of the dangers of over-generalization I shall speak of results across the board drawing attention in discussion to specific variations only where that seems particularly necessary. We shall in that way achieve a broad view of problems and aspirations, although with some loss of academic rigour. No doubt the ensuing discussion will help us to pinpoint particular areas of difference or the invalidity of generalization.

Among career choices of preference which figured most prominently are the professions of medicine, law, accounting, engineering and teaching. Usually females have shown a greater preference for the teaching professions, and males for engineering. Preference for medicine seems to be equal between the sexes though in some regions female preference seem to predominate. While the importance of agriculture is stressed by many governments in their programmes of development very little interest in farming as a career has been shown.

A good insight into the topics we are discussing comes from reasons for choice of the more popular careers. Most young people faced with this question answer that they choose a career on the basis of being well paid, the opportunity to use skills for the good of the community, the possibilities of advancement, the status it would give and then security. It has been noticed, however, that within any named career choice many-if not most young people tend to say that they choose it because of the opportunity to serve their community.

An interesting orientation on the youth view of their future employment comes from their answers to the question of the level of difficulty they expect to experience in obtaining employment. Generally young respondents were likely to claim that it would not be difficult to get a job. As one goes up the scale of age there is more anticipation of these difficulties. This clearly says something about how training and education are viewed as factors which assist in getting a job as much as about how soon the age of optimism is dulled as the young grow older.

Young people were also asked about the importance of selected characteristics of jobs in deciding on their careers, e.g. special abilities, opportunities for creativity, pecuniary interest, the exercise of leadership, and so on. The characteristics that were rated high were the opportunities to use special abilities, the opportunity to be helpful to others, being able to earn one's own money and being able to work with persons rather than with things. Opportunities for creativity, the chance to exercise leadership, freedom from supervision and the level of status and prestige were ranked lower when the question was put in this form.

It is interesting to note that in many countries youth agree that the development of agriculture is a very important factor in the growth of their countries, even though this ranked very low in their personal career choice. A pessimist or cynic might claim that this suggests a lack of interest on the part of youth in pursuing careers most important for their countries' development. However, another view could be that the youth are making a comment here on opportunities for progress, the position of the farmer in society, government assistance to those in that area, and so on.

Educational Opportunities: Match and Mismatch

We could now examine the position regarding educational opportunities. Many comments have already been made in regard to the belief that education is the key to success in the adult world. This could perhaps be true according to the way education is defined in a specific instance, but much of it seems devoted to the earning of qualifications without relevance to the extent to which jobs may depend on qualifications. Technological advances could increase the extent of irrelevance. We spoke earlier of the technological revolutions of the second half of the 20th century. Following the pattern of a recent UNESCO Report (Beijing, 1989) we can recognise three of them:

1. The information revolution,
2. The biotechnology revolution, and
3. The revolution in the creation of advanced industrial materials.

As that report goes on to say wealth and prosperity are increasingly depending on the knowledge and skills of nations. Developed countries have never been so creative and innovative. The developing countires wish to purchase more and more of these new products and services leading to their increased indebtedness. Many of them realise that they will not thrive economically unless they too join the knowledge-based industrial world. But, there are problems of population management, of the low level of literacy, of the degradation of the environment, and of drugs among others. The opportunities of education for the young have to take into account all of these factors if they are to meet the kind of expectations that we see reflected in the limited area we discuss of job preference.

The same Report picks out the following shifts of emphasis needed in educational systems:

(a) A change from education for conformity to education for creativity;
(b) A change from promoting competitiveness to promoting cooperativeness;
(c) A change from parochial loyalties to global loyalties;
(d) A change from emphasising the private benefits of learning to emphasising the public benefits of learning;
(e) A re-commitment to the goal that education must be for all and not just

for some;

(f) A commitment to learning how to learn;

(g) A new "passport of learning", namely the enterprise passport giving it the same status as the academic and vocational passports;

(h) An emphasis on personal development, self-awareness and confidence; and

(i) A commitment to promoting inter-personal development based on tolerance and mutual respect.

The resemblance of these shifts of emphasis to the underlying thinking behind young peoples' preference for particular forms of employment is remarkable. For instance, in emphasising the public benefits of learning one is talking of the need to develop a sense of service and to stress benefits to the community. In speaking of the enterprise passport of learning, one is talking of developing capabilities of thinking, problem solving and evaluation. We can perhaps agree with the experience of the Asia region summarised at a recent UNESCO/APEID meeting (Bangkok, 1989) which included the following:

(i) There has been very little planned effort to promote, among school leavers, competencies that they will require as gainfully self-employed persons. The effort to develop in confined to specialised institutes, often set up to train high-level business executives.

(ii) The orientation of the education system has still remained with focus on two main directions: facilitating entry into second and third level institutions and the generation of expectations to enter wage employment in the organised sector with a view to ensuring a sense of security. The work experience programmes which have been introduced as integral parts of the school curricula have, no doubt, given students exposure to and, probably experience of, the world of work. Programmes have been of a general nature and not intended to promote skills required for specific jobs.

(iii) Vocational training programmes have been launched generally in relation to perceived demands for skilled manpower. Often the estimates have proven to be imprecise; consequently even vocationally trained persons have found suitable jobs hard to come by. Although hoped for, vocationally trained persons have generally been employees rather than employers.

(iv) With the increasing number of out-of-school youth, among those who have never been to school or dropped out before acquiring usable knowledge and skills, there is considerable concern for catering to the employment needs of the young. Government departments and other semi or non-government organisations have organised training courses for skill development. The effort has, however, been limited in relation to the number of young people who are available for and seeking employment.

(v) Governments have launched schemes under which assistance is given to young persons—school leavers as well as the uneducated—to establish small-scale ventures. There are generally no complementary programmes for promoting enterprise competencies. The conditions prescribed might at times make it difficult for the most deserving to take advantage of the facilities provided.

(vi) In a number of countries, projects have been initiated which support the school leavers, individually or in groups, to engage in income generating activities while continuing to learn in either formal institutions or non-formal education centres. Apart from being limited to the pilot phase with limited coverage, training for enterprise competencies is not usually a component of these projects.

(vii) Although there has been an element of enterprise learning in most skills development programmes, practical training has been somewhat generalised, related to hypothetical situations and not necessarily for encouraging the recipient to plan for an execute a self-promoted and self-supported venture. Entrepreneurs, on the other hand, have to work often in a situation which has no predetermined structures or boundaries. There is also considerable scope for risk taking and initiative.

(viii) The motivation of the individual who is trained to achieve has to be enhanced, while at the same time safeguarding against unbridled ambition. This would possibly require a longer time frame which short term educational and skill development programmes might not be capable of doing.

(ix) In most countries, a number of voluntary organisations and private establishments are active in promoting profitably productive enterprises. While engaged in productive activities, they also have training programmes for developing enterprise competencies among their participants and employees. The experience of these organisations and their programmes have not been sufficiently mobilised to design comprehensive strategies to promote enterprise competencies among in and out-of-school young men and women.

A Commonwealth Export Group which a few years ago examined the problems of youth unemployment also spoke of the mismatches between youth aspirations and work opportunities. They particularly underlined the following types of mismatches:

1. Between skills developed through schooling/training and the types of jobs available,
2. The location of youth and that of the types of employment favoured, and
3. Youth aspirations and their realisation.

Awareness of these deficiencies in educational systems and the mismatches between youth aspirations and work opportunities, whether or not clearly articulated is very much a part of the make-up of youth and of the resulting frustrations.

Conclusion

I shall close with a suggestion from the same Commonwealth Group of Experts that a priority should be accorded to youth in the form of a "Youth Entitlement". The basic principle for such an Entitlement would be to recognise the need of young people for a role and status in society and to ensure that they are all of them given adequate preparation for adult working life. The entitlement would cover the set of services and institutional arrangements which together would enable youth to make informed choices and so move smoothly from schooling into the world of work. These services include: education, career counselling, labour market information, work experience opportunities, basic training linked to life skills, access to further education and skills, availability of validated and the generally recognised credentials covering all skills and occupations, and access to support in alleviating the ill effects of unemployment. There must also be willingness to budget for these services as a matter of public policy. There could be no doubt that such an Entitlement would be a public acknowledgement of the special place of youth in our societies.

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Education and Occupational Achievements for Youth

Mi-Na Lee*

I. Introduction

It is well known that Koreans place an unusually high value on educational attainments. Our youngsters, like the slaves of exam, have spent most of their time on study in order to pass entrance examination. They push themselves to overachievement at school. They are deprived of an opportunity to make the best of their prime time in life. Most parents, sometimes whole families, emphasize the importance of education to their children and invest heavily in their education. Even the poor parents make sacrifices for the education of their children.

One of the main explanations why education has been central to the aspirations of Korean youngsters in Korea seems to be originated from the belief that education is the key to occupational and financial success for anybody regardless of his or her group characteristics or location in the labor market (Mi-Na Lee, 1990). Massive enrollment increases have resulted from the reflection of this aspiration and belief of education.

This view is also evidenced by public policies that seek to improve the life quality and life chance of the disadvantaged youngsters by increasing access to education and training programs.

The main concern of this paper is to explore our common belief that education can be a sufficient and equal device for occupational achievements in terms of earnings for any Korean youngsters when they enter the Korean labor market. This issue is examined through the following questions:

1. Does different schooling produce different earnings attainments?

2. Do education effects on earnings at the entry level of the labor market differ as a function of Korean workers' allocation in the internal vs. external labor market? After the entry level?

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This question will answer us whether Korean youth can capitalize on their education equally to achieve earnings increase in the Korean labor market or not?

3. Is the earnings determination mechanism influenced by the labor market structure (i.e., workers' location in the internal vs. external market)?

This study analyzes data from the Korean labor market within the theoretical framework of dual labor market. An examination of these data will demonstrate whether Koreans' belief of youngsters' education and occupational achievements is true or not.

II. Dual Labor Market Theory

1. Introduction of Internal vs. External Market Segmentation

According to dual labor market theorists, earnings are determined by different mechanisms in the internal labor market (ILM) and external labor market (ELM). In the ELM, earnings are determined by the market structure of supply and demand. In the ILM, earnings attainments are produced by administrative procedures allocating workers to jobs so as to provide different levels of earnings (Sørensen, 1983).

There are three basic approaches as to *why* the labor market is segmented into ILM vs. ELM in terms of the earnings determination process. From the technological view point, the concept of economic efficiency is different in different markets, and this makes the earnings determination mechanism and career earning prospects different for each sector of the labor market. Skill and job specificity generate the ILM. Specificity makes training costly for employers, who bear a larger proportion of the cost than employees do. Employees themselves will not pay for specific skills which they cannot use on other machines, or in other firms or markets. Thus, ILM employers want to retain employees with on-the-job training payed for with the employers' own money. Their demand elasticity for employees is low compared to that of ELM employers'. Employers create a job ladder with a relatively rigid wage pattern as a solution to the problem of creating incentives to stay and perform well (Doeringer & Piore 1971; Sørensen, 1981; Elbaum, 1984).

On the other hand, the ELM employers seek general skills rather than firm-specific skills. They do not have to pay for firm-specific skills, but mainly for employees' general skills acquired before entry. Thus, the ILM concept of economic efficiency is not relevant to them. They do not need the ILM's institutional devices, because they need not worry about losing any investments in firm-specific training. Hence, the earnings determination mechanisms are different in the ILM and ELM.

The radical perspective portrays the formation of the ILM as an institutional product of class conflict. Stone (1974) shows how the U.S. iron and steel firms imposed highly differentiated job- and pay ladders around the turn of this century, and she explains this as the employers' control over the employees. That is, employers tried to foster workers cooperation, identification with enterprise goals, and conservatism, and thus control work standards efficiently. She argues that occupational skill distinctions were rendered meaningless by revolutionary technological change at that time, and that such a promotion ladder can not be understood with a technological explanation.

Compared to the above two approaches, which emphasize a single pattern of causality, the institutionalists provide an electric assortment of explanations for the origins of the ILM. They suggest skill specificity, customary rules, union contracts, political power, ability to exploit resources, creativity in devising effective economic strategies, etc. as segmenting forces (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Doeringer, 1983; Osterman, 1984). Institutionalists believe these forces contribute to the formation of customs and rules which determine the allocation of jobs and earnings in each sector of the labor market. Implicit in their concept of custom and rule formation is the exercise of non-market political powers by unions and other bargaining units within the workplace. For example, skilled craft unions in the U.S. make up their own ILM. While such unions conduct apprenticeship training programs and labor referral systems which may facilitate information and training, they also control labor from union sources. Fisher argues that this allows such unions to restrict supply and thus drive up wages (cited in Doeringer, 1983). He argues that their behavior should be understood as a monopolistic departure from competition in an institutional setting.

Althauser and Kalleberg (1981) argue that the characteristic criteria of the ILM are i) a job ladder, ii) entry only at the bottom, and iii) movement up this ladder on the basis of a progressive development of knowledge or skill. The dual labor market theorists commonly suggest that education and firm experience raise wages in the ILM more than in the ELM, even if they do not agree on the origin of the ILM (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Andrisani, 1973, cited in Freiman, 1976; Althauser & Kalleberg, 1981; Dickens & Lang, 1985). As the ILM has a longer promotion ladder and recruits higher status position workers from inside, the rate of return to firm experience is higher for ILM workers than for ELM workers.

However, ILM theorists have not demonstrated why education effects are larger in the ILM than in the ELM. In the next section, this study will explore the relevancy of their arguments about education effects on earnings.

2. Problems in the Hypothesis abut the Education Effect

It is true that education does not necessarily contribute to occupational success to an equal extent for all workers beyond the workers' labor market sector, if the labor market is segmented into the ILM and ELM. However, this does not mean that the education effect should be larger in the ILM than in the ELM. All we can expect seems to be that the education effect will be affected by workers' labor market location, because many institutional, managerial, or technological factors can affect the extent of the education effect in the ILM.

The institutionalists (e.g., Doeringer & Piore, 1971) argue that ability is the most commonly used criterion for promotions, and thus, education influences earnings more in the ILM than in the ELM. However, this can vary across time and place, if we follow the logic of the institutionalists. Rules are not permanent in their setting: they can change if the bargaining power structure changes, if the culturally legitimatized criterion is not education, if the political setting is different, and so on.

Even if ILM employers use education as a criterion for allocation to high rank status with a longer promotion line, this does not always mean that the education effect in the ILM is higher than in the ELM. Suppose college graduate workers in the ILM (C_i) are allocated to high-status positions en route to managers (c_i), and that high school graduate workers in the ILM (H_i) are allocated to middle-status positions with shorter promotion ladders (h_i). College graduates in the ELM (c_e) are allocated to the high-status positions (c_e), and high school graduate workers in the ELM (H_e) are allocated to middle-status positions (h_e). Besides their location in the labor market and educational attainments, they are assumed to have the same background characteristics.

The effect of college education compared to high school education *at* the entry market is represented by the difference between earnings at position c_i and earnings at position h_i in the *ILM*, and earnings at position c_e and earnings at position h_e in the *ELM*. At the entry level, the education effect in the ILM does not have to be larger than that in the ELM, even if we assume that the ILM employers want to recruit highly educated workers. The ILM employers can offer highly educated workers incentive to enter the ILM (rather than the ELM) through a higher starting salary at c_i than at C_e; or through institutional devices such as the job ladder, entry only at the bottom, and promotion of inside workers, which may bring a higher rate of return to firm experience in the ILM than in the ELM. This study therefore does not support the internal market theorists' arguments that the difference in earnings between c_i and H_i (the education effect in the ILM) is larger than that between C_e and H_e (the education effect in the ELM).

After many years, the difference between college and high school graduates in job hierarchy levels will be greater in the ILM than in the ELM. (i.e., C_e will not be promoted more levels from entry point C_e than H_e is promoted from entry point h_e.) By definition, the ELM does not fill higher level jobs from within, and its job structures are less hierarchical.

However, this larger job status difference between college and high school graduates of the ILM workers does not necessarily mean that the earnings difference between them in the ILM larger than between them in the ELM. If earnings increase at a constant rate, or at a rate higher in % terms, a bigger difference in levels means a bigger difference in "log earnings". However, the earnings gap per one level is constant or increases in absolute terms, but decrease in % terms as in Korean firms' pay scales (Ho-Bong). In this case, a bigger difference in levels does not necessarily mean a bigger difference in "log earnings". Therefore, we cannot say that the education effect after the entry level in the ILM is larger than in the ELM, until we know more about firms' pay scales and promotion-ladder systems.

Dual labor market theorists often argue that the ILM sector resembles the human capital model more than the ELM sector does, in the sense that the rate of return to the human capital variable is larger in the ILM sector. Besides, they argue that there is a queue for the ILM sector (in order to save firm-specific training costs), because of imperfect information about employees' productivity skills and because of perfect competition in the ELM, which does not need firm-specific training (Dickens & Lang, 1985).

These two arguments of the dual labor market theorists' seem ironic. According to them, the ELM is in perfect competition, a position which is consistent with the human capitalists' assumption. However, they also claim that ILM resembles the human capital model and that the education effect is larger in the ILM sector than in the ELM. Since their description of the ELM sector is more similar to the human capitalists' picture of the labor market, one should expect the education effect to be higher in the ELM. This is because the main argument of the human capital model is that wages are determined by education and experience within a state of perfect competition in the labor market.

To sum up, my point here is that the education effect is determined not only by theoretical speculations based upon economic or organization theory, but also (or more) by employment rules for earnings and promotions in Korean society. These rules are affected by many factors: Korea's history, culture and political situations, power games between social sub-groups, and all the social relations at work in a company, which not doubt constitute the deep seated structure of its relation with Korean society.

III. Data and Method of Analysis

1. Data and Sample Selection

This study used the data collected for the ''Report on Occupational Wage Survey (1979)'' provided by the Korean Ministry of Labor.

From the whole sample, 2,273 cases were randomly selected for my analysis. Part-time workers were deleted because they cause substantial difficulty in this study of the earnings determination mechanism.

If we control working hours and derive the education effect (via the regression model), the education effects for part-time works appears exaggerated. In the perfectly competitive labor market of the human capital theorists, any workers can find a full-time job, if they want it. However, most part-time workers do not volunteer for part-time jobs over full time jobs in the reality, and their education effects on earnings would be higher in full-time jobs. As this research concerns education effects on earnings rather than on earnings rate, the regression coefficient of education, controlling working hours, misleads the effects on earnings.

On the other hand, suppose that we do not control working hours in order to demonstrate the small effect of education on earnings for part-time workers. In this case, it is difficult to provide convincing evidence against the human capitalists' neo-classical assumptions, one of the targets of this study. In neo-classical economics, earnings are a function of wages per unit time and amount of time worked. Without controlling working hours, we are not ready to test (or reject) the human capital theorists' assumption of a homogeneous labor market (Sorensen, 1983). Because this study did not find an appropriate solution to these problems, it decided not to include part-time workers.

2. Variables

The variables in the regression models used to analyze earnings attainments in the Korean labor market are divided into three categories: dependent variable (full time workers' monthly regular salary), individual resource variables (educational attainment and firm experience year[1]), and structural variables (ILM vs. ELM sector[2], gender, and marital status).

This research examines appropriate forms for the variables in this study's model. I checked assumptions for a simple regression of the outcome on each predictor and tried to cure violations, finally transforming the variables of earnings and firm experience.

As other researchers have found, the primary outcome variable-monthly salary- is heavily skewed. In addition, the bivariate plots of earnings vs. each potential predictor showed extreme signs of nonlinearity. As a result, several assumptions of least squares including heteroscedasticity and non-normality would be violated. Taking the logarithm of earnings alleviated the skewness and nonlinearlity problems, while maintaing interpretability. More importantly, what counts in the log earnings form is better for conceptual reasons than abslute change in raw earnings form. Utility is a function of proportionate income. The percentage form of earnings is more meaningful than the raw form of earnings in the discussion of occupational success related to improvement in life style.

Residuals from a regression of log earnings on Firm Experience did not meet

1. Present labor market research has used general experience year (i.e., number of years after terminating schooling) as a proxy for work experience. However, firm-specific year is what is counted in the internal market. This is because it is a good proxy for how much firm-specific training workers can get in the internal market. Thus, this study will use a better measure of work experience, which plays an important role in the internal labor market theory.
2. The dummy variables of internal vs. external labor market are operationalized, using the degree of job security. Job security is thought to be the most important necessary condition for the internal market. Without the need for minimal labor turnver (i.e. job security), employers will not create a closed employment relationship at the entry lecel to the internal market (Althauser, 1981). Thus, the rate of quitting firms within each industry and firm size (data source; The Korean Ministry of Labor, Report on the Labor Market Mobilization, 1979) is used as a proxy for job security and is used to classify the labor market into internal vs. external market.

the homoscedasticity assumption and the linearity assumption. To alleviate the problem, I attempted logarithmic transformation of firm experience. To avoid problems with zero in log form, this study tried "starting".

IV. Data Analysis and Results

1. A Description of the Korean Labor Market

ILM workers' salary is 34.4% higher than ELM workers' on the average just as dual labor market theorists predict ($t_{df=2,271} = 10.308$, $p = .0001$). Even after ruling out firm experience differences between sectors, ILM workers still earn more than ELM workers (see Plot 1.). According to the internal labor market theory, jobs are more secure in the ILM than in the ELM. Therefore firm experience will be longer for ILM workers than for ELM workers. Table 1 is consistent with this premise; workers' firm experience is longer in the ILM than in the ELM.

Both gender groups' firm experience by economic sector, as in Table 1, supports the internal market theorists' premise. That is, ILM workers' firm experience is, on the average, 15.37% longer than that of ELM workers for males, and 25.86% longer for females. T-test demonstrates the difference in firm experience between the two markets is significant in both groups ($t_{df=1,438} = -2.58$, $p = .01$ in the male group $t_{df=831} = -3.84$, $p = .0001$ in the female group).

We see in Table 2 a positive correlation between education and the probability of allocation to the ILM. The colum % of the ILM workers increases as educational level gores up 40.3% of elementary school graduate workers, 50.5% of middle school graduate workers, 54.7% of high school graduate workers, 57.4% of junior college graduate workers, and 70.7% of college graduate workers have ILM jobs. This might imply that the probability of allocation to the ILM is increased by educational attainments.

2. Estimation of Separate Earnings Model for Each Economic Sector

Two regression models for earnings were built separately to compare the earnings determination mechanism between the two sectors, ILM and ELM. The results are displayed in Table 3. Each model contains Earnings as the outcome and Education, Firm Experience, Gender, and Marital Status as the predictors.

I also add interaction terms between Marital Status and Gender, and between High School Education and Gender, in order to capture important aspects of social life as reflected in the Korean labor market. I questioned the education effect *after* entry market, but I did not include the interaction terms between Education dummies and Firm Experience. Although none of these terms are significant at alpha = .10 level, it might be desirable to remain these in two models because of substantial importance. However, these terms are deleted in order to correct multi-collinearity in the term of junior college dummy, which seems to come from the high correlation with the variable of Firm Experience.

I checked regression assumptions for the two models. There are no serious signs of assumption violations for either regression model.

Regression results (Table 3) indicate that, regardless of the economic sector, earnings are positively associated with workers' education and firm experience at the significance level of .01. However, there is not a significant difference between middle and elementary school graduates in either market. *Ceteris paribus,* associate degree holders earn 123.0% more than elementary school graduates among ILM workers, and 133.5% more among ELM workers. Bachelor degree holders and paid 206.5% more than elementary school graduates in the ILM, and 190.9% more in the ELM. In the case of high school graduates, there is a significant interaction effect between gender and high school education. Whereas males who have graduated from high school earn 31.3% more than elementary school graduates in the ILM, females earn 64.4% more. In the ELM, high school graduates' salary is 37.9% higher than that of elementary school graduates among males, and 62.4% higher among females.

Regarding the effect of firm experience on earnings, findings in Table 3 show that the ILM workers get a higher rate of return than do the ELM workers. The ILM worker's salary increases 1.73% for a 10% increase in firm experience, whereas the salary of the ELM workers increases only 1.33%, *ceteris paribus.* The former seem to earn more than the latter as their experience increases.

Comparison of the intercepts demonstrates that starting salaries are almost similar between the two sectors among female workers (see Table 3.). ILM make workers, however, are paid 10.2% more than are ELM workers at the entry level, other trms constant. Plot 2, compiled from Table 3, shows this clearly. In addition, both genders benefit from marriage in the ILM, whereas only males do in the ELM.

The primary focus of this study is a comparison of the earnings determination mechanism between two sectors. I have therefore focused above on slope difference for each term between the two sectors. Separate earnings models themselves, however, do not tell us whether or not such slope differences are statistically significant. The next section investigates this, and shows confirmatory tests of slope differences between the two separate models in Table 3.

3. Do Earnings Determination Mechanism Differ According to Economic Sectors?

We have compared two separate equations for earnings of ILM and ELM workers. The present section asks, do earnings determination mechanisms of the two sectors really differ? To answer this, I have constructed a regression model of a pooled equation for the entire sample. Interaction terms between each term and economic sector in a pooled model enable us to determine whether the differences in regression coefficients between the two functions are *significant.*

The pooled model with ILM and ELM segmentation is displayed in Table 4. Before presenting the results, I will explain how I built and selected the pooled model in Table 4.

(1) Analytic Approach: Construction of the Pooled Earnings Model

Five model candidates for the final pooled one were constructed[3] out of theoretical and substantial interest or methodological reasons (see Table 5). I explored to select, among these five models, a parsimonious model with a clear description of the earnings determination mechanism in Korea.

There are no great differences among the five models in terms of adjusted R^2. All the models seem to describe well what is going on in the earnings determination mechanism of the Korean labor market. Considering the coefficient differences between the two equations for ILM and ELM workers in Table 3, Model 4 seems to describe the coefficient differences most accurately. In particular, it reflects an almost identical intercept between the two separate earnings equations. That is, the nonsignificant term of economic sector predictor

3. Five mode candidates for the final pooled model were built in the following ways. First, I choose significant interaction terms among theoretically important interaction terms and to build several candidates. I entered the interaction terms one by one into the basic model of main terms including ILM variable, and ran stepwise regression. All the significant interaction terms chosen in the way above are included in Model 5 in Table 5. Nonsignificant interaction terms are thrown out for the sake of parsimony in the equation, and models 3 and 4 are tried. Out of theoretical interest, I also built models 1 and 2 (see Table 5).

(internal) in Model 4 shows almost identical pay for the female elementary school graduates at the entry level (see Table 3 and Plot 2.), all others constant. In addition, it demonstrates a higher rate of return to firm experience in the ILM than in the ELM. The significance of the interaction term between economic sector and firm experience is obvious from the coefficient difference of firm experience between ILM and ELM, and also supports the internal market theorists' arguments about the rate of return to firm experience. Therefore, Model 4 is chosen as the final model candidate. This model seems to straddle the fence between faithfulness to the complexity of the Koean labor market and the succinct or parsimonious representation of its features.

I checked the regression assumptions of this model. It meets all the assumptions such as normality, homoscedasticity, and independence. In addition, we need not worry about multi-collinearity signs for this model (or for the other four models), according to the tolerance tests. Therefore, I decided to use Model 4 as the final model.

Model 4 will be used to determine the statistical significance of the slope differences in the two separate models for ILM and ELM (Table 3).

(2) Results

There were no differences in education effects on earnings between ILM and ELM workers *at* the entry level or *after* the entry level.

Those internal labor market theorists who support the technological explanation argue that ILM employers use seniority and ability in determining upward promotion. These employers give priority in promotions to employees who are better educated and have more firm experience. They use potential performance indicators rather than real productivity as criteria for promotion. This is because they try to create a climate where workers provide co-workers on-the-job training without competitive consciousness toward others' promotion chances. Thus, these ILM theorists expect higher education effects and a bigger rate of return to firm experience in the ILM.

Such a technological explanation.of the education effect does not fit my findings. Both ELM employers and ILM employers in Korea seem to use education to an equal extent as an important criterion for workers' earnings increases. These findings regarding education effects confirm this study's argument that the education effect in the ILM is not necessarily higher than in the ELM. However, we should not interpret this as an indication that education means the same thing in the ILM and ELM. As the ILM theorists argue, education in the ILM plays a screening role in the queue for on-the-job training and thus in the queue for better-paying jobs. To what extent education plays a screening role for better-paying jobs in the Korean ILM is determined not only by technological traits but also by Korea's own institutional context in relation to her economic and historical conditions. On the other hand, education in the ELM is a direct sign of productive skill and increases earnings (rates) because of its contribution to productivity.

In a late developing society like Korea, schooling seems to play the role of transmitting a systematized body of knowledge for production. Hence, schooling would contribute significantly to production increases in the ELM, and thus to earnings increases for ELM workers in Korea.

In addition, the similar effects of education in the ILM and ELM might be explained in part by the low wage policy of the large Korean firms with ILM. The Korean government assessed Korea as having few natural resources, little land, and a limited area with a large population density that has accumulated little of modern western technology. They decided to use the abundant surplus of labor as an effective tool of economic growth, and built a labor-intensive-export-oriented-policy. It was also thought that this policy would create many employment opportunity. The government successfully chose some leading large-scale firms to export many goods, and helped them to accumulate capital fast. The government allowed the large firms to give *low wages* to employees, in order to improve the price-competitive power of the exported products in the world market. Moreover, the government helped Korean employers to keep salaries low. In the agricultural sector, the government maintained low prices for agricultural products as a means of reducing the subsistance cost for workers in the city. During the period 1971-1981, the right to strike was totally prohibited by the Presidential Emergency Decrees, and unions had to get prior permission from the government even for collective bargaining. In this context, large firms shared relatively small excess profits or rents with their employees. The employers' main concern was to increase exports, while relying upon low wages. Furthermore, the government gave subsidies to firms to export as much as possible. The government concentrated foreign and private savings on the firms through preferential tax systems, low interest loans[4], credit subsidies financed by infla-

4. For example, in 1965, the interest rate on export credit was 6.5% per year, while the ordinary bank loan rate was 26% per year.

tion and taxes, etc.

This low wage policy probably induced the large firms in the Korean ILM to have pay scale systems like the following; 1) % earnings differences among workers with different levels of education similar to those among ELM workers at the entry level, 2) earnings gap per unit level increases in job hierarchy constant or bigger in absolute terms, but decreasing in % terms in their (ILM) pay scale system. As already demonstrated, the education effect on earnings is not necessary bigger in the ILM than in the ELM in this pay scale system when the outcome is "log earnings". Therefore, it is not a surprising finding that there is no significant difference in education effects on earnings between large firms having ILM and small firms in the ELM *after* the entry level.

Regarding the effect of firm experience on earnings, findings in Table 4 support the arguments of the ILM theorists. The rate of return to firm experience is significantly higher in the ILM than in the ELM at alpha = .01 level. The former earn more than the latter after the entry market.

Besides, this research finds one form of gender discrimination in terms of earnings. Only male workers obtain the pay benefit of allocation to the ILM at entry level according to Table 4 and Plot 2; starting salaries do not differe between the two sectors among female workers. But ILM male workers' salary is significantly higher (10.2%) than ELM workers at the entry level, other terms constant.

This finding that females' earnings are similar between ILM and ELM reflects the institutional context of the Korean labor market. As we saw in Table 1, Korean female workers in the ILM tend to stay in the ILM firm for shorter periods than do male workers. In addition, female workers have to leave the firm after marriage according to custom. Thus, it should not be surprising that the ILM employers want to give more chances for on-the-job training to make workers than to female workers. This is the rational way to get more benefits from the investment involved in firm-specific training. As a result, ILM employers will prefer male workers in recruiting to high status jobs with longer promotion ladders. We presume this is why only males are paid more in the ILM than in the ELM at the entry level.

In sum, the slope differences in firm experience and gender between the ILM and ELM support our hypothesis that Korean workers' earnings are influenced by their labor market location.

V. Summary and Conclusions: Education as an Occupational Achievements Device

Although education means different things for the earning determination procedure in the ILM and the ELM, we found that education produces similar effects on earnings for both market workers *at* the entry level of Korean firms and *after*. Hence, it confirms that education is important for protecting and improving the earnings position of the Korean youth when they enter the labor market.

However, this study also found important evidence that we should be concerned with the job market for the youth's occupational achievements. As it is hypothesized, the Korean labor market is segmented according to economic sector; ILM and ELM. The rate of return to firm experience is higher in the ILM than in the ELM. Therefore, Korean workers' earnings are determined by their labor market location. Main factors to influence occupational achievements for youth is not just educational attainments but also structure and institution of the Korean labor market. In order to get high occupational achievements, Korean youngsters should be allocated to the internal labor market besides attaining high academic achievements. We should be concerned with a policy to increase internal labor market sector vacancies during the fast economic growth accompanying the enlargement of the job structure in Korea.

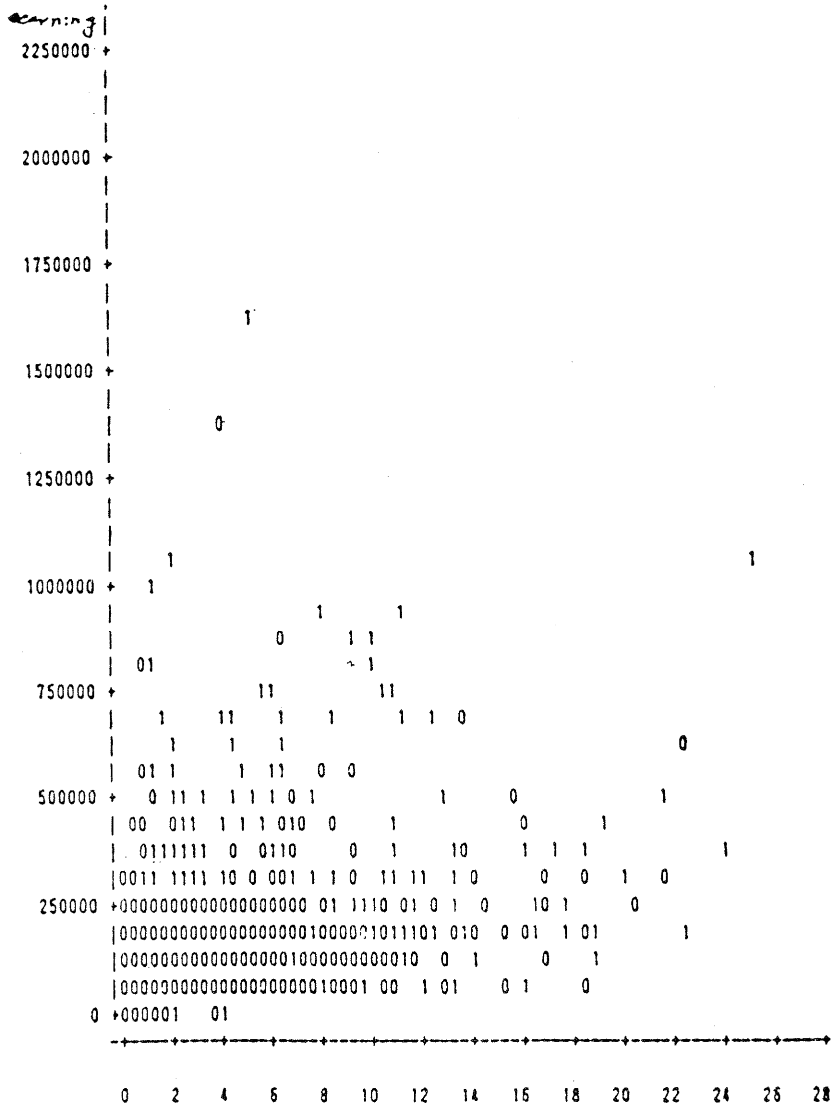
According to the findings, only males derive the starting pay benefits from entrance to the ILM. As suggested, this might indicate that ILM employers do not give preference to females because they leave ILM jobs earlier; nor do they allocate females to the high status career line with longer promotion ladders. I recommend that policy makers make efforts to decrease gender discrimination in the form of forced quitting after marriage and allocation to dead end jobs, which lead to pay discrimination.

The study of economic segmentation confirms my expectation regarding education and occupational achievements for youth. The major role for policy is to provide not just equal educational opportunities to the youth, but also equal job opportunities after graduation.

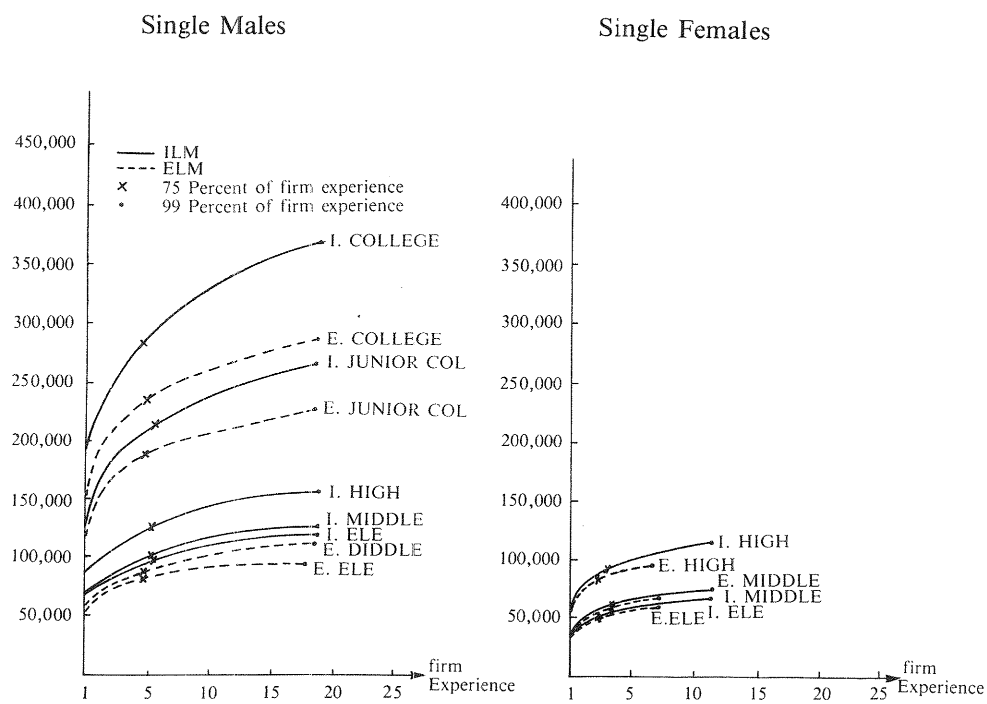
Appendix: Plots and Tables

(Plot 1) Scattergram for Earnings vs. Economic Sectors
— controlling firm experience years —

(0; external market, 1; internal market)



(Plot 2) Firm Experience Earnings Profiles of ILM vs. ELM according to Gender



* Earnings profiles for female associates and bachelors are not drawn. This is because regression coefficients in Table 4-2 are not reliable because of two few cases for female associates (12) and bachelors (13).

[**Table 1**] Distribution of Firm Experience

i) raw scale

workers	percentile 1	25	50	75	99	mean	sd
overall	.1	.8	1.8	3.8	25	2.9	3.3
by gender							
male workers	.1	.8	2.1	4.8	18.0	3.5	3.8
female workers	.1	.6	1.3	2.8	8.1	1.9	1.9
by economic sector							
internal market	.1	.9	2.0	4.2	17.3	3.2	3.4
external market	.1	.6	1.4	3.5	15.8	2.6	3.1
by gender and economic sector							
male internal	.1	1.0	2.2	5.1	18.3	3.6	3.8
external	.1	.7	2.9	4.7	17.7	3.3	3.7
female internal	.1	.8	1.7	3.1	11.2	2.2	2.2
external	.1	.6	1.2	2.3	6.9	1.7	1.6

ii) log scale

workers	percentile 1	25	50	75	99	mean	sd
overall	−1.32	−.33	.68	1.38	2.81	.64	1.00
by gender							
male workers	−1.32	−.03	.82	1.60	2.90	.79	1.04
female workers	−1.32	−.27	.38	1.07	2.12	.39	.87
by economic sector							
internal market	−1.32	.06	.77	1.47	2.86	.75	.98
external market	−1.32	−.26	.45	1.30	2.77	.53	1.01
by gender and economic sector							
male internal	−1.32	.15	.86	1.66	2.91	.86	1.01
external	−1.32	−.14	.75	1.58	2.88	.71	1.08
female internal	−1.32	−.03	.62	1.18	2.42	.52	.87
external	−1.32	−.27	.31	.90	1.95	.29	.85

[**Table 2**] Probability of Internal Market Allocation

workers' characteristics	male	female	total
by education			
elementary school graduates	150 (49.7%)	99 (52.5%)	249 (40.3%)
middle school graduates	225 (52.5%)	163 (48.1%)	388 (50.5%)
high school graduates	261 (56.1%)	77 (50.3%)	338 (54.7%)
junior college graduates	23 (65.7%)	4 (33.3%)	27 (57.4%)
college graduates	149 (71.3%)	8 (61.5%)	157 (70.7%)

[**Table 3**] Earnings Equations for ILM and ELM Workers

dependent variable = ln (earnings)

sector var	unstandardized coefficient (standard error) internal market	 external market
intercept	10.714	10.707
	(.035)	(.025)
midle	.032	.037
	(.033)	(.029)
high	.497***[1]	.485***
	(.056)	(.050)
junior college	.802***	.848***
	(.082)	(.089)
college	1.120***	1.068***
	(.043)	(.054)
ln(exp)[2]	.173***	.133***
	(.013)	(.013)
sex	.480***	.390***
	(.037)	(.035)
marriage	.139*	.080
	(.078)	(.051)
marriage*gender	.115	.196**
	(.084)	(.062)
high*gender	−.225***	−.164***
	(.061)	(.059)
R^2	69.49	64.08
adj R^2	69.25	63.79
MSE	.162	.162
N	1159	1114

[1] *p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

[2] ln(exp) = ln(firm experience + 1/6)

[**Table 4**] Final Pooled Model Concerning Internal vs. External Market

dependent variable = ln(earnings)

column	coeff	s.e.	t	p	st coeff	tolerance
intercept	10.703	.023	463.52	.0001***[1]	0	
middle	.035	.021	1.60	.1098	.029	.640
high	.491	.037	13.11	.0001***	.312	.245
junior col	.822	.060	13.71	.0001***	.167	.933
college	1.107	.032	33.93	.0001***	.470	.724
ln(exp)[2]	.134	.012	10.85	.0001***	.192	.443
sex	.406	.030	13.35	.0001***	.280	.315
marriage	.099	.043	2.31	.0212**	.071	.146
marriage*gender	.164	.049	3.36	.0008***	.116	.115
ILM[3]	.014	.029	.49	.6273	.010	.327
ILM*ln(exp)	.039	.017	2.32	.0206**	.045	.374
high*gender	−.196	.042	−4.65	.0001***	−.113	.235
ILM*gender	.057	.035	1.60	.1000*	.039	.236

ANOVA

source	df	ss	ms	F	p
model	12	763.501	63.625	411.850	.0001
error	2260	349.139	.154		
total	2272	1112.64			

R^2 = 68.59 adjusted R^2 = 68.43

[1] *p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

[2] ln(exp) = ln(firm experience + 1/6)

[3] ILM (internal market = 1)

[**Table 5**] Pooled Regression Models Concerning Internal vs. External Market Segmentation

dependent variable = ln(earnings)
(standard error in the parentheses)

variable	model 1	2	3	4	5
inter	10.681	10.704	10.690	10.703	10.715
	(.021)	(.024)	(.022)	(.023)	(.026)
middle	.031	.006	.032	.034*	.010
	(.022)	(.031)	(.022)	(.022)	(.032)
high	.483***	.473***	.487***	.491***	.478***
	(.037)	(.039)	(.037)	(.037)	(.039)
junior col	.814***	.830***	.825***	.822***	.828***
	(.060)	(.060)	(.060).	(.060)	(.060)
college	1.112***	1.119***	1.109***	1.107***	1.113***
	(.033)	(.034)	(.033)	(.033)	(.043)
ln(exp)	.153***	.131***	.131***	.134***	.134***
	(.009)	(.012)	(.012)	(.012)	(.013)
gender	.429***	.404***	.432***	.406***	.383***
	(.026)	(.035)	(.026)	(.030)	(.038)
marriage	.106***	.093**	.103**	.099**	.091**
	(.043)	(.044)	(.043)	(.043)	(.044)
mar*gender	.161***	.173***	.163***	.164***	.174***
	(.049)	(.050)	(.049)	(.049)	(.050)
ILM	.076***	.048**	.047**	.014	.017
	(.017)	(.020)	(.020)	(.029)	(.029)
ILM*ln(exp)		.043***	.044***	.039***	.039***
		(.017)	(.017)	(.017)	(.017)
middle*gender		.049**			.045
		(.042)			(.042)
high*gender	.076**	−.166***	−.193***	−.196***	−.172***
	(.042)	(.048)	(0.42)	(.042)	(.048)
college*ln(exp)					.004
					(.026)
ILM*gender				.057*	.054*
				(.035)	(.036)
R_2	68.49	68.60	68.59	68.62	68.64
adj R_2	68.35	68.44	68.43	68.45	68.44
MSE	.155	.154	.154	.154	.155

*p<.10, **p<.05,***p<.01

ln(exp) = ln(firm experience + 1/6)

ILM = internal vs. external market sector (internal market = 1)

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Discussion (1)

Young-Hwa Kim*

Mr. Gomez discussed occupational preferences of youth, shifts of emphasis needed in educational systems for responding to technological development, present conditions of skill development programes in Asian countries, and mismatches between youth aspirations and work opportunities. And finally he finished his presentation with the conclusion that various kinds of services and institutional arrangements should be provided for youth to get information on job opportunities and to move smoothly from school to the world of work.

I think Dr. Gomez pointed out some of important issues on education and job opportunities for youth. I just want to make some brief comments on the present feature of skill development programmes in asian countries which he cited from what was summarized at a recent UNESCO/APEID meeting. While Mr. Gomez described the current situation of skill development programmes, he seemed to criticize little planed efforts for promoting competencies as self-employed persons on the one hand, and the general nature of work experience programmes in schools rather than the specific nature for specific jobs on the other hand. However, I find little necessity for youth to be prepared for self-employed jobs. Since most youth are lacking in experience and funds, very few youth are actually self-employed, at least in Korea. Therefore, the government or private organizations for skill training should continuously concentrate their efforts on the expansion of opportunities for skill training required as wage-employees. Programmes for enhancing competencies as self-employed persons are helpful rather for those who have already job experience and funds enough to run their own business.

My second point is that work experience programmes offered in schools cannot but and should be of the general nature. Once the general learning ability of know-how is built up in schools, then specific skills required for specific jobs should be trained by firms. That is, the role-division should be made between

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schools and firms. Therefore, instead of encouraging schools to offer specific job training programmes, the govermant has to attempt to induce firms to offer their own vocational training programmes.

The second paper presented by Prof. Lee tried to answer three research questions; whether schooling of an individual has an effect on his/her earnings attainment, whether education effects on earnings differ depending on Korean workers's allocation in the internal (ILM)vs. external labor marktet (ELM) at the entry level and after the entry level, and finally whether the earnings determination mechanism is influenced by the labor market structure (i.e. workers' location in the internal vs. external labor market)? She found that education produces similar benefits on earnings for both internal and external labor market workers at both the entry level and after the entry level of Korean firms.

Finally firm experience was found to be rewarded more in the ILM than in the ELM. Therefore, Prof. Lee discussed that occupational achievements of youth are not just influenced by educational attainment, but the location in the labor market structure which produces different rates of return to firm experience. She concluded that we should be concerned with a ploicy to expand internal labor market sector vacancies. In addition, she pointed out that males get more benefits from entrance to the ILM than females do and suggested policy makers to reduce gender discrimination.

I think Prof. Lee's paper will make a significant contribution to the theory building of the labor market or economic segmentation. However, considering that the subject of this symposium and particularly this session is about youth, I think her paper did not sufficiently touch upon the main point of the issue. I think it would have been more fruitful to try to present some distinct characteristics of the youth labor market instead of the general workers's labor market. We could not find any description or discussion of results related to youths untill the conclusion section. If my understanding is correct, Dr. Lee seemed to relate her findings to youth education and job opportunites by pointing out that education is important in earnings attainment when workers enter the labor market assuming that workers entering the labor market are youths. Again if my understanding is correct, she regarded a worker as being at the entry level when his/her firm experience is zero. In this case, those workers who were at the entry level were not necessarily youth. They could be adult firm changers. In fact, her findings give little picture of the Korean youth education and labor market. In her paper, even the age distribution of the sample is not presented.

She also pointed out that since firm experience is more rewarded in the ILM than in the ELM, the youth location in the labor market affects their earnings attainment and therefore ILM sector job opportunities should be expanded. If job opportunities in the ILM sector are expanded, then who will take those job opportunities first? Unless all jobs are in the ILM, which is impossible, only a certain portion of the population can have ILM jobs. It is well documented that youths are more likely to be employed in the ELM than in the ILM except those who have specific skills for the production sector. Employers in the ILM or core sector tend not to hire youth mainly because they are unstable. Since most youth are not married, they do not have obligations to support their family. This fact leads employers to think that when young people face hardships during the job performance, they leave their job easily instead of trying to overcome them. Particularly in Korea, the obligatory military service interrupts youth employment, so that employers avoid to hire those youth who have not completed the military service. Besides, employers tend to think that youth are weaker in motivation, trustfulness, maturity, and discipline than adults. Therefore, they think, to hire youth costs lots of money. They also think that it is dangerous to hire youth for jobs which require dealing with expensive and dangerous machines. In short, the youth labor market is characterized by high instability.

The point is therefore not just to expand job opportunities in the ILM, but to make youths employable. In Korea, general high school graduates who are not prepared for any job due to college entrance-centered education, have real difficulties in finding jobs. Even though they get a job, they are easily fired since they are likely to be employed in the ELM. Vocational high school graduates are employed in the production sector as craftsmen or technicians or in clerical jobs with being paid relatively high salaries and job security. However, even vocational high school graduates have difficulties to find a job during business recession especially because employment in the production sector of manufacturing industries is most seriously damaged by recession. During business recession, not to recruit new workers is easier than to fire workers already being in the firm. Therefore, new graduates have the most serious handicap finding jobs.

Particularly, those youth who have low family background are problematic. Schools are the most popular place for youth to get job information and find employment. Therefore, once they leave their schools without finding a job, they have to mainly rely upon the personal network. Not surprisingly, those youth with low socioeconomic backgroud are disadvantageous.

I want to finish my discussion by giving some suggestions on strategies for improving education and employment of youth. First, by reinforcing vocational guidences, we should try to promote youth intention for employment. In our society, everybody wants to go to college. Only when they are not allowed to go to college for the reason of their academic achievement or their economic situation, they unwillingly give up aspirations for college entrance and try to find a job. Therefore to get a job after high school graduation tends to be perceived as a kind of failure, particularly for general high school graduates. In 1989, half of general high school graduates did not go to college in Korea. These half cannot but enter the labor market without any job preparation. Therefore, by promoting intention for employment as early as possible, we should divert energies spent on preparation for college entrance to preparation for jobs.

Second, by increasing efficiency in vocational education, we should promote the employability of youth. In terms of school education, we should improve education of vacational tracks of general high schools and promote institutional arrangements for general high school students to share excellent facilities of technical high schools. Under the division of labor with firms, schools should try to enhance the general learning ability to be applied easily to changing job skills. Besides, various kinds of vacational training institutions should been established with respect to life-long education. Currently in Korea, vacational training offered outside of schools is organized mainly by the Ministry of Labor. The government should make institutional arrangements to induce industry to join vacational training for youth.

Third, We should expand information centers for employment. There are few arrangements for providing job information in schools, particularly, in middle schools and general high schools. Although there are several national or public employment guidence institutes run by the Ministry of Labor in several regions, they are not sufficient. For lack of advertizement for those institutes, many youth even do not realize the existence of those institutes, and even if they do, they do not actively utilize them. Not only we should expand information centers for employment, but advertize the institutes to youth.

Fourth, the recurrent educational system should be expanded with respect to life-long education. Also, the government should make institutional arrangements for education received in nonformal educational institutions to be formally authorized.

Finally, administrative and financial support should be provided for youth who would give up going to college because of financial difficulties. The circulation from poverty to giving up college entrance, and again to poverty, should be disconnected.

All of these suggestions are strategies for inducing youth to employment. However, the most important thing is to secure job opportunities. Only when there are jobs, the promotion of intention for employment, the enhancement of employability, and the provision of job information are of use. Firms try their best to attract youth in prosperous times, but they immediately turn away from these youth during the slow-down period. The securement of the industry's stable employment policy is necessary. Furthermore, as long as benefits from college education are high in terms of either earnings or promotion, it is very difficult to promote intention for employment earlier. Although it is possible to allocate many youth to vocational tracks, anyway they are those who give up going to college rather than prefer getting a job. It is a permanent task to reduce wage gaps and to eliminate discrimination in promotion by educational credentials.

Our society still leaves the task of employment up to individuals. However, what is going on in the labor market is very obscure to individuals. That is, it is difficult for an individual to find where the job is located. In this situation, to get a job is to have to deal with the situation which he/she can not control. Since an individual is not only the owner of his/her labor, but also a citizen of a society, the State should protect the right to work of youth as well as adults. We should realize that youth employment is not only a matter of individual responsibility but a matter of social responsibility.

Discussion (2)

Won-Duck Lee*

I will comment on the presentation of Mr. Gomez, first. I think he proposed an useful policy direction basing on his working experence for the Commonwealth Youth Programme. Korean reality seems to be agreeable with his emphasis on various mismathches and on the public service for the youth which could help them to make informed choice and to transform their school education smoothly into carrer job.

However, I think Mr. Gomez's arguements and descriptions about youth are difficult to be applied to Korean phenomena. (1) Korea has already passed the A. Lewis' "turning point" and faced shortage of labor force, while other East-Southern Asian countries have not reached the turning point yet. Before reaching the point, urban capitals in modern sector could find unlimited labor force with minimum wages, but after the point, increased labor supply is almost imposible without increasing wages above the minimum level. Therefore, the lobor policy should be different between before and after the turining point. (2) As to the labor market of the youth, Korea's average fertility rate is below two children per child-bearing woman, but that of other East-Southern Asian countries is higher than Korea's. This different fertility rate makes important influence on the education and job opportunity of the youngsters. (3) I will apperciate if Mr. Gomez gives a more detailed explanation of the concept, "enterprise passport of learning".

Next, I want to comment on profesor Mi-Na Lee's research. Her article has meaningful implication for theory and ploicy. She used occupational wage survey to discover the following results. (1) Education level is important to decide the wage level not only for the beginners but also experienced workers. (2) Wage is greatly influenced by the double structure of labor market. One's wage is determined by the amount of his human capital endowment and by the sector of labor market (internal or external) which is particularly important for the

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carrer jobs. (3) Sex makes a great difference in wages and woman workers could not expect the advantage of internal market.

Basing on these three findings proffesor Mi-Na Lee argues that labor policy should recognize the importance of an equal opportunity not only for education but also job. I agree with her in this arguement.

Her research could be better if her analysis is based on a current data because today Korean wage structure is much different from that of years ago. For example, wage difference according to educational levels is decreasing. If an average wage of high school graduates is 100, that of a college graduate was 230 between 1976 and 1985, 200 in 1988, and 180 in 1989. Wage difference between sexes is also decreasing. If an average wage of male workers is 100, that of female workers was 45 in 1980, 50 in 1988, and 54 in 1989.

In contrast, recent wage difference is increasing between small and large companies and between companies with labor union and without union. For example, an average wage of large compaines with more than 500 workers is 100, that of small companies with workers of 10 to 29 was 90 in 1986 and 74 in 1989. Therefore, if she take an empirical research now, the results could be much different.

Now, I will express my opinion on the subject, "the youth's is opportunity for education and job." Supplying the youth with proper opportunity for education and job seems to be an basic need for the evelopment of sound youth culture because an expectation to the future achievement based on good education and job will become fertilizer for the growth of sound youth culture. Good opportunity for educatin and job is also very important for the development of national economy bedause it is related to the rational distribution of social resources and particularly, because the cost of mismatch between youth education and youth job is very high due to its long adjust time.

Korea has mismatches between youngster's education and job opportunity. (1) A large number of re-trying candidates for college entrance examination, who belong to the economically inactive population, coexists with general labor shortage. (2) Due to unbalanced distribution of economically active people, a large unemployment coexists with a large labor shortage.

The causes for these mismatches could be as follow. (1) The organizations of Korean enterprises are bureaucraticaly stratified, and the number of primary jobs is small. That only male and college graduates could rise to these good jobs have increased the number of re-trying candidates for college entrance examination and the wage difference between education levels and between sexes.

(2) We have mismatch between education and job mainly because gereral urbanization which followed economic development, emphsis on humanitarian education, and dislike of three "D" (dirty, difficult, and dangerous) jobs due to national income near to $5,000.

Then what should we do to solve these mismatches? (1) I suggest that the number of primary jobs should be increased and that reorganization of works and strata giving better job satisfaction. (2) General education of primary and high schools should be oriented toward career jobs, and the number of industrial high schools should be increased to give the youth the mind of calling or career. (3) We need to increase the number of public employment agency to connect speedily and correctly the job-hunters to the help-wanters.

Response to Commentators' Questions

Lee, Mi-Na*

I. Dr. Kim's questions

1) Why don't you try to analyze data of youth in the labor maket?

It would be really an important research area and very helpful for this institute to study youth workers, whose data still do not exist unfortunatelly. I also want to do what you recommend in the future, if youth workers' data are available.

However, your question is beyond my concern for this research. This paper mainly investigates whether Korean youth will be able to capitalize on their education equally to achieve earnings increase in the Korean labor market or not, once they enter the labor market in the future. That is, my research explores youth's education and its effects on occupational attainments rather than youth workers' occupational attainments. Then there is no reason why I have to focus youth workers data.

Let me explain how used data are analyzed to explore Korean youth's occupational achievements even if sample for these data cover diverse age distribution of workers. Data in this research were dealt as if they are longitudinal data (i.e. quasi-longitudinal design). Although these data are cross-sectional, I explored them with longitudinal concern. I compared earnings attainments of workers with different educational attainments and different experience. Based upon this work, I estimated firm experience earnings profiles according to education. During these procedures, this research tries to answer the following question "How much do one's earnings increase as his (or her) educational attainments and firm experience are increased?".

Besides, you can even get information of youth workers' occupational attainments from this research findings. This is because my data also include youth

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workers.

2) Why don't you check age distribution of workers?

I think most of researchers who check workers' age would be those who concern workers' general experience years. They might calculate general experience using this formula ''age-6-school years = general experience years''

This study concerns not workers' general experience but their firm experience, which is more important than the former in the internal market theory. This is why I am interested in workers' firm experience and check its distribution rather than age distribution.

3) Youth cannot enter the internal labor (Then you do not need mention internal market in this paper.)

I told you (in my answer to your first question) that my research topic is not youth workers' employment opportunities but youth's education and its effects on their occupational attainments after the entry market. Then my research should concern internal labor martket as well as external market.

In addition, my research also shows what you argue. What you mean youth in your context would be usually young workers with low education level because they enter the labor market early. Descriptive findings of my research demonstrate that the probability of allocation to the internal market is decreased as education level goes down. This is consistent to what you told.

2. Dr. Lee's Question

1) Used data are too old to reflect the present trend because Korean labor market situation today is enormously changing.

It is true that analyzed data (1979) are old. But let me have a chance to explain why I had to choose these in spite of such a problem. these data offer us workers' firm experience which plays a very important role in the internal market theory. However, the more recent data do not include this information unfortunately.

It might be almost impossible that the main trends during the last ten years have reversely changed (although labor market situation changes a lot). This belief is confirmed through my double check about earnings attainments differences according to education and gender.

Besides, the decrease in earnings differences according to gender and education, which you emphasize, seems to be mainly due to labour disputes of blue collar workers these years. That is, labour disputes bring decrease in earnings differences between white collar workers and blue collar workers, which reduce earnings gaps by workers' education and gender. If it is true, it strengthens the key argument of my paper that structural factors in the labor market affect earnings attainments.

Social Attitudes toward Delinquency: A Critical Evaluation

Clifford R. O'Donnell*

Historically, the unit of analysis in psychology has been the individual. Studies of personality, development, cognition, emotion, perception, and even social relations have focused on the individual person as the source of these events. External phenomena were considered worthy of study only to show how they affected the individual and how the individual could influence them.

Treatment and prevention programs developed from this focus on the individual. Those who experienced personal distress were considered mentally ill and offered therapy, while those that engaged in crime or delinquency were considered characterologically deficient. Typically for these individuals, various forms of punishment were provided to deter their behavior or, especially for youths, various services were provided to affect the proper development of their character.

The premise of this presentation is that the lack of success of our prevention and treatment programs in delinquency require a reassessment of our most basic assumption: that the individual should be our unit of analysis. It is argued that all behaviors of individuals occur in settings; that the advances in our understanding, prevention, and treatment of delinquency are likely if we use the setting as our unit of analysis. In this presentation, I shall first examine the nature of the lack of success of programs based on the individual model, discuss the characteristics of a setting, offer a setting-based perspective on delinquency, and conclude with some implications for prevention and treatment.

Individual Model Programs

One approach is to simply let the juvenile justice system indentify the individual involved in the delinquent activity and then provide the appropriate punishment. It is assumed that the acts of arrest, conviction, and punishment will make it

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less likely that those individuals will continue their delinquent behavior. However, self-report studies that compared youths engaging in similar delinquent activity showed that those who are arrested or convicted are likelier to continue than those whose offences are not detected (e.g., Ageton & Elliott, 1974; Farrington, 1977; Gold & Williams, 1969).

Another assumption is that punishment following conviction is effective. However, studies show little impact of deterrence on future offending (Lewis, 1983; Locke, Johnson, Kirigin-Kamp, Atwater, & Gerard, 1986). One study compared two groups of youths on probation: those who received probation services with those who were never even contacted by their probation officer (McEachern, Taylor, Newman, & Ashford, 1968). Those who were not contacted had fewer and less serious subsequent offenses. This was despite the fact that those who were not contacted had a worse prior record.

Another type of approach is to work with youths who are considered at-risk for delinquency and thereby reduce future arrests. One such program was conducted at Rahway State Prison in New Jersey and was presented in the film Scared Straight. In this program, youths were taken to visit the adult prison, shown the problems of prison life, and intimidated; often they became upset and cried. The purpose was to "scare them straight". An evaluation of the program indicated higher arrest rates among those who participated (Finckenauer, 1979).

In Hawaii, a similar program was developed. Instead of Scared Straight, it was called Stay Straight. The idea was to befriend rather than to scare. In the program, youths visited the old Oahu Prison where a select group of prisoners described prison life and related their lives and experiences to those of the youths. It was also an intense emotional experience, but one based on empathy rather than intimidation. The results also showed higher arrest rates for those who participated in the program (Buckner & Chesney-Lind, 1983).

Other programs work with youths by providing them with various forms of assistance such as recreational, social, and academic activities, health care, foster placement, and employment. Most studies of these programs show no effect; some, including the 30 year follow-up to the well-known Cambridge-Somerville study, show a few differences that favor those who did not participate in the program (Berleman, Seaberg, & Steinburn, 1972; McCord, 1978). A few have reported harmful effects. For example, in the Group Guidance Project (Klein, 1971) activities such as athletic events, dances and academic tutoring were offered to four juvenile gangs with a total membership of about 800. An analysis of age-adjusted offense frequencies revealed an increase in delinquency among the gang members.

Why have so many studies of so many different programs reported such a lack of success? Even more curiously, why have some studies reported that the programs increased delinquency? A possible answer was indicated by the results of the Buddy System program. In this program, youths were referred for specific problems such as truancy, fighting, and poor academic performance. They were assigned to adults, called buddies, who met with them at least once a week and provided fun activities that were contingent upon improvement in the referred behavior. These youths improved in the targeted behaviors relative to the randomly-assigned control group (Fo & O'Donnell, 1974).

However, a follow-up study of arrest rates over three years showed that youngsters without an arrest for a major offense were likelier to be arrested if they participated in the program. Importantly, the reverse was true for those with an arrest. They were less likely to be arrested again if they participated in the program (O'Donnell, Lydgate, & Fo, 1979). It was suggested that some participats without recent arrest records formed friendships with those currently involved in delinquent activity. There were many opportunities offered by the program for those friendships to develop. Obviously, delinquency isn't prevented by facilitating friendship with delinquents.

What all of these studies have in common is that the youths came into contact with each other by participating in the program. Contact could occur among arrested youths, among those appearing in court or on probation, among those visiting prisons, and certainly among those participating in social service programs. The results suggest that this contact may lead to friendships that continue outside of the program and after the program is completed. These social networks may well diminish any effectiveness of the programs (O'Donnell, Manos, & Chesney-Lind, 1987).

Characteristics of a Setting

These findings illustrate the potential importance of social networks to delinquency. Networks form as a result of participation in the activities of specific settings. Therefore we need to look not only at the networks, but also at the activity settings that facilitate the formation of networks and provide the opportunities for delinquent behavior to be learned, performed, and maintained.

For example, youngsters living in the same neighborhood, of similar age, and attending the same school are likely to have contact with each other. These contacts occur in settings in which they engage in the common activities of school and neighborhood. They may also evolve into friendships in which the youths create settings to share in activities of similar interest.

As the youths participate in their joint activities, they learn from each other and from the opportunity to perform the desired behaviors. In any group there will be people with different skills and proficiency. Typically, there will be opportunities to observe and model behavior, and to receive assistance and rewards. Often a pattern of reciprocal participation will develop in which each person may both assist and be assisted at different times. This reciprocity creates an interdependence among group members and results in what is known as intersubjectivity (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1990).

Intersubjectivity refers to the way that a group of people think and experience the world in similar ways. Values and goals are more alike and greater cooperation is possible to the degree that intersubjectivity is present. Intersubjectivity motivates participation. The continuity, productivity, and harmony of a group varies with intersubjectivity.

All activity settings have these characteristics of joint activity, reciprocal participation, and intersubjectivity, to some degree. Most, of course, do not result in crime or delinquency. However, with this brief description it is now possible to explore how this setting perspective may contribute to our understanding of delinquency and become an alternative to the individual perspective. (See O'Donnell and Tharp, 1990 for a more complete presentation of the activity setting as a unit of analysis and the implications for intervention.)

Setting-based Delinquency

Family and peer settings have been found to be of particular importance in delinquency. The social behaviors that children develop and their friendships are both influenced by families. Patterns of maternal and paternal behavior have been associated with the development of the social competence of their children (MacDonald & Parke, 1984). Socially competent children are more popular (MacDonald & Parke, 1984), less likely to be rejected or neglected (Dodge, 1983), and may be more able to cease problem behavior (Mulvey & Aber, 1988).

In contrast, families that engage in spouse or child abuse may directly contribute to the potential delinquency of their children. Morton (1987) has described how activities in problem families can teach children to use coercive behaviors.

Marital hostility and child abuse has been linked to childhood aggression (Belsky & Vondra, 1987; Gove & Crutchfield, 1982). In addition, child neglect appears to influence delinquency through lack of supervision. Lack of parental support has been associated with greater peer orientation and more deviant behavior (Condry & Siman, 1974; Dornbusch, Carlsmith, Bushwall, Ritter, Leiderman, Hastorf, & Gross, 1985; Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Rutter & Giller, 1984). Ineffective supervision has been reported to be the variable most associated with delinquency (Wilson, 1980), while the least amont of delinquency is found in settings supervised by adults (H. Schwendinger & J. Schwendinger, 1982).

These characteristics of family settings can also influence peer settings. Children who learn socially competent skills at home are more capable of developing positive relationships with prosocial peers. In contrast, those who have learned coercive behaviors, who have been subject to abuse or neglect, or who have greater freedom from adult supervision are likelier to form relationships with each other. Those who do are then participating in activity settings where they are learning from each other, creating an interdependence, and developing an intersubjectivity in which they are thinking and experiencing events in similar ways.

Unfortunately, the behaviors that they are learning, the activities in which they are participating, and the experiences that they are sharing are likely to be quite different from the more prosocial youngsters. Prosocial youths are apt to reject them because of their aggression and lower social competence. The more that they do not participate with prosocial youth, the more they will be seen as alienated or deviant. In effect, they lack intersubjectivity with their prosocial peers.

Their activity settings affect the behaviors that they learn, the people with whom they interact and, through the process of developing intersubjectivity, their cognition and values. In these activity settings, who you know and who you are becomes part of the same unity (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1990).

When some of these youths become involved in delinquent behavior, there is considerable evidence that these peer networks will support and maintain it. Much of delinquent behavior during adolescence is with peers (Emler, Reicher, & Ross, 1987; Erickson & Jensen, 1977); association with antisocial peers is one of the best predictors of delinquent behavior (Dishion & Loeber, 1985; Elliott & Voss, 1974; Fagan & Wexler, 1987; Hanson, Henggeler, Haefele, & Rodick, 1984; Knight & West, 1975); and programs that bring delinquent youth together reduce program effectiveness (O'Donnell, et al. 1987). Peers are particularly influential with adolescents who have little family support or have troubled family relationships (Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985; Poole & Regoli, 1979).

Implications for Prevention and Treatment

This setting-based perspective on delinquency has implications for prevention and treatment. Many of our social problems are intertwined. As we have seen, family and peer settings are interrelated. Therefore, the first implication is that programs designed to address one problem may also affect other concerns. Programs to reduce child abuse and neglect are also delinquency prevention programs. Programs that help younger children develop social competence may also help to prevent delinquency. This may be one of the major reasons why preschool programs are demonstrating longitudinal success (Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, 1983). For example, the Perry Preschool Project has compared 3-4 year olds with matched controls through the age of 19. The results showed not only greater school achievement, but also reductions in being on welfare, teen pregnancy, crime, and delinquency (Berrueta-Clement, Schweinhart, Barnett, Epstein, & Weikart, 1984, 1987; Schweinhart, 1987). This suggests that we need greater coordination among different types of programs and that a complex problem, such as delinquency, may require comprehensive programs on a scale much larger than currently envisioned.

The second implication is that promoting the development of prosocial networks, wherein youth at higher risk for delinquency are provided with opportunities for social contact with low-risk youngsters, may be an effective strategy for the *prevention* of delinquency. For example, Feldman, Caplinger, & Wodarski (1983) were able to reduce delinquency by placing referred, antisocial youths in activities with youths who were not antisocial. The results of the Buddy System program, however, suggest that this approach must be carefully designed and well-monitored. In the Buddy System, it will be recalled, contact with nondelinquent youths reduced arrest rates for delinquents, but increased the rates for nondelinquents (O'Donnell, et al., 1979). It may be that the key to success is the ratio of delinquent to nondelinquent youths, so that the activities are dominated by the nondelinquents.

Even more effective for prevention may be designing everyday activities in school, so that youths at risk for delinquency have positive contact with prosocial youths on a routine basis. Cooperative learning techniques are well-designed for this purpose (Sharan, 1990). This strategy has the advantage of using the assets of prosocial activities, instead of focusing on the deficits at-risk youths.

The third implication is that delinquency *treatment* programs should be designed so as to discourage contact among delinquents. Unfortunately, most programs actually increase contact among delinquent youths (O'Donnell, et al., 1987). A youth gang program, the Ladino Hills Project (Klein, 1971), is a good example of a program designed to reduce contact among gang members. It developed employment opportunities for youths. Direct observation by means of regular driving patrols revealed that employed youth were less likely to be on the street. As a result, gang cohesiveness and the total number of offenses decreased because of a reduction in the size of the gang. Other programs might be able to provide their services to youths individually, rather than in groups, so as to reduce contact among delinquents.

The final implication is that follow-up producers should be developed for youths after they complete participation in programs or finish their sentences. Studies indicate that youths who reestablish contact with delinquent peers after leaving an institution are likelier to be rearrested (e.g., Coates, 1981).

The theme of these implications and of this presentation is that as we critically evaluate our social attitude toward juvenile delinquency, we need to shift our focus from individuals to settings. From family and preschool to peers and work, activity settings influence social development and create relationships, and it is this development and these relationships that will facilitate either delinquency or prosocial behavior. The outcome depends on our collective efforts to influence these settings.

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Middle-Class Delinquency in Korea

Young-Hee Shim*

This study aims at an explorative study of middle class delinquency in Korea in the context of industrialization. The study of middle class delinquency is important for various reasons. First, with the growth of the middle class, middle-class youths are also increasing and are supposed to constitute more than half of the total youths in Korea. Secondly, there are signs and data which show that middle class delinquency is increasing and becoming more violent with the rapid unfolding of industrialization and urbanization. Thirdly, delinquency studies in Korea have neglected middle-class delinquency for a long time. Thus there are only a few studies on middle class delinquency in Korea (Shim, 1988). One of the reasons for this is that most of the delinquency studies had relied on the official delinquency statistics in which middle class delinquency is unproportionately underrepresented. Fourthly, recent studies on "hidden" deliquency has revealed that the extent of middle-class delinquency is as much as that of the lower class delinquency, though it differs from the latter in terms of the seriousness and control of delinquency (Shim, 1981; Shim, 1987b, 1987d; Kim et.al., 1989).

The data for this study include various related official and informal delinquency statistics and qualitative data on middle class delinquency. The quantitative data are used to delineate the scope of socio-cultural change as the background factors in the rise of middle-class delinquency and the current state of delinquency with a macroscopic perspective, while the qualitative data are used to explore the immediate environmental factors leading to middle class delinquency with a micro-scopic perspective. The qualitative data consist of 18 cases of middle class delinquency among altogether 64 cases of life histories collected through in-depth interviews in May, 1984 (Shim, 1988a).[1] And the method of analysis is a content analysis of life histories of delinquents.

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1. Industrialization and the Rise of Middle Class Delinquency

With the pursuit and the apparent success of rapid industrialization in the 1960's, the industrial strucrture of the primary, the secondary, and the tertiary sector industries has changed from 58.5%, 10.4%, and 31.2% respectively in 1965 to 21.9%, 28.1%, and 50.0% in 1987, showing drastic reduction in the primary industry and rapid increase in the secondary and tertiary industry (Table 1-1).

Thanks to this industrialization, the urbanization rate has also changed drastically. As shown in table 1-2, urbanization rate has changed from 28.0% in 1960 to 65.4% in 1985, completely reversing the composition of the urban-rural sector. With these industrialization and urbanization the family structrure has also changed from the extended family to the nuclear family, dropping the average number of the family members from 5.15 persons in 1955 to 4.64 persons in 1975.

[Table 1-1] Composition of Employment by Industry

Year	Agriculture Forestry & Fisheries	Mining and Manufacturing	SOC and Others
1965	58.5	10.4	31.2
1970	50.4	14.3	35.3
1975	45.7	19.1	35.2
1980	34.0	22.5	43.5
1985	24.9	24.4	50.6
1987	21.9	28.1	50.0

Source: Economic Planning Board, 1988 Social Indicators in Korea, p.92.

[Table 1-2] Trends in Urbanization Rates

	1960	1966	1970	1975	1980	1985
Urbanization Rates	28.0	33.5	41.2	48.3	57.3	65.4

Source: Economic Planning Board, 1988 Social Indicators in Korea, pp.62-63.

The class structure which had been completely shaken up by the Korean War during 1950-1953 has also changed very much. The new middle class and the working class show the greatest increase, while the farmers and the rural lower class show the greatest decrease (Table 1-3). The middle class, including both the old and the new middle class, has increased from 19.6% to 29.0% in 1960~1970, and to 38.5% in 1980. The class structure of Korean societyseems to be still in the process of structuration and it is expected that the middle class will continue to grow further.

[**Table 1-3**] Change in the Class Structure

Class	1960	1970	1975	1980
Upper Middle	0.9	1.3	1.2	1.8
New Middle	6.6	14.2	15.7	17.7
Old Middle	13.0	14.8	14.5	20.8
Working Class	8.9	16.9	19.9	22.6
Urban Lower Class	6.6	8.0	7.5	5.9
Independent Farmer	40.0	28.0	28.2	23.2
Rural Lower Class	24.0	16.7	12.9	8.1

Source: Hong, 1983:71; Song, 1985: 113.

With these changes in industrialization, urbanization, and the class structuration, the education level has also improved a lot. This is no wonder considering the Korean people's special enthusiasm for higher education. Not only the enrollment rate but also the advance rate of students to higher school level have improved very much (Table 1-4). However, higher advance rate means severe

[**Table 1-4**] Advance Rate of Students to Higher School Level

Year	Primary School	Middle School	High School	College & Univ.
1965	48.7	79.1	37.6	4.6
1970	63.2	70.2	35.9	13.7
1975	76.8	75.5	31.0	20.1
1980	93.7	84.6	43.3	34.3
1985	98.6	88.8	49.6	24.8
1988	99.2	89.0	44.5	20.1

Source: Economic Planning Board, 1988, Social Indicators in Korea, pp.160-161.

competition among students, giving rise to the problems of so called "narrow gate syndrome." This "narrow gate syndrome"[2] has become one of the major sources of students' frustration, aggression, and delinquency.

These changes provide the context of the rise of middle class delinquency, the industrialization giving rise to materialistic value orientation, urbanization and the growth of the middle class giving rise to individualism and hedonism, and the educational system giving rise to the "narrow gate syndrome" (Shim, 1986a).

2. Characteristics of the Juvenile Delinquency in Korea

2.1 Juvenile Delinquency in Official Statistics

To locate the middle-class delinquency in the context of juvenile delinquency in general, it will be useful to review the current state of juvenile delinquency in Korea first. According to the official statistics, the volume of juvenile delinquency in Korea has increased from 38,896 in 1970 to 104,052 in 1988, showing an increase of 2.7 times in 18 years (Table 2-1). However, this increase rate is lower than that of the total crimes in the same period. Also the proportion of juvenile delinquency to total crime turned out to be relatively low, showing a proportion of 9.1% in 1988 (Table 2-1).

Even though juvenile delinquency does not seem serious in terms of the volume and the increase rate, the seriousness of juvenile delinquency reveals itself in the types of delinquency. That is, among the various types of juvenile delin-

[Table 2-1] Proportion of Juvenile Delinquency to Total Crime by Year

Year	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
total	1,000,343	1,005,892	1,041,887	1,113,612	1,144,802
juvenile	104,578	102,225	106,355	97,849	104,052
%	10.5	10.2	10.2	8.8	9.1
delinquents per 100,000 youths*	1,267	1,228	1,237	1,114	1,135

Source: White Paper on Youth, 1989
* White Paper on Crime, 1989, p.74.

quency the proportion of the violent delinquency is the highest with 43.4%, and the proportion of heineous delinquency (4.6%) shows a tendency of increase (Table 2-2). This is also the case with the types of student delinquency (Shim, 1988b), among which, violent delinquency is the highest with 44.6%, property delinquency next with 26.5%, and heineous delinquency next in order with 1.6% (White Paper on Youths, 1989). Such a distribution of types of delinquency is quite contrasting to the distribution of total crimes, according to which property crimes constitute the majority (67.7%) and the proportion of heineous and violent crime is only 15.6% (Table 2-2).

[Table 2-2] Trends and Proportion of Juvenile Delinquency by Type of Crime

	total criminal* 1988	juvenile delinquency** 1988
Total	239,660 (100.0)	104,052 (100.0)
heineous		4,771 (4.6)
violent	37,379 (15.6)	45,120 (43.4)
property	162,268 (67.7)	28,587 (27.5)
others	40,013 (16.7)	25,574 (24.6)

Source: * Analysis of Crime, 1989;
** White Paper on Youth, 1989.

[Table 2-3] Proportion of Juvenile Delinquency to total Crime by Type

	1989 1/4		
	Juvenile	Total	Proportion of juveniles
total criminal law violators	8,869	64,110	13.8
theft	5,853	13,045	44.9
homicide	17	162	10.5
robbery	836	1,570	53.2
rape	404	1,224	33.0
blackmail	59	205	28.8
special law against violence	11,455	61,666	18.6

Source: Supreme Prosecutors' Office, Analysis of Crime, 1989 1/4, p.22.

[**Table 2-4**] Proportion of Gang Delinquency: Total Crime and Juvenile Delinquency by Number of Participants

	Total Crime		Juvenile	
	alone	2 or more	alone	2 or more
1989 1/4	83.9%	16.1%	54.7	45.3%

Source: Analysis of Crime, 1989 1/4.

A more detailed scrutinization of the proportion of juvenile delinquency reveals that even though the proportion of juvenile delinquency to total crime is only 13.8% in 1989 1/4, the proportion of juvenile offenders in certain specific offense category reveals a great variation by offense, thus the proportion of juvenile offenders ranges from 53.2% in robbery, 4.9% in theft, 33.0% in rape, 28.8% in blackmail, to 18.6% in violations of special law against violence (Table 2-3), showing a high concentration of juvenile offenders in certain violent offenses. And furthermore, these respective proportions of juvenile offenders in 1989, when compared with the proportions in 1974, have increased, showing a tendency that juvenile delinquency is becoming more violent.

Also the tendency of gang delinquency is apparent in juvenile delinquency. In contrast to total criminals the majority of whom commit crime alone (83.9% in 1989 1/4), more than half of the juvenile delinquents commit delinquency together with some other people, showing the proportion of gang delinquency as 54.7% (Table 2-4).

2.2 Hidden Delinquency

Since there are lots of hidden delinquency not covered in the official statistics, it is also necessary to review the extent of hidden delinquency. According to a self-report study (Shim, 1987), the extent of hidden delinquency turned out

[**Table 2-5**] Extent of Official and Hidden Delinquency

	official*	hidden**
1980	1.18%	27.5%
1986	1.24%	35.8%

Source: * White Paper on Crime, 1989, p.74.
** Shim, 1981; Shim, 1987d.

to be 35.8% in 1986, which is incredibly high compared with the official delinquency rate of 1.2% (1,237 per 100,000 youths) in 1986 (Table 2-5). And the trend of change shows a rapid increase, changing from 27.5% in 1980 to 35.8% in 1986 (Shim, 1981, 1987d).

Among the types of hidden delinquency juveniles admitted, the ones most frequently committed are the retreatist type of delinquency such as drinking beer, wine or liquor (69.8%), entering areas restricted to juveniles (68.1%), and smoking(51.5%) (Table 2-6). And the third in order was fist-fighting (67.6%) which can be classified under violent delinquency. Other types of violent delinquency such as vandalism (22.9%) and gang-fighting (14.6%) also appeared (Table 2-6).

Thus it can be said that even though juvenile delinquency in Korea has not increased much in terms of the volume, the tendency of juvenile delinquency becoming more violent is apparent.

[Table 2-6] Extent of Hidden Delinquency by Type

Type	delinquency	frequency	order
property	theft 1 (under 5,000 won)	141 (35.4)	7
	theft 2 (over 5,000 won)	49 (12.3)	
violent	fist-fighting	269 (67.6)	3
	gang-fighting	58 (14.6)	
	vandalism	91 (22.9)	
rebellious	skipping school	98 (24.6)	
	runaway	85 (21.4)	
	defying parents' authority	180 (45.2)	6
retreatist	drinking beer, wine or liquor	278 (69.8)	1
	drug	29 (7.3)	
	sexual relations	110 (27.6)	
	smoking	205 (51.5)	5
	entering areas restricted to juveniles	271 (68.1)	2
	gambling	233 (58.5)	4

Source: Shim, 1987d.

3. The Characteristics of Middle-Class Delinquency

Compared to the juvenile delinquency shown in the official statistics, middle class delinquency is characterized by 1) the high extent of "hidden" delinquency, 2) the high extent of collective delinquency, and 3) the complexity in the types of delinquency.

3.1 High Extent of 'Hidden' Delinquency

Most of the middle class delinquency, as has been pointed out by many scholars, is 'hidden' due to its low visibility. According to official statistics, middle class delinquency (together with upper class delinquency) amounts to only about 11% in 1987 (Table 3-1). However, according to self-report studies of hidden delinquency (Shim, 1981; 1987b; 1987d), among the middle class youths

[Table 3-1] Official Delinquents by the Standard of Living

Year	Low	Middle	Upper	Total
1975	92.5	7.1	0.4	100.0 (62,007)
1980	90.1	9.6	0.4	100.0 (87,962)
1985	89.6	10.1	0.5	100.0 (102,225)
1987	88.7	10.8	0.5	100.0 (97,849)

Source: White Paper on Crime, 1985: 221, 1988: 86.

[Table 3-2] Hidden (Self-Admitted) Delinquency by SES

SES \ Delinq	1980	1986
Low	30.1 (246)	33.7 (202)
Middle	28.6 (294)	38.8 (160)
Upper Middle	29.4 (17)	0
Total	29.3 (557)	35.6 (362)

Source: Shim, 1981; Shim, 1987d: 151; 1987b.

The numbers in the ( ) are the total number of the respondents and the percentage refers to the proportion of those who admitted having committed delinquency.

28.6% in 1980 and 38.8% in 1986 admitted committing delinquency including hidden delinquency , which is almost the same level as that of the lower class delinquency (Table 3-2). Also among the 64 cases we collected 18 cases were middle class delinquency, showing a rate of 28.1%, though the sample has a problem of representativeness.

3.2 High Extent of Collective Delinquency

Another characteristics of the middle class delinquency is that there are lots of collective delinquency. This characteristics is similar to but goes beyond that of the lower class delinquency among which about 2/3 are collective delinquency (Table 3-3). According to our qualitative data, among 18 cases of middle class delinquency only one case was individual delinquency and all the rest were collective delinquency associated with bad friends or violent circles (Shim, 1988a).

[**Table 3-3**] The Proportion of Collective Delinquents among Official Delinquents

Year	Single	Collective	Total
1975	59.2	40.8	100.0 (2,970)
1980	38.8	61.2	100.0 (1,550)
1984	33.4	66.6	100.0 (3,500)

Source: White Paper on Youths, 1987.

3.3 The Complexity in the Types of Delinquency

Delinquency, in terms of the types or patterns of delinquency, can be classified into three broad categories, i.e., property delinquency, retreatist delinquency, and violent delinquency (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). If we look at the patterns of middle class delinquency in terms of these three types of delinquency, it is found that the middle class delinquency is complex in that usually not just one type, but more than two types of delinquency are overlapping in one delinquent, and that among these three types, retreatist and violent delinquency which can be considered as a reflection of materialistic and hedonistic culture seem to be dominant (Table 3-4).

These overlappings of the types of delinquency among middle class delinquents turned out to occur due to 1) the necessity of "leisure money" while

[**Table 3-4**] Types of Middle Class Delinquency

property and retreatist	2
retreatist and violent	5
property and violent	2
property,retreatist and violent	7
Total	16

Source: Shim, 1988a.

enjoying retreatist delinquency and 2) the involvement in violent circles (Shim, 1988a). In the first pattern in which the leisure money is procured by theft, extortion, and/or robbery, retreatist delinquency is the major type of delinquency and the property and/or violent delinquency is a marginal one. In the second pattern, rebellion and involvement in the violent circle together with the retreatist delinquency is the major form of deliqquency.

4. Factors Leading to Middle-Class Delinquency[3)]

One of the most important causes of middle class delinquency has turned out to be the relationship with friends and participation in the gangs, which in turn could be influenced either by the family problems and school adjustment problems or by the youth culture (Table 4-1).

[**Table 4-1**] Reasons for Participation in Violent Circles

Family Problems	5
School Adjustment Problems	2
Youth Culture	7
Lack of Commitment	2
Total	16

Source: Shim, 1988a.

4.1 The Family Problems

The reasons why youths get involved with "bad" friends or violent gangs are often attributed to family problems. Family problems can be further divided into the structrural breakage such as the broken home and family relations or atmospere problems. For middle class delinquency, more important family problems among these two seem to lie in the family relations and atmosphere rather than the structural breakage (Nye, 1958; Shim, 1988a).

Typical family relations problems, according to our qualitative data, include 1) disharmony and conflict between parents, 2) socialization methods by parents such as rigid discipline by the father, and 3) parents', especially father's, sexually immoral behavior (Shim, 1988a). All these problems can be traced to the patriarchal family relationship still dominant in Korean families.

4.2 The School Problems

In contemporary society school is not only an agency of socialization but also an instrument to success, determining the socio-economic status in the society. Most of the school adjustment problems reveal themselves in the low achievement in school. This low achievement in school brings about inferiority complex and other frustration for the adolescents, leading them to delinquency (Schafer and Polk, 1967; 1972). This is especially so in Korea, considering the high competition and the narrow gate syndrome due to the Korean educational system (Shim, 1988a). And even those prominent and average-achieving youths are also under constant pressure from their families and schools. Thus there is a possibility that those youths who do not have school adjustment problems can still feel frustration and fall into delinquency due to this "narrow gate syndrome."

4.3 Youth Culture Problems

Most of the middle class delinquent cases turn out to get involved with bad friends or violent circles when they have specific family problems and/or school adjustment problems and in many cases even without these problems. This latter phenomenon supports the view of the youth culture theory that middle class youths get involved in short-run hedonism with the decay of deferred gratification patterns (England, 1967; Vaz, 1967).

According to our cases most of the youths have spent their childhood in well-to-do families without any serious family and/or school adjustment problems. Thus when they get involved with violent circles and delinquency, it is their friends and the youth culture which pull them to such circles (Shim, 1988a). Though the family and school adjustment problems, serious or not, can function as push factors in the background, more important as immediate factors leading to delinquency seem to be the youth culture and the circles which function as pull factors. These function so particularly by providing opportunities to express complaints, to overcome inferiority complex, to pursue pleasure together, and to liberate themselves from the constraints of the family and the school.

As shown in relevant cases, middle class youths show great curiosity to violent and retreatist delinquency and do not show negative images toward these delinquencies. On the contrary, they take pride in having experiences of delinquency and actually they become the object of envy among their peer youths. Thus they get involved in delinquency even without family and school adjustment problems.

5. Control of Middle-Class Delinquency

The control of middle class delinquency is characterized by its selectivity in operation (Shim, 1987c). That is, most of the middle class delinquents do not get labelled even when they get caught. The labelling here refers to the official labelling by the court, including dispositions to the training school. This turns out due to the effect of their parents' socio-economic status.

5.1 Selectivity of Control and Labelling

Types and seriousness of control can be classified into 1) suspension or expelling from the school, 2) arrest by the police, 3) disposition by the juvenile court and institutionalizaiton into the training school. As shown in Table 5-1, most of the cases, which have been detected and controlled, have not been officially labelled. And this phenomenon turned out to be due to parents' socio-economic status.

An interesting thing to point out with regard to this is that among the youths, particularly among the violent circles, the labelling is described as "getting stars"

[**Table 5-1**] Control of Delinquency and Labelling

no control,	no labelling	1
control by school,	no labelling	8
control by the police,	no labelling	11
control by the juvenile court,	with labelling	2

Source: Shim, 1988a.

and considered not as an dishonor but rather as a pride.

5.2 Labelling and Recidivism

Most of the middle class delinquency turns out to be transitory which are overcome as the adolescents become mature (Table 5-2). This seems to support the view of Karacki and Toby (1962) who claims that middle class delinquecy is a transitory phenomenon due to a lack of committment.

[**Table 5-2**] Continuity of Delinquency

continued	5
stopped	7
not clear	3
Total	15

Source: Shim, 1988a.

It turned out that the delinquency continued, 1) when the causes of the problem have not been eliminated or reduced, 2) when there had been no control, and 3) when the youths rebell against the control (Shim, 1988a). The third factor indicates that the selectivity of control on the one hand and the corruption of control agency on the other operate as important factors for recidivism. And the violence by the police is also conducive to the recidivism by making the youths rebellious.

On the contrary, the youth stopped committing delinquency, it turned out, 1) when the causes of the problem have been eliminated, 2) when the environment has changed, or 3) when there has been great shock from the outside such as a punishment or a new moment, and 4) when they got over with delinquency naturally by becoming mature (Shim, 1988a).

6. Concluding Remarks: The Building of a New Socio-Culture for Youths

In the above analysis, I have pointed out the macro-scopic structural background and microscopic environmental factors leading to middle class delinquency. Now is the time to suggest a constructive alternative to solve or at least to reduce these problems.

First, with regard to the family problems, the democratization of the family is suggested. Though the contemporary family is not as patriarchal as the traditional family, it is still patriarchal in nature, thus being called as "the new patriarchal family."More specifically, rigid, authoritarian discipline as a socialization technique, father's immoral sexual behavior, and disharmony and conflict between the parents, are all due to the patriarchal family relationship and the double standard of gender role based on it. Thus the patriarchal, authoritarian relationship in the Korean family should be transformed to a more democratic, egalitarian one.

Secondly, with regard to the school problems, the transformation from the achievement-oriented to the whole-person oriented education is suggested. The present educational system emphasizes only the high achievement and competition in the school, accelerating the "narrow gate syndrome." This makes the youths egoistic and blind to the social consciousness and the collective identity such as one-community consciousness. Thus a transition to the whole-person oriented education is badly needed.

Thirdly, with regard to the youth culture problem, materialistic and hedonistic value orientations must be replaced by the concern for human dignity and human rights. With the process of industrialization the standard of living of the people in general has greatly improved, which has given rise to the materialism, money fetishism, and short-run hedonism. However, the gap between the rich and the poor has become wider, alienating more and more lower class people. Thus more concern for the alienated and poor people is needed to guarantee them the living standard necessary to maintain human dignity.

More democratic family, whole-person oriented education, and concern for the human dignity of the alienated class will pave the way to a new socio-culture of a democratic community, reducing the problem of middle class delinquency.

NOTES

1) The sample is so called an anthropological sample and thus has a problem of representativeness. But since the focus is on the qualitative analysis for an explorative study, it would not pose any problem.
2) This is a serious youth problem in Korea, since some students even commit suicide due to the failure in the school or in the entrance examination.
3) For sections 4 and 5 qualitative data based on case studies are intensively used. Due to space limitations, however, detailed descriptions and illustrations of the cases are omitted and only the outline of the findings of the analysis are presented.

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Discussion (1)

Rainer K. Silbereisen*

On Dr. O'Donnell's paper there was one of those attributes, namely social competence. Here's a couple of more. One is self control which is the attitude, the belief system, the skills, the role repertory which helps you to believe in yourself, that it is you who is doing this and that, and that it is you who is self efficacious. Now, just refering to the political situation, I am involved in research concerning the German unification process. As a matter of fact, I'm a West German. I should just repeat that because several people thought I was just imported. Now, lack of self control, lack of beliefs in autonomy, is really a problem because in that system people were educated to waite for somebody else who is going to give them goals and direction. Now, self control would be one of those personal valuables that help people to make more out of their context. Although some people live in tremendously bad contexts, there's always a small portion of people who survive much better than everydoby else.

There are also protect affectors within people. One would be education and this is why I like the yesterday presentation of Dr. Lee so much. She showed that there was a differencial gender risk of not getting the best kind of education. Education is a resourse which helps you. You can capitalize on that in order to bring your self development to new frontiers. Self-esteem would be another one, I mentioned allready.

Secondly, once we got started believing that it is the self, the person himself or herself who is really responsible, then there's a core concept and this is what I would like to call, "Develpmental Time Tables". We all live with a time table, with a clock, a social clock, in our brain which tells us what is due, what is at stake for whom at time. For example, when it is convenient to go out on a boy or girl party on your own, when it's convenient to drink, when it is allowed to drive a car, a bike, a motor bike, and so on. Now, the interesting thing is that in highly industrialized societies, young people and parents are similar in these

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time tables. But in soccietes that undergo rapid cultural change, the developmental time tables of the young and of the older generation are in a mismatch. I would only like to raise the issue concerning Dr. Shim's paper that at least in my German point of view a lot of these delinguent acts, I wou'd call misconduct, I would call a status offense. They are deviant because they are off time. They are not deviant because of theivery nature, but simply because they are shown too early. I think it's very important to see, that that kind of status offenses is related to developmental time tables which might undergo a rapid change. There's also research demonstrating that lots of the status offenses actually play a functional role and even an adaptive role in human development.

Let me bring one issue. Nobody mentioned biological factors. Now, there is a dramatic variation in the maturational timing concerning puberty. Especially in a situation of modernization, there's even more excelleration concerning the age of mothering. For example, the first menstruation in females. Now, there's a research demonstration that status offenses are an active attempt to resolve the mismatch between how you look physically and how you behave socially. In other words, young girls, early maturing girls, drink in order to affiliate with older male peers for whom they are attractive. This then is a delinquent behavior because they drink too early, but on longer run, there's not at all a risk of becoming deviant. The only risk is that they have to take over social roads earlier than others which typically means that their level of education is lower. So, I can't go into details. All I'd like to say is that whenever we are talking about adolescent misbehaviors, we have to bear in mind that there is interaction between biological time tables and social time tables and that especially in situation of rapid social change, we have a change in the mismatch between these two aspects. And quite typically, for example, in my own country institutions are in a mismatch to human development and the pace of human development. I think this is a very important issue. As a matter of fact, I have been doing cross-culture research for many years especially between Western Europe and Eastern Europe of course. I never did research on an Asian country, but I'm really keen on learning more about the situation in Korea because I see lots of overlap to the German situation. This was my second issue.

By the way, once you believe in developmental time tables then, of course, not everything which young people show is a product of individual development. Quite often it's simply a manifestation of develpment on the pepulation level. For example, if in a society, everybody believes in a certain time, for example, the legal drinking age, then the interesting thing is that deviation from the legal drinking age is not the fact that most people drink at, say, age 18.

Now, the third point is directly related to that because quite often these behaviors are status ofenses. They are transitional in nature. Dr. Shim mentioned that once you survived adolescence and puberty, these problems are no longer a problem, but what we definately need is longetudinal data sets of a specific kind, namely, prospective longitudinal data set. The data we got presented todeay, in a sense of retrospective, are measured on the aggregated level, but what we need is to follow up on young people beginning at a time of their development when there's no deviancy at all and ending when they are in middle adulthood. I mean, this takes time, this is extremely expensive, but I think it's decisive for developing society because otherwise it would never know what the real risk factors are, what is relevant in order to decide who will become a criminal at the end.

I mean, we know almost all of those who show deliquency especially those who show status offenses will never have any problem in adulthood. So only by doing longitudinal prospective research, we know about the differential pathways through life and only in doing this we'll learn about protective factors. Now think, seeing from the human development point of view, it's not that interesting to learn about the risk factors, but apart the protective factors, those factors that help. And we need cross culture research, obviously, parental supervision which Clifford mentioned because parental supervision is one of the few varibles which show within cultures as well as across cultures. It is a predictive power in order to predict deliquent behavior, misconduct, thing like that. So, this says that it really makes sense to intervene on parental supervision because it shows within as well as across cultures. A predictive power quite often most of which is discussed symply with differcences between and we must interprete this as being causable factors. My last issue is related to the presentation of Dr. O'Donnell concerning private prevention because the message is that, if you want to do the right things, in order to protect young people from misconduct in early and middle adolescence, the best you can do is improve their development. Don't try to do everything specifically which anyway would be too late against drinking beer, taking drugs, and concerning crime prevention. Do it much earlier, attack not drugs, but attack positive development. In other words, improve or attempt to improve contextural resources and personal capabilities for development. Don't do symptom graded work, but do development graded work. And concerning secondly, prevention, the idea was, try to provide functional alternatives. Most problems, behaviors in adolescence serve a function for the individual. They are adaptive, but they have registered side effects. Now, one thing which would be highly relevant to self control is, to provide chances to self challenging. Of couse, what we learned from him is, don't do this in groups with prosocial peers if the portion of those is too small. I would also have some problems doing this in Germany because prosocial peeers typically reject the problem kids. I think the more important message is, to give positive challenges in positive context. Thank you!

Discussion (2)

Uichol Kim*

Thank you. Kurt Newland who is one of the foremost authority in sooial psychology once said, "There's nothing as practical as a good theory." However, I would like to add, "There's nothing better than a theory that works." That's one of the problems we're dealing with in social sciences. We don't have a theory that works todate, and I think Cliff highlights that contention. We're struggling at this point and to develop a theory and to develop an understanding of all the people that we're trying to represent. Although he was very soft spoken, he was very gentle, I think the message itself is penetrating. There is a thing in Korea. When someone speaks softly and quietly you listen very carefully. The message itself is very loaded.

With somewhat from radical to wise to very penetrating ideas, I think Dr. O'Donnell has presented with those three aspects. It is very provocative, and improvise. I mean the way you shift in terms of the way you look at youth when you do research. He suggested that the unit has to change from the individual to the setting. I agree largely, but I would like to refine and to contexturalize a little bit more.

Unit of analysis in science general is highly appropriate. If the phenomenon is highly probable, that is repeatable. If the parameters are stable, and if the system or the subsystem can be isolated, thus you can't replicate, validate, and verify in order to be scientific. One of the problems when we get into the human sciences, especially the setting, is that the events are not highly probable, stable, or isolatable.

What we need to do is first, seperate the level of analysis because the levels interact. As Dr. Silbereisen suggests: the physiological or biological level; the individual level, including psychological, emotional, and also the biological; also the group level where they interact with one another; the cultural level where various informations and stimulations are intergrated and varified; then we may

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come up with universal undrstanding of a human being. Within each level, we must or we need to discover the appropriate unit of analysis. This is done in physics. For example, mechanical laws, Newtonian physics provided a unit that is appropriate for the mechanical level. Einstein provided another unit for the nuclear level in quantom physics. They're discovering another set of analyis. So, we have to learn from natural sciences that we cannot just use one unit to discover and to understand a phenomenon. In terms of a setting, I think Dr. O'Donnell indirectly addressed the necessity of examining the interaction of the setting and the people who occupy it. Dr. Silbereisen suggested that you have to look at some factor, not just personnel control, self-esteem, social confidence. That is one important aspect of a person.

The second aspect is human relatedness. How do people interact with one another? How do people conmunicate with one another? That is very important. Also, you have to look at cultural elements in which the social conditions or the context has been predetermined and predefined. We also have to look at those levels. When we begin to examine from the context of the individual to the context of the setting, the phenomenon gets very complicated, and I think it's a good solid decision because the phenomenon itself is very complicated. So, we should not live with this illusion that we can identify the problem or the solution at the individual level and look at the phenomenon as they are presented to us.

Concerning Dr. Shim's paper, I would like to make a general comment, not specifically to her paper, but problems generally in social sciences and in sociology. One of the problems is that we are trying to understand the cause of a phenomenen, and one of the basic requirements is one cause for one consequence. One cause cannot produe two consequences. However, in social sciences, we attribute a cause in which there are various different consequences.

One of the classic figures is Durkheim who articulated anomie as causing suicide. However, we have found that most people who lack norms or who posses anomie do not commit suicide. So, how can anomie cause at one instance cause suicide and another not suicide? Seen with industrialization, urbanization, and Westernization, how could it cause delinquency for some and not for the other? So, those concepts are not useful or are not causal agents they are at best correlation. They come together as a package and we acnnot attribute causality because it produces two or more outcomes.

Some of the conclusions, although I agree, we need to reexamine. However, as we, representing scholars, we're quick to draw a conclusion based on limited data and limited understanding. In page 159, Dr. Shim said, 'I have pointed out the macro-scopic structural background and microscopic environmental factors leading to middle class delinquency.'' One of the problems with that statement is, she hasn't defined social class to a large extent. We don't know what it is. It is a package of variables, but what type of package is it ? And the leading, the causality part we still do not konw. Especially for the sample size of 64, there is very low description and information about that sample size.

Also, the definition that Dr. Shim suggests is problematic. We have problems in defining what social class is. We have problems in defining what family is. We have problems defining what youth is. We have problems in difining what delinquency is. So, how can we start to talk about causes ? Thirdly, the second conclusions is that the patriarchical authoritarian relationship in the Korean family should be transformed to a more democratic and egalitarian one. Democracy and egalitarianism does not create better people. If you look at the United States, it has one of the highest levels of delinquency. So, converting your society to a democratic one will not decrease the problem.

There's another interesting example conducted by Ron Roner at Connecticut. He found in his American subjects that parental control was correlated with neglect, rejection, hostility, and agression. That is, children who percieve their parents to be very controlling percieve their parents to be unloving. Why ? Because society suggests that you should give autonomy and independence. When he collected data in Korea, he found the exact opposite. Parental control was percieved as a reflection of warmth and parental concern. The reason is that if you are to succeed you need parental involvement. That is a necessary requirement, so the authoritarian aspect does not necessarily have to correlate with delinquency. It is what type of authoritarianism that makes Korean culture authoritarian? However, beyond authoritaranism, what do they posses? What they posses is human relatedness and verification. That is very important in the developmental progression.

The other conclusions is that we should move away from the heatedness, the materialistic value in orientation. I would suggest that it would be very difficult to move away from it because adults are deeply entrenched in it. If you walk around, or if you turn on the news, the politiclans, the businessmen, and even professors, the way they hire, teach, and the way they abuse their students is a verification of the hedonistic materialistic society that we live in. So, why do all teach our children to ideals when we ourselves are not living along those guidelines? I think we should examine ourselves first, before we advocate changes to youth and to the future.

Finally, democracy and egalitariarism are catche phrases, and I agree to those concepts, but how and what kind? Democracy is not a universal concept. Each country has its own concept of what democracy is. It has it's own method. Just to say that we should be more democratic does not help to clarify the situation because if we adopt the American democracy, then I think we would be putting our society into turmoil and chaos. So, we need to specify what kind of democracy and how it can be implemented. Then I would suggest to be idealistic. However our theory must be practical in order for it to work and in order for it to guide our research. Otherwise, it would end up as ideals and we can go into a library and find millions of book advocating the ideals, but very few books are practical enough sense that they do have effect in our present society.

Thank you!

Reconstruction of Society by Youth: Myth, Dream or a Possibility

Usha. S. Nayar*

Abstract

Youth constitute a vital and a dynamic segment of the population in the contemporary world. Both by virtue of sheer numbers and an innate reservoir of potent energy, the impact of youth in the context of society and its movement, is tremendous and significant. Youthful expressions are invariably rooted in the social mileu and feflect the need for a review and change.

The present paper focusses on youth, both in terms of its vitality and as an instrument of change. It seeks to examine the nature and extent of youth participation, and the change in the society that follows in its expenssion.

A per se definition, of youth is debatable. However this paper have classified youth on the basis of their participation in the society and social movements. These would include the 15 to 24 yrs. old, and are categorised as: the contented youth, the militant youth, the with cause youth and the disengaged youth.

Society has fostered a beleief that the essential role of youth is to reflect completely the values of the social structure that the they are born into and live. The role is to mirror the societal (traditional) values structure. This is a myth.

Given the awesome reality of the present day state-of -art communication, and the speed and accuracy with which informtion, is disseminated, a global youth culture, cutting across tradition and national issues seem to be gaining in importance. Their values have now become universal and at the same time humane. A transnational awareness that focusses on the right to express themselves, and question traditional proprieties, is at the core of the youth

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movements. Ecology, democracy, shelter (housing) the right to know and participate in the distribution fresources are some broad based values that youth are debating.

The recent non-violent mass movements of students and youth in Europe, China, India, and in various other parts of the world, are significant pointers to the values that will change. A movement, has been initiated, that will foster growth and gain in a positive direction.

A critical examination of the various movements that include youth, as initiators and upholders of humane and universal values, indicate that a process of reconstruction of the society has begun.

As in nature, spontaneous expressions evolve into stable expressions, so have many peaceful movements begun in several places spontaneously and simaltaneously, that desires a decent and dignified society. This is no longer a dream or a myth. This is a distinct possibility.

Context

Society tradtionally/historically has had an ambivalent attitude to youth and its various expressions. Everyone acknowledges the tremendous capability and potenitial of youthful energy in reorganising the society and the nation. It also appears that some of the (decision makers/policy planners) seem to, or at least want to suppress it, and to control and put it on a tight leash. Youthfully meaningful services like education, recreation, health, employment, and social security seem to get a low priority. Freedom of expression, and a right to be heard and be involved in the decision making (especially in the areas of vital and immediate concern for/of the youth)is at best brushed aside or ignored. There seems to be a divide here. It is like the youth on one side, and the whole world making up the other. Historically, and the world over, youth has been in the forefront of freedome movements. Their ability to work long and hard, their youthful enthusiasm, and their capacity to absorb, initiate, and rally around a leader or an idea, was the fuel that sustained long and arduous struggles against hostile and oppressive regimes.

And in our own times we have been a witness to the number of movements that has been successfully initiated/launched by the youth that has been responsible for triggering of a constellation of changes, some of these were quite radical others quite, but gaining in strength. Youth have channelised their energy, for higher order goals, and have had no problems in communicating their aspirations, and their need to be included in the decision making process even as adults led the movements, that questioned authority, and desired change.

However, after the desired political/social changes were achieved, the youth found their voices bieng quelled by legislation and ideology. Their optimism was found to be idealistic and their desire for anxiety free adulthood/society was thought to be impractical. The 1950's were the post war periods in the western world, and for several other countries a period of transition, mainly from colonialism. The new patterns of social movements, emerging from the debris of war and colonial rules, were neccesarily optimistic and was sure of the goals of nation building and the direction that society was to take. The technological changes that accompanied the transformation of societies-specially in the western world-saw a new generation of youths, that questioned every societal rule/norm and their peaceful and essentially non-violent movement took the form of outright rejection of values that was held ''correct and necessary'' by the environment that nurtrued and sustained them. In the interim the youth of the other countries found themselves, ignored while the nation building and all the other attendant activites that went along with the realignment of a new structure, was controlled and directed by the ''adults''. Many of them found, that their dreams of sharing equitably the national resources, was sacrificed, for immediate developmental priorities. While it would be incorrect to say, that this was not needed, but, also in this process, the planners and political parties did not involve the youth, in any decision making process, and even in matters related to the youth, themselves. Thus it was, that countries which witnessed, affluence and freedom of expressions, gave rise to youth, who questioned fundamental proprieties, rejected the laid down norms, and initiated a new culture, that cut across geographical and tradtional boundaries, and found youthful adherents in several parts of the world. So the 70's through the 90's, have been a period which have, and are, witnessing tremendous and unbelieveable changes. The pace at which events happen in one country, is immediately known the world over in hardly any time. And whats more heartening, it invariably gets adherents the world over. Whether it is the violent agitations of students in India, for issues (which could be political, social, or ecological), or the student movements for greater say and autonomy in China, there would be support and/or endorsement from some of several parts of the world. Today more than any time in the past, the youth are talking of social justice, freedom of expressions, the dignity of ecology, and the need to share and share alike.

Is it possible to have a smooth transition? Is it possible for these children (yours and mine) to learn to trust "our" judgement? Is it neccesary for the "adults" to presume to have all the answers? Is it possible for all of us present here to accept youth/youthful expressions in the context of it's happening? Or do we resort to legislation and condemnation?

It would be presumptous to say that there are definite answers to these questions. This paper however attempts a perspective defined by these questions.

The Concept of Youth

i) Youth and age: A per se definition of youth is/has been debatable. In various countries, the age of/for youth, has varied with the national plans, programmes, as well as legislation. This paper uses the age group of 15-24 yrs. As suggested by the United Nations. In India though, the official definition of youth are persons between the ages of 15-35 yrs. Using the criterion of chronological age to define youth has a biological bias. When people may said to be young varies with the overal life span possible in that society and at that time. thus while it is obvious, that youth has biological basis for defining itself, youthhood has varied according to the material as well as social and cultural well being of the society.

ii) Classification of youth: Here again a difinite categorisation is not possible, because the political, social, cultural, and developmental components, do restrict the scope for a definition. However, four categories, each with its distinct charecteristics can be attempted. This takes into account the role of youth participation and social change.

a) The Contented Youth. These youth are the passive contented youth. They are barely literate and live in the rural/semi-rural, and small towns , and invariably follow traditional/routinized life styles. They are kind of locked in, and insulated from everts around them.

b) The Militant Youth. These are the offsprings, of the first urban settlers, ranging from the literate to the semi, and includes those whose socio economico, background, would place them in the lower middle class. Youth drawn from such background are inevitably used by crafty politicians and parties to use their brawns. They seem to be easeily manipulated to serve narrow social goals. They are the city bred, and street-smart youth, and have a fairly good idea about the socio-politico developments around them.

c) The With Cause Youth. These are the youth commited to bring about and feel the need to/for change. They have an idelogy and generally belong to an organisation. They are educated and come of a fairly comfortable background. They are urbane, articulate and tends to be idealistic in character.

d) Disengaged youth. The youth in this category are urban, educated and in search of an identity. They are cut of from the traditional roots, either by choice or by peer and other compulsions. They tend to drift along with no definite desire to participate, neither are they willing to explore, the cultural/political, milieu in which they find themselves. These youth tend to lead a life, without any commitment, and are rather self centered, and individualistic.

Participation and Reconstruction: The Scenario

The youth in todays world finds themselves in a rather complex world. While on the one hand, they are on the peak (in a biological sense), educationally the choices seem to be limited and/or inaccesible, and so is the fact of unemployment. Another problem is the lack of adequate health facilities, and limited vocations. All in all it is a time of growing uncertainty. The number of unemployed -both the educated as well as the uneducated- are on the increase. This problem seems to be fairly prevalent in most parts of the world. Thus we find the emergence of a peer culture with common aspirations and apprehensions, and that this section is not only vocal but also determined to express themselves.

Both in India as well as in other nations, youth have participated in a wide range of issues, some social and local, and other far deeper issues like ecology, empowerment of women and so on. The leadership of youth movements has been mixed, meaning that, youth movements have had adults also as their leaders. While there have been movements associated with youth, which have been violent, it is unfair to label all youth movements as violent. Recognising the latent explosive power of youth, most political systems, have been interested in harnessing youth energy, for political ends, and sometimes for socially useful purposes. That may be one reason, for the lack of any real resurgent youth movement, in the last couple of decades.

Youth in India ... Present Position:

Constitutional Provisions for Youth:

The constitution of India, guarantees certain fundamental rights for children and youth. These essentially relate to education, protection of young workers, protection of minority groups and prevention of exploitation of children and youth. Education and cultural interests are also protected by several clauses (Article 28 (1)) of fundamental rights.

The Indian Majority Act of 1875 does not provide the defintions of majority and minority, however persons domiciled in India are deemed to have obtained majority when they have completed the age of 18 yrs. In case of any minor placed under guardianship is considered major at the age of 21 and not before.

Recent additions to the act, empowers youth from the age of 18 yrs to exercise franchise, buy and sell property, make and enter into contracts, get married, and can also make a will.

Special provisions in the constitution, along with legal and administrative measures have been ensured, for the promotion of education, employment and general welfare of the ''weaker'' sections of the population, which includes the scheduled castes/tribes and other backward class of citizens.

These constitutional provisions are not enough, and recently a debate was initiated by the Government of India on the draft national youth policy (NYP). The need for a national policy to be followed by a concrete plan of action, is thought to be imperative. Such a declaration, ought to be considered by other countries too. Eventually linking up a national plan/policy with the proposed international policy would be a fitting acknowledgement, of the youth as a commited participant and an important contributor to the society and the social systems. Involving youth in the reconstruction of society.

Salient Features:

1) A comprehensive and imaginative programme of education, to include the development of life skills in terms of a vocation, leading to meaningful/gainful employment.
2) Health and related services to be accessible, without any preconditions.
3) Cultural and recreational programmes, emphasising sports, travel, and interactions (social/cultural) should be a regular ongoing process.
4) Reinforce porgrammes of ethical values and expose the youth to Gandhian and other peaceful/non-violent values.
5) To intensify employment generation to cover a sizable number of new entrants, into the labour market, each year.

Formulation of International Youth Policy

It is quite evident that youth constitute, both in terms of demography, and their creative energy, a very potent component, in the society, and play in important role in the development of the national and of the world (Refer table 1).

The policy should stress on the progressive induction of youth in the formulation of national policies, related to:

Health, housing, distribution of land/resources etc. Youth should be involved in local developmental projects and welfare schemes, since they would form the biggest future beneficiaries.

It is quite obvious that the all round development of youth cuts across, all major sectors of societal growth. The policy makers and the planners, should adopt an integrated approach to planning, and with special emphasis on the co-ordinating mechanisms/structures. This would ensure that services essential for each age group converge on them at the appropriated level (local or institutional).

It is necessary to note here that for the planning and implemmentation both governmental as well as non governmental organizations, should be involved.

Since youth programmes, are spread over various sectors of operations, it becomes essential to have a central co-ordinating authority, which will have linkages/referal nodes, at the village/district/state level on one hand and will work in tandem with the national/international forums/agencies on the other. The established agencies representing youth of various age groups and interests should be actively involved at all levels.

Voluntary organizations and youth bodies can devise and conduct a variety of service programmes for the benefit of the community to begin with. These services can take the form of social service leagues in schools, scouting, sports, recreational programmes etc. Since, developmental stage of youth has ethical concerns at very high level, youth power can serve as pressure group in the community to note acts of social injustices and other malpractices.

Further youth can help in mobilising community resources, in terms of cash, and services, by giving in return their labour, knowledge and skills. This can supplement governmental resources available for development and welfare of the communinty. The practice of discouraging young and preferring age over merit needs to be reviewed and emphasis has to be on asign status and responsibility by competence and commitment, and not by chronology alone.

[**Table 1**] Percentage of youth Population (15-24yrs) to total Population for world/regions.

Region Male Female	1990 M/F		2000 M/F		2010 M/F	
World	19.47	18.73	17.72	17.30	17.15	16.76
Less developed	20.67	20.22	18.62	18.39	17.97	17.70
More developed	15.26	13.91	14.10	13.22	13.47	12.75
All Africa	19.00	18.70	19.30	19.04	20.80	20.53
East Africa	18.68	18.45	19.16	18.96	21.09	20.83
West Africa	18.91	18.66	19.23	18.97	20.92	20.63
East/West Africa	18.79	18.55	19.19	18.96	21.01	20.74
North Africa	19.76	19.23	19.71	19.33	19.96	19.68
Latin & North America	17.92	17.23	17.67	17.04	17.13	16.52
North America	14.64	13.52	14.13	13.26	13.46	12.74
Latin America	19.92	19.57	19.57	19.13	18.94	18.41
All Asia	20.94	20.42	18.11	17.87	16.80	16.51
East/South East Asia	21.86	21.26	16.50	16.14	14.29	13.96
E/S. East Asia without China/Japan	20.64	21.48	19.40	19.00	18.84	18.39
South Asia	19.75	19.26	20.17	20.13	19.66	19.46
South Asia without India	19.09	18.80	19.98	18.74	20.86	20.71
South West Asia	19.51	19.53	18.96	19.21	19.83	19.89
Europe without U.S.S.R.	15.36	14.09	13.34	12.56	13.09	12.40
Oceania	17.91	17.41	15.36	15.05	15.32	15.02
Australia/New Zealand	16.81	16.20	17.49	13.53	13.87	13.53
Oceania without Austra/New Zealand	21.47	21.44	19.58	19.46	18.95	18.82
India	20.01	19.45	20.26	20.33	19.08	18.84

Source: My T.Vu. World Population Projections 1984: Short and long term estimates by Age and Sex With Related Demographic Statistics World Bank, Washington D.C., U.S.A., 1984, pp. 2-45, p. 310.

This practice calls for the existing bodies to review their present constitution, and initiate supervision and guidance, but with the definite policy that the youth will be allowed to function on their own, wherever merit and competence prove equal to the tasks and responsibilities. funds should be made available at the international level, form which youth of all countries can draw upon, to disseminate the knowledge of science and technology and also built upon the rich and varied heritage of the cultures of the world.

Conclusion

Youth on its own steam and fuelled by its own aspirations and abilities are moving in the direction of building up society where the fear and threat of war is reduced, the anxieties and the discrimination due to sex, caste, creed, poverty is not practiced. However their voice has not acquired the momentum of an international movement.

Contemporary youth have transcended the local confines and demonstrated the disire to work with a global understanding of issues. Racism, exploitation in the name of progress, ecology, gender discrimination, autonomy, and freedom of expressions are some issues, that youth the world over have made their priorities, and are bieng tackled. They have compelled society to look at these issues squarely and have demanded decisions and not prevarications.

These humane values that the youth have started getting into, make one feel that youth indeed are the harbingers of a future order that would guarantee fundamental freedom, and sharing of resources, with a genuine desire to banish exploitation of all kinds. The United Nations and the Universal declaration of human rights, and its various resolutions on the promotion and protection of interests of the youth is an acknowledgement of the capability of youth power. The challenge is for us adults to acknowledge this fact in its own context, and appreciate the contribution bieng made by them.

Let us pledge, that the next decade be devoted to youth, and a possibility that they would make this world that much more cheerful, pleasant and optimistic.

A Desirable and Just Society for Youth: Historical and Cross-Cultural Perspectives

Uichol Kim*

Introduction

John Locke (1690), a leading British philosopher, proposed that infants are born with essentially a blank tablet in which life experiences etch their messages. Within this approach, an infant is believed to be confronted with a variety of novel sensations; a wide range of sights, sound, smell, touch and taste. A leading American psychologist William James (1890) similarly suggested that an infant's initial experience is "one great blooming, buzzing confusion." These scholars represent the empiricist's position which states that infants are born into this world totally unprepared. They learn by experience how to translate a vast array of physical stimuli into psychological experience of sensation, perception, cognition and emotion.

Empirical studies of child development, however refute this traditional viewpoint. Researchers are finding that infants are born with more than empty slates. They are born with well-equipped capacity to selectively attend to salient cues, to organize information into a coherent whole, and to synthesize incoming information in a systematic and functional manner (Masters, 1981). They are preprogrammed to seek pleasureable sensations such as sweetness, to defend against unpleasant stimuli, to prefer novel stimuli over redundant ones, to interact with the environment, to learn from their experiences, to adapt to new environments, and most importantly to be sociable with significant others (Cohern & Gelbar, 1975; Fantz, 1963; Martin & Halverson, 1981; Mazters, 1981). Infants learn that the world does not operate in a chaotic fashion, but in a systematic, coherent and meaningful manner. Infants are pre-wired genetically to attend, perceive, process a selected set of incoming information, and also to impose structure upon them. They learn to develop internal *schemas* (or structures) which pro-

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vide coherence and meaning to a wide variety of sensations and experiences.

Cultures similarly develop collective strategies to organize, interpret and represent their physical and social world as a way of managing their environment (Berry, 1975; Vygotsky, 1978). The type of collective organization has a profound influence on the psychological development of an infant. For example, infants have potential to learn any existing language. However, the cultural context in which they are brought up selects a particular language that is learned.

The collective learning is passed onto subsequent generations and is known as cultural transmission (Boyd & Richardson, 1985). Children learn through teaching and imitation appropriate values, norms, skills and aspiration of a given culture. It parallels biological transmission where genetic blueprint of the parents are passed onto the next generation.

In most societies, biological parents are also the most powerful socializing agent. Cultural transmission, however, is more pervasive than biological transmission. Biollgical transmission is limited to their biological offsprings. Cultural transmission, on the other hand, involves more than biological parents. It can include extended family members, peers, community members and public institutions. They play a significant role in development of a child.

Within each society, there are deliberate attempts to socialized children's behavior to be socially acceptable and desirable. Socialization takes place in two forms, defined by the context in which they take place: socialization in the family and socialization in the public institutions. Children are first socialized in the family setting. As they mature public institutions, children learn to interact with a larger number of people. Public institutions are developed to socialize children to display behavior that are functional and acceptable to a particular culture. Within a given culture, there is a usually a close correspondence between the goals of socialization in the family and in public institutions.

With social change and acculturation, schisms began to appear between the family and social institution. The kind of values that are taught in the family began to be incompatible with the values emphasized in society. Children and youth often become victims of incompatible demands. Some children and youth begin to display symptoms of maladjustment and delinquency.

Public institutions are established to handle problems that families cannot resolve. In United States, public institutions allied with "science" to define and to intervene, especially for children and youth. Although the goal of the intervention is purported to be beneficient, the results of such intervention have limited success. Often some intervention have been detrimental.

The viewpoints and experience of children and youth, who have been target of investigation and intervention, are not usually be fully understood (Becker, 1963; Marsh, Rosser, Harre, 1978; Pollner, 1974). The meaningful context in which they grow up have similarly not typically represented in the research design. As a results, interventions aimed at helping those children and youth do not succeed. Often they contributed to exasperating the problem.

Psychology has historically contributed to the attempt to describe and explain the developmental progression of children. Theories are then applied to solve pressing social problems. It have adopted the natural sciences paradigm to discover the basic processes of human development. Within this approach, human qualities have been eliminated in order to conduct "objective, experimental" analyses. The results of these studies provide a mechanical understanding of the development progression. The context and meaning of their experiences have been eliminated as a necessary step in conducting in quantified, reductionistic and positivistic experiments. It argues that once the basic structure and process is understood, then intervention can successful target the cause of the problem.

Although psychology purports to be scientific, much of its work are ethnocentric and dogmatic. The uncritical transfer of natural sciences methods produced a considerable determental consequences to the discipline. Much of its theories and findings are not considered to be scientific (Cronbach, 1979; Gibson, 1985; Kantor, 1979; Koch, 1985). As a result application of psychological knowledge, especially in the area of psychotechnology, have not contributed significantly for resolving societal problems. In many cases, it has contributed to it.

The basic limitations of psychology can be identified to its adoption of the natural sciences paradigm. A truly scientific understanding of children and youth can come about with a genuine understanding of the phenomenon. First, we need to destroy some of the "myths" in science. Second, we need to develop an alternative scientific model that is appropriate for understanding human being. An alternative paradigm, the cultural sciences tradition, is an excellent candidate for the purpose. Third, the "scientific" tools we have on our hands can be, and have been, historically tools for propagating social reification and injustices. Only when we develop appropriate tools of investigation we can begin to work toward the development of ideal and just society for youth. Currently, we can the tools and understanding to do so.

Science and Culture

Human beings have been always fascinated with the world around them. The stars and planets above them, the earth beneath their feet, and living organisms around them were the focus of keen interest and debate. Their greatest fascination, however, lay with understanding the nature and origin of humans themselves. The drive to understand both the animate and inanimate world went beyond the need for survival. It occupied a central place in their quest to understand, predict, control and reify their world.

The first form of explanation that developed as a consequence of this quest is religion. Religions provided answers to the wondrous and often threatening world around them. Once these explanations were accepted as the ultimate "Truth," they began to have a life of their own. They prescribed attitudes, values, norms and behavior that are consistent with a particular religious worldview. They outlined prescriptive guidelines as to how people *ought* to live. Institutions began to emerge to entrench and enforce those views. Most of these explanations were, however, extremely ethnocentric and dogmatic; with each religious doctrine arguing for its legitimacy and fidelity.

Similar parallels can be drawn with the acceptance of science as the ultimate arbiter of the "Truth." once science was accepted as a vehicle for describing and understanding our world, it came to have similar unquestioning force. Psychology, for example, adopted the physical sciences and biological sciences as a model to understand the human world. Once psychology became institutionalized, it began to entrench and enforce its "scientific" worldview. Psychotechnology was developed as a tool to control human behavior for "betterment of society." The results of "science," in reality, were used to categorize and control human behavior rather than to understand and explain it. Many explanation in psychology are thus extremely ethnocentric and dogmatic. Psychotechnology emerged to provide prescriptive guidelines as to how to control human behavior.

Psychology and the Natural Sciences Traditions

During the Enlightenment period in the 18th century Europe, strict adherence to religious doctrines began to be seriously challenged. For many, they were no longer acceptable as the ultimate arbiter of the "Truth." Scientific discoveries in the natural sciences paved a way for an alternative explanations that were considered less parochial and dogmatic. Scientists discovered that the physical world can be explained in terms of universal mechanical laws, and they did not have to resort to metaphysical conjectures. Many scholars began to reject metaphysical explanations which were speculative and culture-bound. More importantly, they realized their own ability to observe, analyze, rationalize and experiment can be used to test, verify, and challenge existing presuppositions and worldviews. Thus, the scientific revolution in Europe ultimately wrested the power to define and explain from religious sources to their own collective ability to analyze, rationalize, observe and experiment.

In the natural sciences tradition there are three main branches: physical sciences, biological sciences and applied sciences. The physical sciences (e.g., astronomy, physics and chemistry) were first to emerge. Newtonian physics, for example, provided a systematic and universal explanation of the physical world in a relatively simple, elegant, and mechanical fashion. Chemists discovered basic elements in the physical world that paved a way for explaining the structure of complex objects.

The biological sciences were next to emerge. They began to provide physiological blueprints of living organisms; using cells as a unit of analysis. At a macroscopic level, by using species as a unit of analysis, Darwin provided a mechanical explanation of diversity and evolution of life forms. Darwinian Evolutionary Theory challenged previously held presuppositions of the origin and nature of human beings.

Applied sciences includes such fields as engineering, agriculture, and medicine. It involves adopting the scientific knowledge and method for controlling and managing the physical and biological world. The success of applied sciences rested largely upon the validity and relevance of natural sciences in explaining the physical and biological world. The marriage between science and technology has been extremely successful. With the significant advances in the applied sciences, especially in the 20th century, the physical and biological world came under greater human control.

With the success of the natural sciences in illuminating the workings of the physical and biological world, coupled with significant advances in the applied sciences, scholars began to turn their attention to the human world. In the early part of the 19th century, August Comte argued that the human world, like the physical world, is govern by universal laws. Similar to natural laws, these laws can be uncovered by "scientific" investigations; that is, using the tools of the natural sciences (Allport, 1968).

John Stuart Mill (1843/1862) was a strong proponent for the development of the human sciences that is modelled after the natural sciences. He argued that "the backward state of the Moral sciences (i.e., human sciences) can only be remedied by applying to them the methods of physical science, duly extended and generalized" (p.x). He labelled this new science as "social physics" (Lenzer, 1975).

The development of natural sciences significantly altered human understanding of the environment. It began affect their understanding of themselves. As early as 1748, La Ettrie proposed that human beings can be described as being essentially a mechanical machine and no more. Condillac (1754) similarly argued that all thought forms are mere transformations of basic sensations. Thomas Brown (1820) formulated the Laws of Association which laid out the basic process of how sensations are combined to produce more complex ideas. From this approach, human world is a extension of the physical and biological world. They no longer occupied a special place.

These positions are mere philosophical speculations that can be debated. In the early part of the 19th century, these speculations came under direct "scientific" scrutiny. The process involved translating mental processes into physical terms, measuring them, and conducting psychological experiments. The most notable achievements were in psychophysics by E. H. Weber and G. Fechner, in reaction time by F. C. Donders, in sensory perception by H. von Helmholtz, and in human memory by H. Ebbinghaus (Murray, 1983). These experiments bridged the gap between philosophy and the natural sciences.

Over three thousand years of philosophical speculation of how people sense, perceive, remember, feel and behave now came under direct experimental scrutiny. T. A. Ribot (1879/1886) lauded these accomplishments. He declared that "the spirit of the natural sciences had invaded psychology," and that "the old psychology (i.e., philosophical speculations) rests upon an illegitimate conception, and should perish with the contradictions that are in it" (p. 1). Similarly, J. T. Marz (1904) claimed that "the marvelous properties of higher creatures of the animal world which exhibit the phenomena of consciousness or an inner experience ... belong to the realm of natural science" (p. 468). Many scholars were confident that the contents of the human consiousness and of the social world can be quantified and investigated using the methods of the natural sciences. They were confident that the "new psychology" could duplicate the success achieved in the natural sciences.

Psychology is said to have emerged as an "independent, experimental science" when Wilhelm Wundt established a psychological laboratory in 1879 at Leipzig, Germany (Boring, 1921). He was influential in introducing the experimental method as a tool for probing the human mind. In reality, psychology as we know of today became established with the entrenchment of behaviorism in North America (Danziger, 1979; Koch, 1985).

One of the architects of the new experimental psychology is E. L. Thorndike. He claimed that psychology should be considered as the basic science of human affairs; the foundation of all social and human sciences. He claimed that "psychology supplies or should supply the fundamental principles upon which sociology, history, anthropology, linguistics and other sciences dealing with human thought and action should be based" (1911, p. 323). Like physics, the "facts and laws of psychology,—its account of why human beings think and feel and act as they do,—should provide the general basis for the interpretation and explanation of the great events studied by history, the complex activities of the civilized society, the motives that control the actions of labor and capital" (p. 323-324). He concluded by stating that "theoretically, history, sociology, economics, linguistics and the other 'humanities' or sciences of human affairs are all variaties of Psychology" (p. 324).

The actual form and content of this "new science" has been succinctly articulated by J. B. Watson's article entitled "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It" (1913). According to Watson:

Psychology as the behaviorist views it is a purely objective experimental branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is the prediction and control of behavior... The behaviorist, in his affort to not a unitary scheme of animal response, recognizes no dividing line between man and brute. The behavior of man, with all of its refinement and complexity, forms only a part of the behaviorist's total scheme of investigation. (p. 158).

This statement eloquently summarizes the position of behaviorism and also the scientific foundation of psychology. first, psychology is a branch of the natural sciences that is "objective" and "experimental." Objectivism implies/ efforts to be "impartial, to have no preferences, predilections or prejudices, no biasis, no preconceived value or judgments in the presence of the facts" (Wirth, 1946, p. xvii-xviii). Analysis of behavior which can be observed, quantified and verified and hence "objective" was chosen as the basic unit of analysis.

Secondly, behaviorists assumed the existence of elementary units which serve as the basic foundation for understanding complex behaviors. Moreover, by affirming the continuation of species between animals and humans, laboratory studies using animals became justified. It assumed that basic units of behavior can ascertained by careful and controlled experimentation with animals in a laboratory setting. These basic unit of analysis, once discovered, can be used as building blocks for explaining complex human behavior (Lachenmeyer, 1970). Experimental was adopted as *the* tool for psychological investigations. Human beings no longer occupied a special place in the universe. They were viewed simply a part of the mechanical laws of nature.

Thirdly, the theoretical goal is the "prediction and control" of behavior. Laws and principle discovered in psychology can be used to mold and manipulate human beings for the "betterment of society." Thus, psychology attempted to parallel to achievements in both science and technology in the human sphere.

Having adopted "objectivism" as a guiding principle, psychology proceeded to tailor its discipline to rid of all subjectivity in the discipline. From philosophy, it adopted logical positivism. From physics, it adopted operationism. From statistics, it adopted inferential statistics. From the natural sciences, it adopted the experimental method. Psychology is thus developed as a "pure," nomothetic, largely laboratory-oriented science which would serve as the foundation discipline for all human sciences" (Koch & Leazry, 1985, p. 3).

Psychotechnology

The scientific revolution in Europe wrested the power to define and explain the physical and biological world from religious sources to scientific sources. Psychology claimed a special place in the humans sciences because of it was a branch of the basic sciences. It adopted tools from the natural sciences for defining humans and ultimately providing justification for behavior control (Chorover, 1980).

Behavior control is defined by Ulrich, Stacknik and Mabry (1966) as "simply the manipulation of the environmental conditions to which an organism is exposed so as to bring about a definite behavioral result: to produce new behavior, to maintain or change the organism's tendency to engage is current behavior, or to eliminate past behavior" (p. i). In psychology one of the first form psychotechnology developed for behavior control is the IQ ("intelligence quotient") test.

The first IQ test was developed Sir Francis Galton. He argued that it measured innate ability linked to a particular genetic endowment. Since intelligence is genetically linked, it is passed from one generation to another. It is not affect by environmental factors. The IQ test can be used to sort individual according to different levels of native intelligence. Galton (1907) extended the argument one step further to make comparisons between different races, historical epochs, sexes and cultures. He was interested in quantifying innate abilities that can distinguish people and cultures of varying ability. He argued that "the average intellectual standard of the negro race is some two grades (about one standard deviation) below our own." He also surmised that cultures can be graded according to their achievements. Furthermore, he was led to the obvious conclusion that women were inferior to men:

If the sensitivity of women were superior to men, the self-interest of merchants would lead to their being always employed: but as the reverse is the case, the opposite supposition is likely to be the true one. (1907, p. 20-21).

He developed the first intelligence test to assess memory, sensory acuity, and motor reflexivity. He has used the test to people various social classes to verify his hypotheses. The results, however, did not support his contentions.

In the United States, Lewis Terman, a professor at Stanford University, Henry Goddard at the Vineland Training School, and Robert Yarkes at Harvard, translated and adapted a test developed by Alfred Binet in France. It became known as the Stanford-Binet test. He and his colleagues were interested in classifying, quantifying, measuring and ordering people according to their genetic ability. The IQ test would serve as a tool for that purpose. Once people with ability are identifed, these people would then take on the leadership position. People who are less able or "feebleminded," on the other hand, should be controlled. They have found, to their satisfaction, that people with abilities were already in a position of power. People with limited abilities occupied the lower and of the socio-economic ladder. These results provided "scientific support" to the validity of their instrument.

They were not satisfied with simply justifying social inequalities. They were also interested in having control to reduce social inequalities. One form of control is the eugenics movements initiated by Galton in 1883 and supported by the developers of the IQ test. The purpose of the movement is to increase the number of "healthier, wealthier and wiser" offsprings. At the same time, prevent biological "degenerates" and "defectives" from propagating. This is a way of "purifying the race." With their active support, eugenics sterilization bill was passed in the state of Michigan to castrate "all inmates of the Michigan home for the Fesble-Minded and Epileptic and of all persons convicted for a felony for the third time" (Chorover, 1980, p. 41). By 1928, twenty-one states enacted laws to forcefully sterilize individuals who are considered deviant. An estimated 8,500 sterilizations were performed by 1929 (Chorover, 1980).

Terman (1916) points out that these steps are necessary because "all feeble minded are at least potential criminals," and "every feeble-minded woman is a potential prostitute" and that it "would hardly be disputed by any one" (p. 45). Based on this argument, he urged for greater societal control for the betterlment of all:

In the near future intelligence tests will bring tens of thousands of these high-grade defectives under the surveillance and protection of society. This will ultimately results in curtailing the reproduction of feeble-mindedness and in the elimination of an enormous amount of crime, pauperism, and industrial inefficiency. (p. 6-7).

He recommended that "children of this group should be segregated in special classes" because "they can not master abstractions, but they can often be made efficient workers" (p. 91-92). Henry E. Garrett at Columbia University forcefully argued for maintenance of racial segregation based on the claim that black people are some 200,000 years behind the whites:

You can no more mix the two races and maintain the standards of White Civilization that you can add 80 (the average IQ of Negroes) and 100 (the average IQ of Whites), divide by two and get 100. What you would get would be a race of 90's, and it is that 10 per cent differential that spells the difference between a spire and a mud hut; 10 per cent-or less- is the margin of civilization's "profit;" it is the difference between a cultured society and savagery. Therefore, it follows, if miscegenation would be bad for White people, it would be bad for Negroes as well. For if leadership is destroyed, all is destroyed. (cf. Chorover, 1980, p. 47).

In the area of immigration, IQ test was used to restrict emigration of certain individuals from certain countries. Prior to 1875, the United States had no immigration law. The eugenics movement argued for greater control over the selection process. The first IQ testing was done by Henry Goddard in 1912. He was commissioned by the United States Public Health Service to Ellis Island. He administered the translated Binet test to new immigrants arriving at the Ellis island. The results confirmed his expectations: 83% of the Jews, 80% of the Hungarians, 79% of the Italians and 87% of the Italians were "feeble-minded." Goddard (1917) exuberantly reports that "the number of aliens deported because of feeble-mindedness ... increased approximately 350 per cent ... in 1913 and 570 per cent in 1914... This was due to the untiring efforts of the physicians who were inspired by the belief that mental tests could be used for the detection of feeble-minded aliens'' (p. 271)

By 1917, ''persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority'' were barred from emigrating to the United States (Kamin, 1974, p. 31). In 1924 the Johnson-Lodge Immigration Act was passed to exclude biologically inferior individuals from emigrating to the United States. At the same year the Oriental Exclusion Act was passed barring all Asians from emigrating to the United States because they were considered as ''genetically inferior race'' (H. C. Kim, 1898).

These viewpoints serves two purposes. First, they help to justify existing social equalities and injustics as being biological and hence natural. Kamin (1974) notes that people who are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder are viewed as ''genetically inferior victims of their own immutable defects'' (1974, p. 15). Racial bigotry was not only justified and reified, but encouraged under the name of science. Kamin (1974) notes that:

The message of science is heard respectfully, particularly when the tidings it carries are soothing to the public conscience. There are few more soothing messages than those historically delivered by the IQ testers. The poor, the foreign-born, and racial minorities were shown to be stupid. They were shown to be have been born that way. The underprivileged are today demonstrated to be ineducable, a message as soothing to the public purse as to the public conscience. (p. 16)

The second purpose of these tests is for behavior control. They provided justifications in separating the normal, hard-working and competent persons from the biological ''defectives.'' It provides a rationale for segregation, exclusion and in some cases elimination.

Scientific status of the IQ tests, beyond these political contentions, is highly questionable. The original version of the Stanford-Binet test was constructed in French by Alfred Binet. He was commissioned by the French Minister of Public Instruction of develop a testing instrument that can identify students in need of special education (Kamin, 1974). To develop the instrument, he developed items public school curriculum. Teachers' ratings were used to select and validate the instrument. The test by definition is a correlate of academic achievement. It's development is a-theoretical. It was a practical diagnostic instrument predicting academic performance. It was never intended to messure innate ability (Kamin, 1974). Binet argued against the nativist position:

The familiar proverb which says: ''When one is stupid, it's for a long time'' seems to be taken literally, without criticism, by some schoolmasters ... who disinterest themselves in students who lack intelligence; they have for them neither sympathy nor even respect, (and) their intemperance of languages makes them say before these children such things as: "This is a child who will never accomplish anything ... he is poorly gifted..." Never! What a large word. (cf. Chorover, 1980, p. 37)

Binet was more interest increasing children's performance through "mental orthopedics" for those who did not do well on these tests. One of his chapters is explicitly devoted to "Training of Intelligence" to increase academic performance (Kamin, 1974).

When the test was imported into the United States Terman, Goddard and Yerkes *assumed* that it measured native or inborn intelligence. They did not have any independent conceptualization or validation to make such a claim. It mysterious *acquired* this new characteristic. The test, however, was correlated with existing social stratification. This information provided a intuitive justification and confirmed the belief in the scientific merit of the test. Once this assumption was accepted, it was reified with the assistance of operationism. Intelligence, as Boring (1921) defined it, "is what the tests test." Once the operational definition is accepted, the scientific status of the test, however, cannot be thus questioned. Subsequent IQ tests were developed using standard. These tests subsequently reified the belief that intelligence innate and fixed.

The belief of innate ability pre-dates empirical evidence to support their beliefs. Scientific understanding of quantitative genetics and inheritance of mental traits were non-existent at that time (Chorover, 1980). Kamin (1974) notes that these ideas were divorced from any meaningful scientific data. These arguments are put forth to enforce the eugenicists movement for the adoption for sterilization and restriction of immigration. The IQ test was the means to those goals. The IQ test became a powerful tool because it is a scientific tool that is "objective" and hence value-free.

When the first version of Stanford-Binet test was administered and published in 1916, one set of results contradicted their expectation: girls of all ages outscored boys of the same age by an average of 2 to 4 percent. Terman and colleagues decided unilaterally to delete and revise key items on which girls did consistently decided unilaterally to delete and revise key items on which girls did consistently better and added new items so that on the average girls and boys did equally well (Chorover, 1980). The test was thus revised to fit their preconceptions.

The most ambitious data collection using the IQ test was initiated by Robert

Yerkes, the president of the American Psychological Association in 1917. He and his colleagues Goddard and Yerkes were commissioned by the Army's Sanitary Corps to provide mental assessment which can be used to aid in job classification. Two versions of the test were developed: Alpha, a written test and Beta, a non-verbal test. Nearly 2 million men were given the standardized IQ test. Of the total sample, intensive statistical analyses were conducted for a sample 125,000 subjects. The results confirmed what people already knew: Black Americans as a group scored lower than the White Americans. They also found that the Northern Europeans did better than the Southern or Eastern Europeans.

Carl Brigham, a professor at Princeton, conducted a re-analysis of the data focussing on immigrants. He found that 46% of the Poles, 43% of the Italians and 39% of the Russian scored at or belong the Black American mean. He has also found to his surprise that IQ scores were positively correlated with length of residence in the United States. The vast majority of immigrants who lived the United States less than five years were "feeble-minded." If immigrants lived in the United States more than 20 years, their scores were comparable to the White Americans. The results, however, were interpreted to fit into the Nordic supremacy model.

Hans J. Eysenck (1962) reviewing the scientific status of the I.Q. test concludes that:

It is often believed that intelligence tests are developed and constructed according to a rationale deriving from some scientific theory... In actual fact... intelligence tests are not based on any very sound scientific principles, and there is not a great deal of agreement among experts regarding the nature of intelligence... Because the intelligence tests, originally constructed in the early years of this century did such a good job when applied to various practical problems, psychologists interested in the subject tended to become technologists eager to exploit and improve these tools, rather than scientists eager to carry out the requisite fundamental research, most of which still remains to be done. Society, of course, always interested in the immediate application of technological advances and disinterested in pure research, must bear its share of the responsibility for this unfortunate state of affairs. (p. 8)

Even today, however, Stanford-Binet test and their derivatives are widely used as a diagnontio instrument in primary, secondary and even graduate schools. Some psychologists still agrue for the scientific merit of IQ test, even inspite of the evidence to the contrary. Herrnstein (1977), a professor at Harvard, claims after reviewing the history of the intelligence testing that "we may, therefore, say that 80 to 85 percent of the variation in IQ among whites is do to their genes" (p. 57). He goes on to comment:

The tendency to be unemployed may run in the genes of a family about as certainly as bad teeth.... As the wealth and complexity of human society grow, there will be precipitated out of the mass of humanity a low-capacity (intellectual and otherwise) residue that may be unable to master the common occupations, cannot compete for success and achievement, and are most likely to be born to parents who have similarly failed. (p. 63)

At the turn of the 20th century, the development of the IQ tests reflects the need to fill the religious vacuum created by the Darwinian Theory of Evolution. Once the authority of God and the church was rejected, social Darwinism took its place. The extension of Darwinism from the biological to the social sphere parallels closely the development of religion. It was ground in beliefs rather than facts or through scientific discoveries. These beliefs were reified because it verified and reified their perception of reality. Once accepted as being scientific, it acquired the power to "objectively" define and control human behavior. Although psychotechnology and much of psychology mimics the natural sciences, it does not qualify to be considered as one (Cronbach, 1979; Gibson, 1985; Kantor, 1979; Lich, 1985). There are basic requirements that must be met before results are deemed as being scientific.

Scientific Analysis

Science

Science is an extremely broad and diffuse enterprise. Boulding (1980) defines science as simply "what it thinks and does" (p. 831). Kemble (1966) defines the natural sciences as "the conscious and systematic application of man's intelligences and ingenuity to the discovery of the laws that regulate the universe of nature" (p. 6). Percy Bridgman notes that science advances "by doing one's damndest with no hold barred" (Kemble, 1966, p. 290). Kemble (1966) notes that "the critical chapters of scientific history have been written by men of great creative imagination using every mental and physical tool available to help solve the problem in hand" (p. 296). Beyond these broad definitions, two critical features are said to distinguish science from other disciplines; objectivity and the use of scientific methods.

Objectivity

Objectivity in science is viewed as a hallmark that separates science from other disciplines. The natural sciences began with the recognition that the physical world is an alien domain where neither human intuition nor the anthropocentric assumptions can be trusted (Beloff, 1973). Human beings are mere observers of the psysical world and their intuitions can hinder the discovery process. Paradoxically, however, it through human intuition and speculation that seminal works in science have been accomplished (Holten, 1973).

Polanyi (1968) points out that *objectivity* and *subjectivity* cannot be separated. His analysis of each and every step in scientific enterprise led him to the conclusion that the existence of an objective science is not a fact, but a *belief.* He states that: Nothing is more certain in our world than the established results of science. My point is that *the absence of strict criteria* on which to base our acceptance of science merely shows that our confidence in scientific knowledge is based on *nonstrict criteria.* Science is grounded, and is firmly grounded, on the kind of indefinable insights which the current view of science regards as mere psychological phenomena, incapable of producing rational inference. (p. 27)

He goes on to demonstrate that the *hard criteria of science* inevitably rest on the *soft criteria* of human judgement. Moreover, it is not possible to eliminate these *soft criteria,* or even reduce them to insignificance. As a result, empirical knowledge ends up resting on subjective rather than objective criteria.

Burke (1985) documents seminal discoveries in science that are made in irrational, dreamlike states. He notes that these discoveries do not proceed in purely rational, mechanical fashion. He provides the following series of examples. Einstein revolutionized the fundamental understanding of matter when he saw himself "riding on a beam of light" in his dream, and concluded that "if he were to do so, light would appear to be static" (p. 303). August Kekule, a discoverer of the benzene ring, "wrote of gazing into the firs and seeing in the flames a ring of atoms like a serpent eating its own tail" (p. 303). Newton is said to have realized the Law of Gravitational Attraction when watching an apple fall to the ground. Archimedes leaped out of his bathtub yelling "Eureka" when he realized the meaning of displacement. Gutenberg described the idea of the printing as "coming like a ray of light" (p. 303). Wallace came to the theory of evolution in a "delirium." Burke (1985) notes that "This act of mystical significance in which man uncovers yet another secret of nature is at the very heart of science" (p. 303). Science does not progress in a series of purely objective and mechanical fashion.

Gerald Holten (1973), a noted physicist, notes that scientific geniuses (such as Kepler, Newton, Einstein, Bohr, Pauli, Born, Schordinger, and Heisenberg) all recognize the inseparability of the subjective components of science such as fundamental presuppositions, intuition, insight, methodological judgments, interpretive decisions, and conceptual leaps. Objective and subjective aspects of science are not separate and independent perspectives, but they are complementary. Tyler (1970) notes that science was "created by and serve a human master" (p. 222)

In a critical analysis between objective and subjective standpoints, Crissman (1944) points out that the central difference between objectivity and subjectivity appears to be the question of public verifiability. Events, concepts, or interpretations capable of being publicly verified are classified as objective, while those that are not, are to be deemed subjective. He notes that "objective knowledge ... can mean nothing more than cancellation of idiosyncrasies by the process of polling, sifting, and weighing all the bits of individual subjectivities" (p. 162-163). Thus, objective viewpoint reflects a collective consensus or convention of how to do science, rather than reflecting a value-free enterprise.

Scientific Method

Contrary to popular conceptions, Boulding (1980) points out that there is a *plurality* of methods in science. A particular method cannot assumed to be scientific from the onset. One must constantly evaluate the appropriateness of a particular method to the phenonemon under investigation:

One illusion, held even within the scientific community and by many outside it, is that there is a single "scientific method," a touchstone that can distinguish what is scientific from what is not... Within the scientific community there is a great variety of methods, and one of the problems which science still has to face is the development of appropriate methods corresponding to different epistemological fields. (p. 833)

Boulding (1980) separates scientific methods from scientific results. There are many instances where, although scientific methods are used,the results are not deemed to be scientific. He provides the following list of examples: alchemists have controlled experiments: astrologers have careful observation; geomancers, diviners and phrenologists have controlled observations and measurements; and theologians have logic. He emphasizes that "these methods are not peculiar to science and none of them define it'' (p. 833). In other words, a researcher cannot science and none of them define it'' (p. 833). In other words, a researcher cannot assume that a particular method is appropriate for a particular phenomenon, and use it indiscriminately. Finding a match between a method and a phenomenon is part and parcel of scientific research.

One of the greatest challenges that social sciences face today is the discovery or the development of an appropriate method for a particular phenomenon. In psychology, for example, the experimental method was adopted from the natural sciences without first examining the appropriateness of such transfer.

There are basic requirements of experimental methodology. The experimental method is appropriate for the study of systems that have events of high probability, stable parameters, and isolatable subsystems (Boulding, 1980). The first two features allow reliable predictions and replications. The third feature allows for controlled observations and experimentation. Poincare (1952) further points out that ''homogenity, relative independence or remote parts, and simplicity of elementary facts'' are essential features of the physical sciences (p. 159). He notes that in the physical sciences ''generalizations so readily take the mathematical form ... because the obserable phenomena are due to the superposition of a large number of elementary phenomena which are all similar to each other; and in this way differential equations are quite naturally introduced'' (p. 159).

Beloff (1973) notes that an experiment can be considered valid only so long as a phenomenon under investigation is not affected by the method of investigation. If the phenonemon is affected by the measurement process ''we are no longer dealing with a genuine natural phenomenon, but with an effect that is at least partly of our making'' (p. 18). Moreover, the objects of investigations must be interchangeable (Beloff, 1973).

When we deal with human beings, can we logically assume that human beings are homogeneous, and that one human subject is interchangeable with another? Similarly, can two separate occasions be truly comparable when human beings are concerned? Human subjects cannot be viewed simply as objects responding to an experimental stimulus. When human subjects are used in a laboratory setting, there is ample evidence to show that these requirements are not met. Researchers have shown that subjects do not act as inert objects that can be interchanged, and that they are affected by the measurement procedures. These findings are known as the experimental artifact (see Adair, 1973 for a review).

Rosenthal and Rubin (1978) summarized 345 experiments investigating interpersonal expectancy. Interpersonal expectancy is "the tendency for experimenters to obtain results they expect, not simply because they have correctly anticipated nature's response but rather because they have helped to shape that response through their expectations" (p. 377). They conclude that "reality of the phenomenon is beyhond doubt and the mean size of the effect is clearly not trivial" (p. 385). Both researchers and subjects have motives, expectations, fears, anxieties that can affect the outcome of a study. Thus, it is not possible to eliminate the meaning and context from psychological research.

In psychology, the uncritical transfer of experimental method produced a considerable detriment to the discipline. It led to the crisis in early 1970's. As a result, much of its theories and findings are not considered to be scientific (Cronbach, 1979; Gibson, 1985; Kantor, 1979; Koch, 1985).

Level and Unit of Analysis

One of the most significant challenges that social sciences face today is the discovery of an appropriate unit of analysis. Much of the present confusion in the social sciences can be attributed to the inappropriate distinction of the level of analysis and the adoption of inappropriate units of analysis. The discovery of this unit of analysis must be preceded by the separation of the level of analysis. Such the level and unit of analysis are ascertained, than the method of investigation can be determined. They are identifiable aspects is the discovery process.

To understand the scientific enterprise we need to first examine the other scientific traditions. One of the most notable discoveries in physics is the Laws of Planetary Motion formulated by Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) and the Law of Gravitational Attraction formulated by Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727). Kepler's laws and Newton's law can accurately describe, explain and predict planetary motion. Prior to this time, it was believed that only god had such grandiose knowledge. Their discovery can be divided into roughly three aspects, description, explanation, and application. The following example, the discover of the Laws of Planetary Motion and Gravitational Attraction, highlights the importance of these three aspects of science.

Description, Explanation and Application

The most important aspect of science, which is often neglected in the social sciences, is description. Description involves recording one's observations. It also involves systematically organizing and classifying an often chaotic array of data. Francis Bacon commented that the *systematic classification* of the facts is the first step in organizing and interpreting them (Kemble, 1966).

The second aspect of science involves explaining the observed regularities Theories are developed to explain underlying regularities. From a particular theory, hypotheses and predictions are generated to test and verify the validity of theory, hypotheses and predictions are generated to test and verify the validity of a particular theory.

The third aspect involves application. It involves applying scientific knowledge to find practical solutions to existing problems. The fields of engineering, agriculture, and medicine are few examples of "applied sciences." The successful application rests largely upon the validity and relevance of the theory to a particular problem at hand. It also involves the appropriate translation of the existing theory to match the problem.

Prior to Kepler's discovery of the Laws of Planetary Motion, a rich source of data was available to him. Over three thousand years of observations, charting the movement of stars and planets, were available. These observations, however, were organized and interpreted by the Ptolemaic worldview, with the earth occupying the center of the universe and everything else revolving around it. The observed regularity was explained by the Christian worldview (i.e., the Divine Creation).

Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), however, developed an alternative schema, with the sun occupying the center, and planets, including the earth, revolving around the sun. The new description simplified the planetary motion and enabled a better organization of the data than the Ptolemaic theory. If one adopts the Copernican system, a more accurate calender could be developed. This new description, however, was unacceptable because it contradicted and challenged the Christian worldview.

The second major figure in the discovery of the Laws of Planetary Motion is Tycho Brahe (1546-1601). He devoted his life to systematically and meticulously charting the movements of various planets and stars. This massive data set was then analyzed by his trusted student, Johannes Kepler. Using the Copernican system, Kepler was then able to organize the massive data set into three simple mathematical equations. With these three equations, he could accurately describe and predict planetary motion and they became known as the Three Laws of Planetary Motion. He could not, however, explain why planets followed these regular patterns.

Similarly, Galileo observed through controlled observations and experimentations that falling bodies, regardless of their internal properties, moved in a constantly accelerating motion. He, too, could not explain the observed regularity.

Newton was able to explain planetary motions and formulated his Law of Gravitational Attraction by integrating these pieces of information an by using a modified Cartesian coordinate system. He was able to create a single comprehensive theoretical framework that could explain not only Kepler's Three Laws of Planaetary Motion, and Galileo's observation of falling bodies, but also the precession of the equinoxes, and the oscillations of a pendulum (Kemble, 1966). These discoveries paved the way for subsequent advancements in science and technology.

There are other scientific giants who have relied on meticulous observations and careful descriptions that paved a way to their momentous discoveries. Albert Einstein relied heavily upon the massive data set compiled by Rutherford and Bohr in formulating his Theory of Relativity. It was by travelling in South America as a naturalist, especially in the Galapagos Islands, that helped Charles Drawin to formulate his Theory of Evolution. In psychology, Sigmund Freud formulated his theory explaining the role of unconscious by observing his patients in his clinics. Similarly, Jean Piaget formulated his developmental theory by observing clinics. Similarly, Jean Piaget formulated his developmental theory by observing and documenting the developmental progression of his children.

The three aspects of science, description, explanation, and application are not distinct and successive stages. Each aspect contributes to the development of scientific knowledge. The most important aspect of these discoveries is the realization of a new level of analysis with its corresponding unit of analysis.

These new unit of analysis, however, are limited to a particular level of analysis. For example, by examining the interaction of two bodies, Newton was able to formulate his Laws of Motion, including Laws of Gravitational Attraction (Newtonian Physics). His theory, however, breaks down when three bodies interact. Einstein realized that energy and mass are not separate and distinct entities, but they can be transformed from one to another (Theory of Relativity). His theory, however, breaks down in Quantum physics where particles appear to travel faster than the speed of light. Darwin used species as a unit of analysis and discovered a coherent pattern of evolution without resorting to metaphysical sources (Theory of Evolution). His theory, however, cannot explain social and cultural evolution. Freud realized the existence of unconscious motive that can affect over behavior, challenging the Cartesian rationality ("I think, therefore I am"). This discovery paved the way for a greater understanding of the role of the unconscious (Psychoanalytic Theory). Freudian theory, however, is limited in explaining conscious and rational behavior. Finally, Piaget was influential in providing the cognitive development of children. His theory, however, is inadequate in explaining emotional, social and cultural ontology. In social sciences, scholars are still struggling to find an appropriate unit of analysis.

Ethological approach, which provides an excellent documentation of the animal world, suggests a sound framework examining the human world. Ethologists, such as Konrad Lorenz and Niko Tinbergen, were primarily observers. They insisted on the necessity of prior observations of animal behavior in its natural habitat before any experimentation can take place. They were careful not to disturb the natural environment during the observation phase. During the descriptive phase, they *uncovered* stable parameters and isolatable subsystems (such as fixed action patterns, species specific defense mechanisms, and innate releasing mechanisms), and these unit of analysis are subsequently used for controlled experimentations. They contend that animals have adapted to, and their behaviors are meaningful in, a particular ecological niche (Tinbergen, 1965). They point out that experiments in laboratory conditions which are abstracted from these natural habitat are largely meaningless. When they experimented, they designed their experiments on appropriate naturalistic lines.

Conceptually they emphasized a rich diversity of animal life and behavior, but underlying diversity they saw basic patterns of inherited instincts that are adaptive to their natural environment. Roeder (1965) comments that "a tiger's teeth and a fish's fins have evolutionary significance not only in their shape but also *in how* and *where* they are used" (italics added, p. 7). Ethology represents a research approach in the animal world that closely parallels what cross-cultural approach advocates in the human world.

Although natural sciences and biological sciences are useful in providing a model for developing the human sciences, they have limitations. The object of the study in the human sciences is also the subject. While it is possible to maintain an objective stance in the natural science, similar approach is difficult, if not impossible in the human sciences. The human sciences in an inclusive enterprise where the researcher himself is part of the phenomena and hence part of the study. Understanding the inseparability of the object and the subject of investigation represents the cultural sciences tradition.

The cultural sciences approach recognizes the need to separate six different levels of analysis for conceptual purposes. They are: 1) physiological level; 2) individual level; 3) group level; 4) cultural level; 5) ecological level; and 6) universal level. It recognizes the importance of understanding the physiological and individual aspects of human functioning. However, the other levels must be understood and investigated. They cannot and need not be subsumed under the physiological or the individual level. It is not a matter of heuristic or following existing conventions. It can determine whether or not the results are generalizable and universal in scope. Moreover, it can determine whether or not the results are scientific.

The Cultural Sciences Tradition

Within the cultural sciences tradition, there are several distinguished scholars who articulated an appropriate level, unit and method of analysis. A key figure in the cultural sciences tradition is an Italian philosopher named Giovanni Battista Vico (1688-1744). In 1725, he wrote a book entitled Principi d'una *Scienza Nouva* (Principles of New Science) in which he distinguished cultural sciences from the natural sciences. According to Berlin (1976), Vico firmly believed that human beings, individually and collectively, cannot be understood in terms of unchanging natural laws. He points out that the external world exists prior to, and independent of, human creation. Human beings are mere observe and can only interpret it as an outsider. Thus, the physical world obeys "knowable but not intelligible" laws.

In the human sphere, each individual is an *actor,* participating in, and contributinmg to, its development. Human beings continuously transform themselves and their world in an attempt to understand it, and adapt to it. Human products such as history, society, culture, language and mathematics and under their direct influence and creation. Since the human world is shaped and created by the human master, it follows "intelligible" laws. The difference between "knowable" laws and "intelligible" laws lies in the fact that actors and creators have special insights that observers do not have. Creators of art forms, for example, know the very reason and the process of their creation, whereas observers can only guess them. In the physical world, the fundamental mechanism can be only inferred from observation, but the fundamental mechanism of the human world can be *understood* because investigators themselves are themselves involved in the process.

Vico further outlined that because human beings are actors and creators of their own history, the kind and degree of understanding of their world qualitatively differ from laws discovered in the natural sciences. Vico notes that "men's knowledge of the external which we can observe, describe, classify, reflect upon, and of which can record the regularities in time and space, differs in principle differ from their knowledge of the world that they themselves create, and which obeys rules that they have themselves imposed on their own creations" (Berlin, 1976, p. xvii). Since the content and the subject matter of investigations are different from the natural sciences, Vico argued that methods and goals must also likewise differ.

At the collective level, Vico recognized pervasive patterns in all human activities. He notes that within a particular culture a common style is reflected in the thought patterns, the arts, the social institutions, the language, and the way of life and action. Vico contends that each culture develops and propagates its own pattern. Furthermore, each culture undergoes a succession of changes. These changes can be understood not in terms of mechanical cause and effect (such as modernization, industrialization and Westernization), but in terms of understanding the purposive activity of human beings. These observed changes are designed to satisfy their needs, desires, and ambitions. Although there are differences in the expression of these patterns, he believed that the fundamental process is "intelligible" to people from other cultures and in other times. The method of understanding this pattern is achieved through *Fantasia* (reconstructive imagination).

He notes that in the natural science *a priori* (deductive) and *a posteriori* (empirical) knowledge are the dominant forms of investigation. In the human world, he suggests that *Fantasia,* must be added as a new variety of knowledge. This method of investigation assumes that symbolic representations are expressions of their vision and understanding of their world. Through *Fantasia* one can penetrate and understand the symbolic representation of reality of one's own culture. This process involves "entering" into the mental life of one's own culture, from its own perspectives in order to understand it. This process can be also used to comprehend the symbolic representations used by peoples of different cultures. It is a process of reconstruction reality through the examination of the form and mode of expression.

Another key figure representing the cultural science tradition is Johann Gottfried Herder. He was a pupil of Emmanuel Kant at Konigisberg. In his book entitled *Ideas Towards a Philosophy of History,* he rejected both the rationalist and empiricist approaches to understanding the human world, and affirmed the cultural sciences tradition (Berlin, 1976). Like Vico, he rejected the existence of universal laws, absolute truths, and timeless facts in the human sphere. He argued instead for what Berlin (1976) labelled as *Populizm, Expressionism* and *Pluralism.*

Populism is the ''belief in the value of belonging to a group or a culture'' (p. 153). He believed that people cannot be divided by ''artificial'' boundaries and categorizations. Artificial boundaries are created for physical and biological objects and human beings lie outside of those categories. Categorization of human beings, on the such, involves the categorizers themselves. They are affected by the categorization. National or political boundaries, skin color or race are considered artificial categorizations.

Herder suggests that use of ''natural'' boundaries such as the *Volkqeist.* It is defined by Lazarus and Steinthal (1860) as ''a similar consciousness of many individuals, plus an awareness of this similarity, arising through similar descent and spatial proximity'' (cf. Allport, 1968, p. 49). Herder argued that each culture develops and propagates its own *Volkgeist* and a standard to understand themselves and to judge others.

Herder suggests that *Volkgeist* is developed within a particular cultural context and is influenced by environmental factors such as ''climate,'' education, geography, physical and biological needs, relations with its neighbors, and other changeable environmental factors. Embodiment of the *Volkgeist* lies in speech, mythology, religions, folklore, art, literature, morality, custom and law. Individuals within a particular cultural community are made one by these common experiences and common memories. The principal mechanism and vehicle through which individuals are linked is through language. *Volkgeist* shapes how people live, contemplate goals, act and react, imagine, and think in a unique way.

Expressionism is the ''doctrine that human activity in general, and art in particular, express the entire personality of the individual or the group, and are intelligible only to the degree to which they do so'' (Berlin, 1976, p. 153). Herder believed that human products such as a work of art is a form of communication, a genuine self-expression. The object cannot be separated from the creator. Its value cannot be equated with its functional utility. The form and content of various products differ because experienced lives of the creators differ. He believed that self-expression is the very essence of human life. Other people can appreciate and understand these art forms through the process of *Einfuhlen* (meaning empathy, Berlin, 1976).

Pluralism is "the belief not merely in multiplicity, but in the incommensurability of the values of different cultures and societies and, in addition, in the incompatibility of equally valid ideals, together with the implied revolutionary corollary that the classical notions of an ideal men and of an ideal society are intrinsically incoherent and meaningless" (Berlin, 1976, p. 153). Herder claimed that every culture possesses its own unique character: "all explanation, all understanding, indeed, all living, depends on a relationship to a given social whole and its unique past, and that is incapable of being fitted into some repetitive, generalized pattern" (Berlin, 1976, p. xxiv). The tendency to judge ancient societies or other cultures using one's own standard reflects cultural arrogance that can lead to distorted views. Herder argued that:

Each of these civilizations has its own outlook and way of thinking and feeling and acting, creates its own collective ideals in virtue of which it is a civilization, it can be truly understood and judged only in its own scale or values, its own rules of thought and action, and not of those of some other culture: least of all in terms of some universal, impersonal, absolute scale, such as the French *philosophes* seemed to think that they had at their disposal when they so arrogantly and blindly gave marks to all societies, past and present, praised or condemned this or that individual or civilization or epoch, set some up as universal models and rejected others as barbarious or vicious or absurd (Berlin, 1976, p. xxii-xxiii).

Herder believed that cultural diversity and culture change are not only inescapable, but desirable. They are intrinsic part of the human world. He believed that "truth and goodness are not universal and immutable Platonic forms in a super-sensible, timeless, crystalline heaven, but many and changing; that the collision of equally compelling claims and goals may be unavoidable and incapable of rational resolution, so that some choices may be at once unavoidable and agonizing" (Berlin, 1976, p. xxiv). Diversity and change are part of the creative process.

These two philosophers provide a rich framework for understanding the human world. First, they separate the content of investigation from the method. They argue that human world is qualitatively different from the physical world, and thus the methods from the natural sciences have limited transferrability. The tools that they suggest are *Fantasia* and *Einfulen*. These are unique human ability to relate, empathize, imagine, and understand oneself and others. They play an important role in the human sphere and must be incorporated into research.

The second major point is to view diveristy of viewpoints and lifestyles as being a natural phenomenon. The use of one standard to judge other individuals or cultures reflects a lack of ability to go beyond one's personal and cultural boundaries. The inability is known as *egocentrism* at the individual level, and *ethnocentrism* at the cultural level. Diversity appears in response to a culture's unique history and to ecological pressures and this relationship must be first examined.

Thirdly, they separate the content of representation with the style of representation. Although there are variations of human experience from one culture to another, the greatest variations occur at how the content is manifested. All human beings have basic needs such as need for food, water, oxygen, rest and sexual expression. Greatest variations appear when one examine how these needs are satiated.

For example, the need to satisfy one's hunger is basic to individual survival. Enormous amount of time and money, however, is spent not simply satisfying one's hunger, but on aesthetic and social qualities such as taste, presentation, ambiance, service, and the company.

In the area of sexual arousal, in all species other than humans, it is primarily determined by physiological and chemical forces (Hopson, 1979; Davidson, 1980). For these species, hormones act on both the brain and genital tissues that lead to a predictable, stereotypical pattern. Zimbardo (1985) notes that "if you've seen one pair of rats in their mating sequence, you've seen them all." In humans, the generalized sexual arousal is channeled into "sexual scripts." They are culturally learned schemas of sexual responses that include prescriptions of what to do, when, where, how, with whom or with what and why (Gagnon, 1977). Sexual scripts combine cultural norms, individual expectations, and individual's past learning. Interpretations of experiences, the meaning of specific sexual events, sexual beliefs and values, and imagination and expectation are all parts of the sexual script (Byrne, 1981).

To understand how these variation arise, we must first examine the context in which behaviors are displayed: the ecology and the culture. Ecology is the natural environment which humans share with other organisms. Culture is the "man-made part of the environment" (Herskovits, 1948). Historically, cultures represent a collective response to ecological demands (Berry et al., 1980). However, in the modern era, culture became the dominant force, far outweighing ecological demands.

Ecological Level

Ecology refers to the totality of pattern of relationship between life forms and their environment. It includes climatic and natural conditions such as temperature, humidity, water supply, soil conditions and terrain (Segall et al., 1990). These climatic and natural conditions affect the existence of various types of vegetation and wildlife, including human beings. Early in the human history, groups of individuals such as families, clans, tribes and communities, developed strategies to cope with, and adapt to, their ecology. An important aspect of the survival of a group is the availability of food supply. Food supply in turn is largely determined by their ecological niche.

Variations across cultures have emerged in response to the different types of ecological pressures. The ecological press determined the degree of food accumulation that is possible. For people living in mountainous areas, or in jungles or desserts, food supply is scarce and food accumulation is limited. When the food supply is depleted in one region, they must migrate to another in search of a new food source. A small band of hunters are gathers are the first form of a cultural unit that appeared.

Some of these migratory tribes found land where soil is rich, water is abundant, and terrain is flat. These people were able to develop agriculture and animal husbandary. This type of economy allowed food to be stored for later use. With increased agricultural efficiency, they could rely on their land for subsistence. They no longer needed to migrate to a new food source. Enough food can be produced from the land to ensure a steady supply of food for themselves. This type of community reflects another type of a cultural unit.

In both communities, cultures evolved to serve as an intermediary mechanism to ensure the successful adaptation of a group and ensuing generations. In most subsistence economies, there is a fragile balance between ecological demand and human intervention. Historically, the ecology acted like a press which largely determined the type of cultures and individuals that survived.

Cultural Level

Migratory tribes who live in jungle, mountain, and dessert need to develop a very different set of skill compared to people who are sedentary. The kind of adult behavior that are adaptive to their ecology is likley to be passed on to their children to ensure the continuation of the community.

Two forms of cultural transmission exist: enculturation and socialization. Enculturation is learning without specific teaching. By an osmosis-like process children acquire values and norms of a particular culture (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1990). However, individuals' hedonistic and selfish motives can be a source of conflict for group members. Hence there are deliberate attempts to shape, coax, and mold children's behavior to be socially acceptable and desirable. This process is known as socialization (Berry et al, 1990). It is the explicit transmission of appropriate values, norms and skills.

Both enculturation and socialization take place in two forms, mainly defined by the context in which they take place: socialization in the family and socialization in public institutions such as the school or the workplace. Although the content of what is taught in each environment may vary, there is usually a close correspondence between the goals of socialization in the family and the goals of socialization in public institutions such as the school. The goal of both enculturation and socialization is to create a common viewpoint and lifestyle. When children become adults, these socialized aspects become natural. As Wirth (1946) observes "the most important thing ... that we can know about a person is what he takes for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those things that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled."

Barry, Child and Bacon (1957) found that in subsistence economies, there are two broad types of cultural characteristics that evolved in response to the ecological demands. They found that in the sedentary communities, compliance, obedience and responsibility are emphasized in their socialization practices. Migratory tribes, on the other hand, emphasized assertiveness, autonomy, achievement and self-reliance. They view these characteristics as being adaptive and functional to their respective ecology. In the sedentary communities, they note that:

Future food supply seems to be best assured by faithful adherence to routines designed to maintain the good health of the herd. Agriculture perhaps imposes only slightly less pressure toward the same pattern of behavior. Social rules prescribe the best known way to bring the growing plants to successful harvest, and to protect the stored produced for gradual consumption until the next harvest. Carelessness in performance of routine duties leads to a threat of hunger, not only for the day of carelessness itself but for months to come. Individual initiative in attempt to improve techniques may be feared because no one can tell immediately whether the changes will lead to a greater harvest or to disastrous failure. Under these conditions, there might well be a premium on obedience to the older and wiser, and on responsibility in faithful performance of the routine *laid down* by custom for one's economic role (p. 52).

In contrast, for the migratory tribes:

Here individual initiative and development of high skill seem to be at a premium. Where each day's food comes from that day's catch, variations in the energy and skill exerted in food-getting lead to immediate reward or punishment. Innovation, moreover, seems unlikely to be so generally feared. If a competent hunter tries out some change in technique, and it fails, he may still have time to revert to the established procedures to get his catch. If the change is a good one it may lead to immediate reward. (p. 52).

Group Level

Barry et al. (1957) have found that economics role affect significantly patterns of behavior. In the sedentary communities, adults tend to be conscientious, compliant and conservative. In the migratory tribes, adults tend to be individualistic, assertive and venturesome. These characteristics are socialized into their children. They are necessary qualities to ensure survival of their offsprings in their respective ecology.

For example, in a hunting and gather tribe, the probability of finding games or fruits increases if each members covers a different area. Hence each member needs to develop autonomy, self-reliance and independence and they cannot rely on others for assistance. In agricultural communities, collective actions and cooperation is paramount. Family members must work together and coordinate their effort to ensure from successful planting of a crop, all the way to the subsequent harvest. Thus, the ability to work together is paramount in this type of community.

Individual Level

Ecological demands affect not only the type of socialization practices, but they also affect individuals' perceptual and cognitive style. Cognitive style is a consistent mode of functioning by which an individual organizes, interprets and interacts with his or her perceptual world (Witkin & Berry, 1975). It is a bipolar dimension with one end of the pole labelled as field-independence and the other as field-dependence. The field-independent cognitive style refers to an approach that is analytical, and based upon standards internal to the individual. The field-dependent cognitive style refers to an approach that is more global, and based upon the external field. Paralleling the cognitive domain, it has been found that field-independent individuals tend to be socially autonomous and distant, while the field- dependent individuals tend to be more sensitive to social cues and develop closer social ties (Berry, 1980).

Based on this information, Berry (1979) predicted that:

With respect to the ecological factors, it is possible to predict that those people who engage the physical environment through hunting and gathering activities will be called upon to develop restructuring skill to a high degree: Tracks, signs, odors, and sounds all need to be isolated from context in order to carry on this subsistence pattern. Furthermore, the nomadic settlement pattern associated with hunting and gathering requires a developed sense of space... It is difficult to conceive of a successful hunter without the skills to find game and to return again to camp. In contrast, these skills are to find game and to return again to camp. In contrast, these skills are unlikely to be of similar value to agriculturalists. (p. 125)

Berry (1966, 1976, 1979) found consistent support for his predictions. As a group, agriculturalists tend to field-dependent, whereas hunters and gatherers tend to be field-independent.

Social and Cultural Changes

As documented above, cultures and individuals develop skills that are adaptive to their particular ecological context. From the 17th century, the ecological context began to be drastically altered. Human intervention significantly altered the ecological balance by controlling and determining environmental conditions. Several factors contributed to this change: the rise of international trade, the formation of a merchant class, the rise of city states, the rapid developments in science and technology, greater agricultural efficiency, industrialization and urbanization. Communities evolved from subsistence economies to a market economy.

More and more human intervention mediated the ecological influences. For example, people did not have to till their soil to have dinner on their table. They did not have to store their food for the coming winter. They did not have to sew to have a shirt on their back. They no longer needed neighbors' help in putting up a barn. People instead worked for wages. The money they earned could be used to buy the necessary goods and services. Money acted as an intermediary commodity that created efficiency movement of resources.

These changes drastically altered existing cultures in Europe. With greater agricultural efficiency and with the emergence of nation stages, many serfs and peasants were dislocated from their agricultural communities. They congregated in the newly formed cities to look for another form of subsistence. These people were hired by industrial factories which payed wages for their labor.

The type of work they engaged in demanded new types of skills. They can no longer rely on the skills and knowledge that have been passed down for generations. Workers were taught how to operate machinery which was responsible for greater production and efficiency. They were viewed as extension of these machines. The work involved acquiring new skills that reflected rapid developments in science and technology.

The relationship they had with their employer was contractual and not based on long-standing trust and obligation. The interest of the employer in many cases was in profit and not necessarily in the well-being of the employees. Many employers exploited their employees in search for greater profit.

In the agricultural communities, people knew one another and the relationship were based on collective cooperation and human relatedness. In the urban setting, it was full of *unrelated* strangers. In these settings, there were no one to protect the rights of these *unrelated* individuals. Their employer and co-workers are likely to be stranger from far away lands. They were often congregated into crowded slums.

In the new industrial and urban settings contracts defined a relationship. Workers provided their services and in return they received wages for their labor. This relationship is fueled by supply and demand. Workers were under-paid, under-employed, and even unemployed if the demand for their services is low. Each individual receives a contract and is payed according to the market value of his/her services. With surplus workers, many laborers, even children, were exploited. They had to work long hours under miserable conditions.

This situation sharply contrast the previous communities in which these people grew up. In an agricultural community everyone knew each other: families lived in that community for several generations and friends grew up together.

In this type of community trust, cooperation and conservatism were important part of their daily lives.

Collective action began to appear to protest the working condition and the working relationship. A new form of collective emerged in Europe: the union. Members of the working class began to organize and lobby their interests through demonstration, confrontations and revolutions. Many changes are institutionalized in the modern era where elected officials protect human rights, democracy and freedom for all citizens. This types of collective evolved from common interest, experience and goals. In Europe and in the United States a major shift occurred: the emphasis on self-contained individualism (Sampson, 1988) coupled with a reliance on the *abstracted collectivism*.

Abstracted Collectivism

Hofstede (1980), in an international survey collected from 117,000 employees of IBM in 50 different countries or regions, found a dimension which he labelled as Indivudialism and Collectivism. The country that was highest in "Individualism" was the United States, followed by Australia, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherland and New Zealand. Countries low on "Individualism" were: Venezuela, Colombia, Pakistan, Peru, Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong and Korea.

In the individualistic cultures, it is the individual who looks primarily after their own interests and the interests of their immediate nuclear family (Hofstede, 1980). In the collectivist cultures, individuals become "women into one or more close ingroups from which they cannot detach themselves." The ingroup protects the interests of its members and in turn, the ingroup expects their permanent loyalty.

Hui and Triandis (1986), in their survey of cross-cultural researchers around the world found similar results. They found six distinguishing characteristics. The collectivists were more likely than individualists to: 1) give consideration to the implications of their own behavior to others, 2) share material and nonmaterial resources with others, 3) emphasize harmony within the ingroup, 4) be controlled by shame, 5) share both good and bad outcomes, and 6) feel that they are a part of their ingroup's life. Individualists, on the other hand: share only with their immediate nuclear family, are less willing to subordinate their personal goals to those of a collective, are willing to confront members of their ingroups, feel personally responsible for their successes and failures, and experience some degree of separation and distance from their ingroups.

Similarly, Bellah and colleagues (1985) report the content of interviews with 200 Americans about their lives. In their interviews they have found that in the United States the following values are emphasized: 1) self-reliance, independence, and separation from family, religion or community; 2) hedonism, utilitarianism and emphasis on exchanges and contracts; 3) competition, being a distinguished person; 4) equity, fairness; 5) trust in others; 6) emphasis on competence; 7) equality and rejection of arbitrary authority; and 8) self as the only source of reality (Triandis et al., 1985).

Cultures, however cannot be artificially divided into being either individualistic or collectivistic. Within each culture, both individualism and collectivism exist. Individuals share unique relationship with the collective, comparable to their relationship to their ecology. The type of individual and collectivism propagated in each culture varies widely.

One of the central differences between countries such as the United States and Korea cannot be categorized into individualistic versus collectivistic cultures. Although some researchers may claim that the United States is the land of Individualism and that collectivism is weak, this viewpoint, is too simplistic. There is a strong and pervasive collectivism in the United States. The type of collectivism, however, has been abstracted and thus differ significantly from those found in other countries.

Historically, collectivism in the United States contained Anglo-Saxon Protestant values and belief systems that are at first explicit and that governed the life of people in the United States, especially in the early part of the 19th century (Chorover, 1980; Heller et al., 1984; McClleland, 1955; Ruggiero, 1979; Sampson, 1977; Samelson, 1978). The core Anglo-Saxon Protestant values become *the* standard upon which every other cultures and individuals are judged. The core values that many Americans believe to be "natural" and hence "universal" (such as freedom, democracy, equality, justice, meritocracy and liberty) are actually "cultural." This is especially true when one goes beyhond the abstracted contents of these concepts and examine how these values are explicitly implemented.

In the early parts of 20th century, increased immigration from Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, and Asia, created cultural clashes. The core Anglo-Saxon Protestant values became submerged. Nevertheless, it served as the standard or the end-state for which immigrants must assmilats (Ruggiero, 1979; Chorover, 1980). The core cultural elements thus became abstracted are claimed to be universalistic. The use of "scientific tools" such as the IQ test became fashionable.

Abstracted collectivism requires the emphasis on distinct and independent individuals at one level. In the United States self-contained individualism is paramount (Sampson, 1988). It is defined as "the combination of firmly drawn self-other boundaries and an emphasis on personal control" (p. 16). Spence defines individualism as "the belief that each one of us is an entity separate from every other and from the group" (p. 1288). This leads to "a sense of self with a sharp boundary that stops at one's skin and clearly demarks self from nonself" (p. 1288). In the United States, individuals are strongly encouraged to separate from their natural relationships such as family, relative, community and religion (Bellah et al, 1985; Hsu, 1973; Maday & Szalay, 1976). They then form their own family, social and economic ingroups. Maturity in the United States is defined by a movement away from a natural collective to an abstracted collective.

Abstracted collectivism exists when the core values and the meaning of the group's existence is abstracted from reality. Hence the core values and functions are not readily apparent. These values are then labelled as universal since it is not linked to a particular context or culture. Individuals who share these implicit common values, goals, and aspirations form interest groups. This common value system forms a basis for development of a group which is, on the surface, composed of unrelated individuals. In order to firmly establish a group, members must articulate clearly goals, policies, rules and regulations that binds and guides each and every members. These rules appear rational and "universalistic" on the surface, but the represent the core American value system. This type of group formation and propagation can exist when each members share similar values system and commitments. The underlying, shared values systems are rarely discussed because they are usually accepted and never questioned. They are accepted as being "natural" and "universal" and in no way serving the interests of a particular collective.

Since members are independent and unrelated individuals, theoretically, no one individual enjoys special privileges. Decisions are made collectively, based on majority approval. Resources are shared equitably, based on merit and performance. Individually are "democratically" elected to represent the group, arbitrate grievances, to oversee the fair distribution of resources and implement policy and programs in the desired direction. On the surface the abstracted collectivism appears to operate in a rational, methodological and value-free way. However, each member is socialized from birth to accept the core value system as being supremely "natural" and in no way "cultural."

Within the abstracted collectivism, there are variations. The first broad categorization is the difference between the *fluid* and the *static* collective. People with common interest and goals freely form a fluid collective. Voluntary organization, interests groups and goals freely form a fluid collective. Voluntary organization, interests groups and recreational clubs are examples of this type of collective. Since the form and degree of participation is voluntary, permanent loyalty is not demanded from each member. The collective persists if it satisfies needs and interest of its members. It dissolve when it fails to do so.

The second type of fluid collective is defined by a contract. For example, a contract define a relationship between professionals and specialists who provide services to their clients for a fee. Doctors, lawyers, accountants, teachers, counselors and professors provide specialized services to anyone and everyone in need of those services. Similarly, labor and management represent collective entities in which the relationship is defined by a contract. In this type of collective, an individual or a group (as in the case of the union) is seen as a basic unit which is capable of interacting with, and benefitting from, the abstracted collective.

The second major category of abstracted collectivism is static collectivity. It exists to protect freedom, democracy, justice to all self-contained individuals. Since individuals are theoretically unrelated to one another, they may not act in a responsible, moral, sane, and altruistic manner. They may, in fact, exploit or commit crime against individuals, community and public institutions. Laws and regulations are established to protect the rights of all citizens and the viability of public institutions and the nation. No one person can step beyond the boundaries of the static collective. If they do so, these individuals are identified, punished and often incarcerated. The legal system, correctional system and the military are examples of static collective. Everyone in a culture is bound by these laws and theoretically, no one enjoys special privileges.

Often a fluid collective can come to resemble a static collective. Many interest groups are formed to protect and propagate the interest of its members and the viability of the group. If they are effective in maintaining the group viability and compete successfully with other organizations, they can come to dominate resources and services. In the economic sphere, this is called monopoly. By law, it is not allowed. If the exists, it is then under strict governmental or public control.

This form of collective can begin to develop its own subculture with its own goals and socializing mechanism. Their goals can be in direct conflict with the goals of other individuals and of the larger community. In such instances, members of a community can loose its ability to affect changes in this type of a collective. Soon the collective looses its fluidity.

Although complete monopoly is not allowed in the economic sphere, it is pervasive in the service sector. Many professions in the United States such as the legal and medical professions have a complete monopoly of the services they provide. They are, however, relatively autonomous and they resist change. They often serve the interests of its members, at the expense of the consumer. These profession represent the semi-static collective.

With the colonial expansion, many cultures have been dominated by others. The existing collective of the dominated group is destroyed first ("divide and conquer"). The destruction of a viable collective restrict concerted rebellion. It is then replaced with another form of a collective that maintains the division of the dominated people. Each individual is forced to assmiliate to the dominant value system. They are thus judged from the perspective of the dominant group. Assimilating individuals do not have the support of a viable collective and thus most individuals are unable to fully succeed. When they do, they are completed immersed and configured in the dominant perspective that they end to justify and reify the dominant group's position. The dominant group can maintain its strength only if they are able to maintain a viable collective. It is most effective when collective is the collective is abstracted and thus difficult to challenge and destroyed.

Culture of Relatedness

In the culture of relatedness, natural relationship play an important role in determining the attitudes, values, and behavior of an individual. In Hong Kong, for example, the value of ingroup maintenance and sharing is emphasized (Ho, 1982). Leung and Bond (1984) found in their experiment that American subjects preferred equitable distribution of reward, based on their performance (i.e., if they outperformed their partner, they expected a greater reward). Hong Kong subjects preferred equal distribution of reward, even if their performance exceeded their ingroup members' performance. They interpreted these results as reflecting differential interaction goals in the two cultures. In the United States, there is a competition toward greater production and efficiency, and each individual is rewarded accordingly. In Hong Kong, however, group solidarity and harmony are emphasized over and above production efficiency. Thus, Hong Kong subjects preferred to share equally amongst the ingroup members, even though they outperformed their ingroup members.

Haruki and Shigehisa (1983) and Haruki et al. (1984) found comparable results in Japan. In their studies, subjects were rewarded when they made a correct response in a task. Such reinforcement contingency increase learning of the task. Japanese subjects learn equally well when someone else (the experimenter) receive the reward instead of themselves. American subjects, however, perform will when they themselves are rewarded and perform poorly when someone else is rewarded. These study show that the sense relatedness is assumed and plays an important factor in determining a person's behavior in Japan.

At the individual level, the effect of culture is manifested in the way in which one conceives of oneself. Maday and Szalay (1976) suggest that in the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean conceptualization, the self is always a part of a larger kinship network. In the American or European concepts of self, in contrast, the person stands alone; his or her place in the family is weakened if not altogether denied after reaching maturity.

They found, in their study examining the conception of self, this postulated difference. For American responses, they show a convergence around the individual, their physical appearance and emotional conditions, and around stranger rather than relatives. They feel surrounded by strangers to whom they have to relate to without the assistance of their family. This effort is accompanied by loneliness, concern with physical appearance, and with positive attitudes toward others with whom they may have to team up to assure success.

The Korean responses, in contrast, cluster around family, love, ideals, success, and material goods. The responses indicate that Korean subjects view themselves as inseparable from their family group. It is the family that matters when the self is examined.

They note that both Koreans and Americans have to prove themselves in life, but to two different audiences. Americans have to "sell" their worth to strangers, hence the emphasis on appearance, friendliness, and sociable behavior. Koreans have to prove themselves to their family, to their kin group, hence the emphasis on ambition, ideals, and material goods in the course of striving to achieve success.

Rohner and Pettengill (1985) conducted a series of studies to examine the parent-child relationship around the world. They have found that parental warmth and parental control are two major dimensions of parenting in all human societies.

In the United States strict maternal control is perceived by adolescents as a manifestation of parental hostility, aggression, distrust and overall rejection. This view is consistent with the fact that American parents, by and large, encourage independence and self- reliance. Parental control is exerted when adolescents behave in an inappropriate or disruptive manner. Thus, parental control is antithetical to a warm and harmonious parent- child relationship.

In Korea, however, the results are reversed. Korean adolescents view parental control as warmth and as an indication of law neglect. This result is consistent with the fact that parental involvement is an essential ingredient in Korean society. It is necessary to ensure success for their children. Korean culture, like other collectivist cultures, emphasize the need to be interdependent, to share resources and to share both success and failures. Thus, parental involvement is an essential ingredient in academic, economic and social success.

Education: The Cultural Science Approach

The following three examples will highlight the difference between the natural sciences approach and the cultural sciences approach. Examples from three culture (native Hawaiian, Turkey, and Japan) are used to illustrate the merit of the cultural sciences approach. It also highlights the importance of understanding culture of relatedness and incorporating that understanding into the research design.

The Native Hawaiians, similar to many Native culture in North America, have experienced the full important of colonialization. The net effect of colonialization is the destruction of functional collective unit that can effective respond to changes in their environment. Historically, they have adapted to the ecological pressures and developed a viable cultural collective. Their fate have been significantly altered when their cultural collective was placed by an abstracted collective. As a result they lost the ability to define themselves and to control their environment.

The results of the disintegration are alarming. In Hawaii, the life expectancy of Native Hawaiians is about 6 years lower than the state average. Infant mortality rate is the highest in the state of Hawaii, as well as congenital abnormalities and underweight infants. They have higher rates of accidental deaths. They have a greater risk of significant illness. They suffer from, and have a higher risk of, chronic diseases such as diabetes, heart disease, hypertension and cancer.

They have lower survival rate or cancer. They have high rates for nicotine, alcohol and drug addiction. They have high rates of birth complications. They have unhealthy lifestyle, such as a lack of sufficient exercise. They also receive fewer services. They participate less in health education, screening and referral programs. They enter medical treatment at the late stage of disease (Meeical Task Force, 1985).

Althouth Native Hawaiians and part-Hawaiian constitute only 17% of the state population, in 1962, they constitute 35-40% of the financially destitute families; 42% of all adolescents arrested; 51% of all illegitimate births; 20% of all divorce (Liliuokalani Trust Board, 1962). This situation has not changed in 1980's (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

In the school environment, Native Hawaiians are euphemistically labelled as "children-at-risk" because they do not fully benefit from the learning experience. They often display delinquent behaviors that can disrupt classroom activities (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1982). Children of Hawaiian ancestry have the lowest level of academic achievement when compared to other ethnic groups and "majority" Americans (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1982). In the ordinary school setting, Hawaiian children are often described as "lazy, disinterested, disorderly, disruptive and lacking in basic cognitive and linguistic skill requisite for school learning" (Tharp and Gallimore, 1976). The Native Hawaiians in general are stereotyped as "lazy, good-for-nothing, irresponsible, and ideolent" (Young, 1980, p. 21). These perception have emerged ever since the colonization of the Hawaiian islands.

Although the ptolmaic view of the world has been abandoned several centuries ago in the physical sciences, it is still dominant in social sciences. The ethnocentric tendency, the practice of negatively evaluating another culture based one's one cultural standard is pervasive. The purpose of such a perspective is not to understand another culture from it's own perspective, but to evaluate and judge another based on one's own standard. This leads to justification of inequality and injustice. This is very much the history of the social sciences. Such a perspective is not only unethical and immoral, but it is *a-scientific.* The following section will document the this contention.

The following example highlights the need to separate the levels of analysis. By using a visible product, such as education achievement and economic development, we can begin to unravel the complex nature of culture. It points out the pitfalls of using one standard to judge another culture, especially when that standard is lodged under biological determinism.

Educational Experience of Native Hawaiian

The low rate of performance by the Native Hawaiian students and the high delinquency rates can be explain by one of two competing hypothesis: cultural deficit model and the cultural incompatibility model (Tharp & Gallimore, 1975). The cultural deficit model assume that there sometime inherently wrong with the Native Hawaiian children, either culturally or genetically. They possess a deficit. They need to be "fixed" to work properly. One form of intervention has been the early enrichment programs or compensatory education programs (i.e., the Head Start Programs). These programs are based on the assumption that the environment where the children grow up is "impoverished," and they need "enriched" experiences to compensate for the deficit. They nevertheless accept the contentions that these children are inferior.

These programs have generally failed to produce a lasting influence. Arthur Jensen (1969), an education psychologist at Harvard, concluded that they were doomed from the very beginning to fail. He argued that mental abilities are innate and thus cannot be changed. The deficit is designed in their gene and not in the environment,

The cultural incompatibility model, on the other hand, does not assume a deficit of any kind, but proposes that the cultural norms emphasized in the school environment is *different or incompatible* with the cultural norms taught in the home environment (Tharp & Gallimore, 1975). It is the incompatibility that is producing the lower performance and high delinquency, not any characteristics inherent in the children or the culture. Historically, both these hypothesis appeared when Native Hawaiians first encountered the European settlers.

Historical Antecedents

The most influenctial people who changed the Hawaiian culture are the missionary. The were successful in replaced religion with their own. With this conversion, the Native Hawaiians lost the ability to define for themselves and control their own environment.

On March 30, 1820, a group of missionary families, land Hiram Bingham, left Boston and arrived on the island of Hawaii (Daws, 1968). Bingham has been forewarned about the Native Hawaiians for their "unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, murder, debate, deceit, malignity ... whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful'' (Daws, 1968, p. 64). For this reason they were sent to Hawaii to ''save'' these people from their sins. When they arrived in Hawaii, they were shocked beyond their sensibility. Bingham wrote: ''The appearance of destitution, degradation, and barbarism, among the chattering, and almost naked savages, whose heads and feet, and much of their sunburnt swarthy skins, were bare, was appalling'' (Daws, 1968, p. 64). He went on to lament: ''Can these be human beings!'' (Daws, 1968, p. 64).

Their initial attempts to educate and proselytize them fell on deaf ears. Many, out of curiosity, participated in the ritual. They soon ''found the constraint of clothing and the pain of literacy unbearable'' (p. 65). Bingham noted that although women considered household chores a disgrace, they spent hours and days energetically practicing hula under a hot sun. The missionaries had difficulty understanding the Native Hawaiians because they could not accept their culture. Their sense of value and commitment seemed to be totally out of place.

Captain James Cook, who first sited the islands of Hawaii in January 18, 1778, had a more balanced view of the Native Hawaiians. He found them be ''the most attractive people, impulsively warm, openly hospitable, and frank'' (p. 2). However, they were ''just as often deceitful, even treacherous'' (p. 2).

Early settlers marvelled at the diligence and the skillfulness of the Native Hawaiians. At the turn of the 19th century, for example, carpenter Boyd refused to build King Kamehameha a loom because ''if the natives found out how to do everything, there would be no place at the islands for foreign traders and artisans'' (Daws, 1968, p. 49). Isacc David did not want the natives to learn English, for much the same reason (Daws, 1968).

In terms of their work ethic, both Cook and Vancouver had been most impressed by the labor that went into to the irrigated taro plant. Archiabald Campbell, who lived in Oahu for a year 1809-1810, thought that:

Hawaiians worked harder than any people he had ever seen. Hawaiians' capacity for work was tested and given some new outlets by the things they learned from foreigners. But hard productive labor had been the normal lot of the Hawaiian (p. 49)

In spite of the deeply held prejudice, missionaries were able to convert and ''educate'' most of the Native Hawaiians. A significant breakthrough came serendipitously when Queen Kaahumanu fell seriously ill and Bingham's wife nursed her back to health. After recovering, Queen Kaahumanu took up the cause of educating and prostylizing the Native Hawaiians. With her diligent efforts, churches were soon crowded, and schools were packed in all major islands. Everyone participated in the festivites. It is, however, done is a uniquely Hawaiian style. The education became a ceremony, a festival for all to join:

The quarterly hoikes, or school examinations, were approach so enthusiastically that all work would come to a halt for a week or ten days as native crowded around the mission stations, waiting their turn to demonstrate their accomplishments. The Hawaiians managed somehow to graft onto these occasions their talent for display, for decoration, for jollity, for public performance, for enjoyable communal experience. Even within the confines of literacy and piety echoes of the great hula gatherings of the early twenties could be heard. (Daws, 1968, p. 90).

Missionary Reuben Tinker wrote:

The shell horn has been blowing early for examination of the school in the meeting house. About 2000 scholars present, some wrapped in large quantity of native cloth, with wreaths of evergreen about their heads and hanging toward their feet-others dresst in calico and silk with large necklaces of braided hair and wreaths of red and yellow and green featers very beautiful and expensive... It was a pleasant occasion in which they seemed interested and happy... The kings and chiefs were present, and examined among the rest... In this exercise, one of the teachers cried out with as much importance as an orderly sergeant and immediately the whole company began to sit up straight... Mr. Bingham then put into the crier's ear the sentence to be written, which he proclaimed with all his might and, a movement of 450 pencils commenced which from their cracking was like the music of machinery lacking oil. Their sentences were then examined and found generally correct. (p. 90-91).

As a result of Queen Kaahumanu efforts, the missionary were able to raise the literacy rate for Native Hawaiian which became one of the highest in the nation, comparable to the New England states. By serendipity, they were able to create a major social change. Although the initial attempts to convert individual Hawaiians failed, they were able to convert a key figure in the community, Queen Kaahumanu. She was respect and trusted and thus she was able to direct her community into a new direction. Many followed her, not out of the intrinsic merit of Christianity per se, but because they believed and trusted their queen.

Missionaries had difficulties accepting, not their ability, but their "morality.'' Mark Twain who visited the island in the 1860's had mixed evaluation of the missionaries. He saw them as ''bigoted; puritanical; slow; ignorant of all human nature and the natural ways of men, except the remnants of these things that are left in their profession; old fogy- fifty years behind the age'' (Daws, 1968, p. 161). He nevertheless, considered their efforts as being ''pious; hard-working; hard-prayhing; self-sacrificing; hospitable; devoted to the well-being of this people and the interest of Protestantism'' (p. 161)

The second generation of *haoles* (white foreigners) were even less accommodating. Although missionaries were bigoted, their genuine in intent was to ''educate'' them for civilization and ''save'' them from their sins. The next generation of *haoles* were less altruistic. The offsprings of the missionaries (the ''mission boys''), entrepreneurs, plantation owners and politicians were concerned in profit and power, rather education and proselytization. Sanford Dole, governor designate of the terriitory, believed that the Native Hawaiian should not be allowed to vote. He believed that ''it is exceedingly necessary to keep out of politics this class of people, irresponsible people I mean'' (Daws, 1968, p. 294)

This attitude is examplified when Princess Bernice Pauahi, heir to the King Kamehamehas estates, died in 1884. In her will she left her lands, amounting to one-ninth of all the land in the islands, to be used to benefit the Hawaiian people. The boy's and girl's school were built for this purpose and they are collectively called the Kamehameha Schools. Her husband, Charles R. Bishop, became the first chairman of the board of trustee of the Bishop Estate. His friends and colleagues occupied the other positions: William O. Smith, Charles Montague Cooke, Charles McEwen Hyde, and Samuel Mills Damon. No Hawaiians was appointed to the board. Daws (1968) comments that ''so once again the well-intentioned white man had control of the natives' land and was setting out to teach the Hawaiian how to be a Hawaiian'' (p. 299-300).

Princess Pauahi asked that the Kamehameha Schools to provide ''first and chiefly a good education in common English branches, and also instruction in morals and is such useful knowledge as may tend to make good and industrious men and women'' (p. 300). This was far from what they received. An education committee member of the boy's school in 1911 wrote that the goal of the Kamehameha school is to:

Turn out tradesmen from the shops and form the agriculture department boys who will know how to work on the farm. Sufficient academic work should be given to make the best tradesmen and the best farmers. All ideas of preparing at Kamehameha for the High Schools or at Oahu College should be discouraged'' (p. 300-301)

First of all, higher education was not part of the ultimate goal of the Native Hawaiians. They could not accept that these people can be ''saved'' from their sin and become ''civilized.'' Secondly, the action of the board of trustees did not truly reflect even their professed concerns. The Native Hawaiians, for example, could not get jobs as craftsmen, trademen or even as clerks at companies that are owned and operated by the board of trustees members such as the Castle & Cook, or the Bishop & Company (Daws, 1968).

They were not expected to perform well. Structural barriers were created to ensure this. The education provided by the missionaries, with all its faults, were far superior. The literacy rate for Native Hawaiians as a whole declined with institutionalization of schools. The pervasive effects of such practics led them to question ''whether native Hawaiians, free citizens of the United States under the organic act, would ever be anything but objects of charity in their home islands'' (Daws, 1968, p. 302).

Current Situations

The low achievement of the Native Hawaiian children and their delinquent behavior cannot be simply attributed to the lack of ability. It cannot also be attributed to a lack in motivation. Their poor performance can be attributed to the incompatibility their natural abilities and demands of the larger society. In their series of studies, spanning over two decades, Tharp and Gallimore (1976) empirically refute the belief in the cultural deficit hypothesis and support the cultural incompatibility hypothesis.

They contend that the Native Hawaiian children do not do well in school because the values emphasized in their home environment differ significantly from those emphasized in the school environment. Thus, differences in performance can be attributed to cultural incompatibility rather than any deficit. In other words, the kind of values, norms and behavior propagated in the school environment are incompatible with those encouraged in the home environment. This discrepancy is viewed as the cause of low attendance, poor academic performance and disruptive classroom behavior.

To empirically verify their contentions, they have initiated a systematic analysis of Hawaiian children in their home environment. In this context, they observe that, contrary to previous beliefs, children are highly responsible. They participate in the life of the family by cooking, cleaning and caring for their siblings with minimal adult supervision. An indidivual child takes initiatives and performs tasks whenever he/she perceives a need to do so. Tharp and Gallimore (1976) note that when work needs to be done in the family, siblings form a group and they are the unit that gets it done. In the school environment, however, teachers encourage individual initiative and responsibility, and prevent collective activities. These findings support their explanation that their poor academic performances and disruptive classroom behaviors are due to the incompatibility of values between the school environment and the home environment rather than the existence of any cultural deficit.

Taking this descriptive information, they created a new classroom environment that emphasizes values that are similar to their own culture. This series of studies is called the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP). In the newly formed classroom environment, collective initiatives and responsibilities are encouraged:

A teacher would come into a classroom and she gave no assignment and did not ask any children to join her. She merely allowed the children to observe the necessary work and allowed them to observe her in its performance... Within a matter of days, a dependable group of about eight children appeared regularly each morning to participate in this morning work. Within a matter of weeks, the activity was so institutionalized that virtually every member of the class participated in some degree, on some days, as the spirit moved them... By the end of the school year, the academic tasks themselves were being organized by children; that is, they would look at the daily schedule of learning centers, and then they would count out appropriate work sheets, textbooks, and art supplies and distribute them around the room and into the storage boxes. This system of child responsibility extended to the cleanup phase of the school day. (O'Donnell & Tharp, 1982, p. 302).

Observers were amazed at the pride exhibited by these children and the sense of involvement and ownership they felt performing these tasks. With similar interventions, they were able to significantly improve their sociolinguistics and cognitive skills to be comparable to the national average (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Tharp, 1989). With this context, these children can no longer be viewed as children-at-risk.

The KEEP program has consistently shown that when the values and norms of the school environment are compatible with that of the home environment, children excel in their performance. They have empirically shown that children adopt a set of values and norms that are emphasized and propagated by a particular culture. They are adaptive to a particular ecological and cultural context. However, when another culture imposes a different set of values, individuals' sense of competence can be adversely affected. The Native Hawaiian children, in the above example, are not incompetent or disruptive by nature, (i.e., genetically), but the imposed environment acts like a cultural straight-jacket, blocking their "natural" way of functioning and imposing an alien way of functioning.

The tragic side of the KEEP program is that the program exists up to the third grade. From the fourth grade, they are put into a regular classroom environment. In this new environment, they begin to experience the incompatibility of the two environments. They begin to show low attendence rate, display delinquent behavior and low academic achievement. Within a matter of years, any gains that they have attained begins to slip away, and once again they are labelled as "children-at-risk." And once again history repeats itself.

As long as the incompatibility between the home and the school envionment is maintained, it is difficulty for a child to survive in the system. They are forced to make choices between family pressures and societal demands. Intervention programs that helps to bridge the gap between the two environment is necessary. Cigdem Kagitcibasi and colleagues (1989) developed such an intervention program in Turkey.

Education: The Turkish Experience

Cidgem Kagitcibasi and her colleagues (1989) conducted a four-year longitudinal study to assist children living in low-income areas in Istanbul. Like the Native Hawaiians, children lving in these areas did not come to school regularly, displayed delinquent behavior and did not do well academically. They wanted to develop a program that can address the above three issue. They were, however, well aware of the fact that most early enrichment programs in the United States (i.e, the Head Start programs) have failed to maintain the sustained effect when these programs were terminated.

They identified the problem as being the incompatibility of values emphasized in the home versus the school setting. Children are sent to school to learn cognitive and linguistics skill. In the home environment, however, most mothers were illiterate and had very little formal education. They did not see the value of education, especially when they saw that the learning they had acquired in school conflicted with the basic values of relatedness.

When the researchers interviewed the mothers in the low-income area about the behavior of the children that pleased them most. The answers clustered around the relational theme such as being affectionate, being complaint, and getting along with others. They found that around 80% of the desired behavior in their children affirmed the relational emphasis. Autonomous and independent behavior from the children, on the other hand, had not only a low priority, but they were the source of much displeasure and angers.

The researchers realized that children have very little power in creating and maintaining an environment. Adults, especially mothers, are the architects and the regulator of an environment. They emphasize a particular set of values and skills that children should acquire. Often the values and skills that are emphasized in the home environment are incongruent with the values learn in the school environment. In this type of a situation, children are caught in between, often punished for behavior that is acquired in another environment where they have been reinforced.

Western form of education teaches children to be autonomous and independence. Congnitive and verbal skills are emphasized over social and relational skills. These values and skills can be in direct conflict with the home environment where relational and social skills are emphasized. Thus, teaching children to be autonomous and independent in the school environment can be ineffective or even deterimental if they challenge or undermine the relational orientation of the home environment.

Rather than attempting to provide "enriched environment" to the children, Kagitcibasi and collesgues provided home instruction and supportive group discussion for the mothers in the community. In the discussions, relational sensitive to the children were reaffirmed. In addition, the values that are emphasized in the school environment such as autonomy, independent decision-making, self-reliance were introduced. They emphasized that these values are additive and not incompatible with maintaining a harmonious family relatedness. They also taught the mothers the basic school curriculum (cognitive and linguistic skills) that their children will soon learn. That is, for many others it is their first direct exposure to formal education.

During the fourth year of the study, mothers' child-rearing attitudes were assessed. They have found that those mothers who participated in the program valued autonomous behavior in their children significantly more than the comparison group who did not receive such a training. This change, however, was not subtractive, but additive. These mothers maintained close relationship with their children. A synthesis of maintaining a close relational orientation and valuing autonomy has been achieved. These mothers also and higher aspirations for their children in terms of their academic performance, and of completing higher education.

Although children were not involved in any of the program, they have shown significant improvements in attendance rate, cognitive and linguistic skills and prosocial behavior. Children were also more self-reliant and autonomous. These changes for both the mothers and their children were maintained even after the program has been terminated.

Kagiticibasi (1990) attributes the success of their program to their cultural approach. This approach recognizes the importance of understanding the context and social networks. She summarizes their studies as follows:

An enrichment program is introduced working through the existing framework of human relations and strengthening them for the eventual overall development of the child. In this way, the focus shifts from the individual to the interactions between the individual and his or her total environment, incorporating the total social context in a holistic approach... An empowerment model rather than a deficiency model was used in the studies in encouraging mothers to realize their own capacity and potential for promoting their children's development. Also, in both studies, familial and communal ties were utilized in terms of paraprofessional home visitors, group discussions, and local interactors/ communicators to provide further support to the mothers. (p. 137)

Example Three: The Japanese Experience

At the turn of the twentieth century, Asian-Americans at a whole were viewed as "genetically inferior" and labelled as "Yellow Perils" (Chorover, 1980; H. C. Kim, 1989). According to Vernon (1982) they were regarded as a "kind of inferior species, who could be used for unskilled labor and menial jobs, but could never be accepted as equals into the white community." They were subjected to great hardships, hostility and discrimination. In 1924, the Oriental Exclusion Act forbade Asian immigrants from entering the United States (H. C. Kim, 1989). This law was adopted due to fears that these "genetically inferior" individuals would pollute the genetic pool of the United States and lead to national degeneracy (Chorover, 1980).

At present, however, the observed difference is reversed. Asian-American are perceived and labelled as "model minorities" (Kim, 1986, Suzuki, 1977). Their economic and educational achievements have been partly attributed to their "genetic superiority" (Vernon, 1982). They came to be regarded as "higher achievers, educationally and vocationally, than the white majority" (Vernon, 1982). In addition to Japanese-Americans, children Japan show significantly higher performance in math and science abilities when compared to American children (Hess et al., 1986). Within a span of 60 years, a "genetically inferior" race suddenly became a "genetically superior" race. How can this be?

To fully understand this issue, we must reject the ethnocentric and simplistic sociobiological viewpoint and develop a descriptive understanding of the Japanese culture. It has been empirically documented that Japanese students perform at significantly higher levels on standardized tests in mathematics and science. These differences emerge at an early age.

Stevenson and colleagues (1986) cnstructed mathematics tests to empirically verify this observed difference. By analyzing math textbooks from both countries, Japan and the United States, they were able to develop standardized math tests for Grade 1 and Grade 5. They then proceeded to select comparable samples of children from both countries. Two hundred and forty first graders and 240 fifth graders were chosen from each country.

As expected, Japanese children scored significantly higher on these tests than American children at both first and fifth grades. The difference between the two groups was greater in the fifth grade than in the first grade. They observed that by the fifth grade "the mean of the American classroom with the highest average level of performance lies below that of the worst performing fifth-grade classroom of Japanese children."

There are numerous possible explanations as to why these differences are found. Firstly, these findings could be attributed to idiosyncratic differences rather than cultural differences; such as the difference of the curriculum of each country. However, this is unlikely to be the case because the differences in performance appeared in the first grade. The children took the test in the first semester of the first grade and they were not exposed to the curriculum for any significant duration. Even when the same content was introduced in the first grade, the Japanese students still performed at a higher level.

The second possibility is that the Japanese teachers may have had a higher educational level and greater experience than the American teachers. This again was not the case. There were no differences between these two sets of teachers.

The third possible reason for the observed difference is the parents' educational status. It is possible that the Japanese parents had higher educational status than the American parents. The results, however, are in the opposite direction: the American parents had higher educational level than the Japanese parents.

As postulated by Vernon (1982), Japanese students could be simply brighter than American students. Overall, the results are in the *opposite* direction, with American children scoring higher on the scales of intelligence when compared to Japanese students. Thus, the "genetic superiority" hypothesis is refuted.

Significant differences are observed, however, in the amount of time spent in mathematical tasks. Compared to American students, Japanese students spend more time in school, spend more time on mathematical tasks in school, and spend more time doing their homework. In addition to the sheer amount of time devoted to mathematical tasks, Japanese students are more likely to be engaged in groups, are more attentive, and engage in less inappropriate activities than American students.

Stevenson et al. (1986) conclude that parental contributions appear to be the significant reason why Japanese students outperform American students. The socialization practices of Japanese culture are seen as the key to understanding children's school performance. In other words, we need to first understand the kind of values children learn in the home environment to fully appreciate their performance in the school environment.

Socialization in the Home Environment

The socialization practices of the Japanese culture have been systematically documented by several researchers (Azuma, 1986; Befu, 1986; Hess et al., 1986; Kojima, 1986; White & Levine, 1986; Yamamura, 1986). The following section is a summary of these articles.

When a child is born into a family, a Japanese mother tries to minimize the distance between her and the child and to gratify the child as much as possible. She remains close to the child as much as possible to make the child feel secure, to make the boundary between her and her child minimal, and to try to meet all the needs of the child, even if that means a tremendous sacrifice on her own part. This type of socialization creates a bonding of interdependence (called *amae* in Japanese. The mother's devotion and indulgence evoke a strong sense of dependence in the child. At the same time, a child senses that it is through the mother he/she obtains gratification, security and love. The child gradually senses what pleases the mother and behaves accordingly. Doi (1985) notes that the concept of *amae* is the feeling of dependence coupled with the expectation of indulgence. A child may be demanding, even become tyrannical, but at the same time he/she remains sensitive to the caretaker's desires and feelings.

A child gradually learns of, and identifies with, the mother's values through an osmosis-like process. By maintaining a close physical and psychological contact, a child learns to identify with the mother and attempts to maintain the close link. The feeling of interdependence helps the child assimilate the mother's hopes and values, and it is through the *amae* relationship that a child learns to behave appropriately. The child attempts to please the mother by behaving in a manner consistent with the mother's desires. Identification with the mother's value and aspirations are essential in maintaining the close bond between them.

The fear of punishment for the child is the perception of, or the actual separation from, the mother. Thus, psychological and physical distance are often used to shape or correct a child's behavior. She establishes control over the child through her devotion and indulgence.

American mothers, in contrast, emphasize individualism and independence. They encourage their children to be autonomous and to exercise their own judgements. A mother typically maintains her distance with the child and that distance is used to apply external authority. A mother must keep some distance with the child in order to stay in a position of authority.

As a Japanese child grows up, he/she is expected to transfer such identification and loyalty from his/her mother to other family members, to relatives, to other individuals such as teachers, and to larger social groups such as a company. The mother's job is to prepare her child for adult life and to provide a bridge between the home environment and the external environment. She achieves this goal by gradually exposing social values to her child.

The concept of *sunao* is emphasized in socializing Japanese children. It is roughly translated as "compliance," "obedience," and "cooperation." It also carries a connotation of being open minded, nonresistant, truthful, authentic in intent and cooperative in spirit. This does not mean that a child must yield his or her personal autonomy for the sake of cooperation. In the Japanese context, cooperation does not necessarily suggest sacrificing one's wish, as it may be in the West. It implies that working together collectively, harmoniously, is the way of expressing and enhancing oneself. In Japanese child development theory, children attempt to *align* the goals of self-fulfillment and goals of social integration so that both can be met simultaneously.

Since the need to cooperate with one another is paramount in Japan, *yutaka* (meaning empathy, receptiveness or open-heartedness) is highly valued. It connotes interpersonal sensitivity and anticipation of the needs of others. Although it appears to sound passive and feminine to Western ears, it implies hearty confidence, giving and receiving abundantly and enjoying social relationships to the fullest. Thus, *ningen-rashii,* (meaning "human-like"), which emphasizes the ability to maintain harmony in human relationships, is the most highly valued quality of a child.

Beyond the need to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships, personal excellence is paramount. In the Japanese educational system, there is a fierce and competitive environment for achievement. Few students are able to attend prestigious universities. Graduation from these universities ensure economic stability, social status and it is highly valued. The saying, "pass with four, fail with five," is a common phrase amongst junior high schoolers in Japan. It means that if you sleep as much as five hours a night you are not stuyding hard enough.

The striving effort is characterized by *gambaru* (persistence), *kuro* (suffering or hardship), *gaman* (endurance) and *doryoku* (effort), and *isshokemmie* (utmost self-exertion). There is a strong positive value inherent in these Japanese words that English translations cannot adequate portray. These concepts are internalized by Japanese students and thus they voluntarily spend long hours in school and in doing their homework.

Lebra (1976) in a of survey of a sentence completion task found that over 70% of Japanese respondents, both young and old, men and women, attribute success to diligence, effort, and endurance. Hess et al. (1986) similarly found that Japanese mothers attribute poor performance of their children to a lack of effort. In contrast, American mothers were more likely to blame training at school for the poor performance. Japanese children, likewise, put greater weight on effort in achieving success in school than American children. For Japanese children competition is internally focussed rather than outwardly directed. This internal striving, rather than external competition, allows for social harmony to be maintained.

Excellence in performance is seen not only as evidence of individual ability, but also as a way of cementing and contributing to the group. It provides evidence that a child has developed a moral character through perseverance and persistence. Performance qualities are important, but they are only the visible demonstrations of deeper abilities to be a good person. White and LeVine (1986) note that in contrast Americans tend to give priority to highly individualized skills and qualities, such as independence, and to see social abilities as more superficial, or as means rather than ends.

The School Environment

The typical climate of Japanese schools reaffirms the maternalistic protection and indulgence on the one hand, but also pressures the student to strive for personal excellence and to cooperate in a group. Because of the *amae* relationship that is transferred to teachers, students attempt to please the teacher as much as possible. For this reason, Japanese students are more attentive, engage in less inappropriate activities, and spend more time doing their schoolwork and homework than American students. For this reason researchers have found that although a typical Japanese classroom size is much larger than an American classroom size, Japanese teachers are more effective in disseminating knowledge.

White and LeVine (1986) note that in Japan, there is a greater congruence between the values emphasized in the home environment and those learned in the school environment than in the United States. This congruence minimize conflict and contradiction in the development of a child's character, ability and values. They note that:

Clearly, Japanese goals for the child can more easily be achieved in the setting of the school than can ours. Our goals and ideologies are in conflict with the realities of children's development, regardless of cultural setting. Moreever, in the United States, the institution of the school has not provided an environment in which our ideologies of child development and actual qualities valued in the child can be inculcated. (p. 61)

This congruence in values, between the home environment and the school environment, is identified as the key reason why Japanese students excel in the school environment and outperform American counterparts.

The Work Setting

The close correspondence between the values emphasized in the home environment and external environments also applies to the work setting. Misumi (1985) notes that Japanese companies were able to incorporate cultural values that enabled Japan's phenomenal economic growth and high quality of Japanese products. They found in their research that those leaders and companies which emphasized both excellence in performance *and* interpersonal harmony were the most effective. These emphases correspond closely to their socialization experience and to their educational experience.

In the early 1960's Jyuji Misumi and colleagues initiated field research programs to systematically examine leadership qualities that would promote maximal production. They postulated that a groups has two functions: One oriented toward goal achievement and problem solving, and the other oriented toward group solidarity and harmony. They developed a questionnaire to assess the qualities that a particular leader emphasized in a group setting.

Their first field study involved Chuko Kogyo Coal Mining Company. The pit workers were organized so that they worked in three shifts, with three teams working at the same pit. For each group there was a foreman. The work required heavy labor.

They found that some groups were highly productive, while others were low in productivity. They felt that patriarchical, authoritarian, one man-rule orientation would increase production in the coal mines. It was taken for granted that supervisors would unilaterally give orders and instructions to their subordinates, and that they would passively obey these orders.

The results, however, were in the opposite direction. They found, to their surprise, those leaders who emphasized production only and used authoritarian leadership style were than *least* effective. Those leaders who emphasized both production and group solidarity were the *most* effective.

These results were than reported to the company executives. The management initiated small group discussions to encourage participation of all workers to identify and solve problems in their workplace. Small meetings of six to eight workers were held immediately before they boarded coal wagons. Even subsection chiefs, section chiefs, and plant managers held meetings for participatory decision-making. These procedures have had dramatic effects in production and in the overall morale of the company.

The second study involves attempts to reduce the number of accidents involving bus drivers at the Nishitetsu Railway Comapny. The company's bus division is the largest in Japan. In the company, the number of accidents due to driver error was increasing rapidly in the early 1960's. Misumi and colleagues developed a program where 45 accident-prone bus drives met in a small group of about ten each. They were urged to express their frustrations and complaints that they were experiencing in their workplace. They were then allowed to write down any safe driving practices that they plan to implement in a piece of paper that they would keep for their own use. Ten months later the number of accidents dropped off dramatically from an average of 70 to an average of 14.

Since the study, the Nishitetsu started a small group activity called the "Safety in Transportation Campaign." They set up small group meetings focussed on accident prevention and safe-driving practices. In addition, supervisors were rated by their subordinates on the two dimensions of leadership style. This information was given to the supervisors to sensitize and alter their behavior. The program is carried out at all bus service offices. Despite the fact that the total distance covered by a bus driver, the number of buses in operation, and the overall traffic volume increased dramatically over the years, the accident rate actually decreased to less than one tenth of what it used to be, before the group decision process was implemented.

Misumi and colleagues introduced the same kind of small group activities to a project for accident prevention at the Nagasaki Shipyard and at a shipyard in Hiroshima. They note that small group activities spread like wildfire to a large number of Japanese companies. They also note that these small group activities in the Japanese workplace are considered to be the driving force behind Japan's economic success. Because Japanese companies developed a management style that is congruent with the socialization practices in the home environment and with the educational experience, they were able to compete in the international market with an incomparable degree of success.

Summary and Conclusion

The goal of cultural sciences tradition is to represent knowledge as understood and experienced by people within a culture. Important steps in the cultural sciences approach are the thorough description of psychological phenomena as they exist within their cultural context. Although individuals are located in an extremely complex environment in terms of the variety of stimuli that impinge upon them, they do not haphazardly deal with their physical and social environment. The world from the individual's perspective operates in a meaningful fashion for most situations. Group and cultures develop strategies to collectively represent and interpret their environment. Individuals living with a particular culture adopt and adapt the collective representations for themselves as a way of dealing with this complexity. Thus, individual and collective abilities must be included in the unit of analysis. Secondly, meaning and context must be included in the research design. They cannot and need not be destroyed during the research process.

In order to build an ideal and just society for youth, we must first understand our culture and members in it. To assume that we can develop an universal understanding of human beings and especially youth without considering the contribution of culture, groups and individuals is not only a-scientific, but dangerous. It can turn out to be forms of "colonialism." We do not have, as of yet, the tools to understand the human world. It is primitive by any scientific standard. We do not have, as of yet, a careful and systematic description of the human world. It is hence natural that we do not have, as of yet, a coherent and comprehensive understanding of humans. Thus, it is clear that much of psychotechnology and sociotechnology are not only limited, but often dangerous to human welfare.

In order to understand human beings, we need to appreciate our own human qualities. We cannot and need not eliminate them in order to study them. We have, in psychology, eliminated most human qualities in attempt to understand them. Universalists argues for severing of familial and national loyalty because they are cause of intergroup conflicts. They argue for instead of accepting abstract concepts such as freedom, equality, and justice. Many feel that group loyalty can be a barrier for developing global concerns. I would argue, on the contrary only through affirm group loyalty and providing group security that global cooperation can be realized. These lofty ideals can be realized by *affirming* our relatedness of others; through the existing relationships. Destruction of natural relatedness can only mean the destruction of a viable collective. Without viable collective the possibility of global relatedness is remote. Alternatively, the possibility of dominance and destruction in highly likely.

The task before us is the promotion of an ideal and just society for youth. This, I believe, can be accomplished by appreciating and understanding individual and group variations within our own culture first. Understanding of our children and youth within our own content is the first step towards global cooperation. By strengthening inner harmony, familial ties, sense of community, cultural confidence, we can boldly seek global resolve concerns. We need instill these qualities in our children and youth and not destroy them.

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Discussion: Sports Activities and Good Health as Values in the Way of Life of Youth and Children

Elma Truu*

In my report I'd like to deal with two questions which are closely connected. These are-the health Estonian young people and their sporting activity.

We have realized long ago that sports and sporting activities play an important role in bringing up a healthy and well-developed young generation. A lot of regulations have been discussed and many resolutions passed to integrate sports into way of life of our young people. Unfortunatelly, it has not worked in reality. Our children's life has not become better.

The research data indicate that our children's health becomes worse from year to year. 15% of pre-schoolers have some chronic disease. At the age of 11 32% of children are practically not healthy. At 15 the corresponding persentage is 47% and at 17-18 it is 50-53% (Data from the daily newspaper "Soviet Sport" Nov. 22, 1988).

The children's mortality is high in the Soviet Union-the 50th place in the world. Every year 25 children out of 1000 die in our country. Heart abnormalities are widespread among Estonian children. More then 50% of our pupils have got heart underdevelopment if the size of their heart is compared to their height and weight.

As it may be expected unhealthy children grow up to become sick adults. But the problems facing our society-perestroika and glasnost-cannot be solve with weak unhealthy people who are not physically fit.

According to the USSR Health Ministry (Estonian weakly newspaper "Soviet Teacher"-now "öpetajate Leht" Nov. 12, 1988) the disease rate among university students has grown 3.8 times. The most common disease are those of cardiovascular system.

As the Estonian chief doctor of public health service Oku Tamm states ("Spordileht", Oct. 19, 21, 1983): "The secret of prolonging life lies in the art of not

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shortening it". We have not mastered this art yet. Motion deficiency is growing-35% (by some authors 50%) of pre-schoolers, 50% of junior school children, 60% of intermediate school children and 70-80% of senior school children suffer from insufficient physical activity. 90% of adult have motion deficiency. Only 4-5% of people over 40 go in for sports. 90% of Estonian school children spend much less time in the open air than necessary. At the same time 50-65% of children are mentally overstrained-studying, excessive TV-watchiang and book-reading. As the result of wrong diet and little physical activity 50-60% of Estonian pupils are to bulky and 16-23% are fat. The above-mentioned data should be enough to prove that our children's way of life and health should be improved. To achived this the following ways should be considered: reducing stress, introducing positive thinking and attitudes towards life, useful and emotional leisure time activities, improving medical care, refraining from smoking and alcohol. Last but not leat-physical activity and sports is very important in strengthening our children's (and adults') health. If we want to be physically fit there's no better way for this than regular sports activities.

Only regularity can give the desired effect. Therfore I have studied the problems of physicl activity of young people in close connection with their way of life paying also attention to other activities popular among youngsters. The term "way of life" includes the structure of different activities, together with the corresponding value evaluations and social terms. Special emphasis was laid on studying the structure of different activities and attitudes towards them. We tried to find out the share of passive and active ways of spending one's leisure time, the inter-relations between those two different attitudes. Our long-term in Kohtal-Järve-an industrial oil-shale mining centre in the North-East of Estonia. The population is 100,000. Two thirds of people are migrants. Kohtle-Järve represents the whole demographic situation in North Estonian industrial regions. The basic investigation method was a questionnaire carried out at Kohtla-Järve schools. In 1977 577pupils and in 1987 650 pupils were subjected to it. Their age ranged from 14 to 18. 36.5% were boys, 67.3% of pupils being from Russian schools.

The aim of the questionnaire was to find out 17 the role of sports activities in the way of life and leisure time activities of young people, 2) the significance of health and physical fitness on the value orientation scale of young people and 3) the factors which help to build up attitudes towares sports activities.

The pupils were offered 16 different forms of activity and were aske to evaluate the with to participate in these activities on seven-point scale. Thus figure "1" would mean-I don't want to participate-and figure "7"-I'd like to participate in it very much.

The results are given on Table 1. Our pupils profer to spend their free time together with friends. Playing games (volleyball, football, badminton) is quite popular. More passive activities such as TV-watching, reading etc. are equally popular active creative activities -such as amateur acting, handicraft etc.-are less popular.

As comepered to the previous investigation carried out 10 years ago training classes at special sports schools have become less popular. Youngstars prefer play-like activities with friends to regular organized training.

To analyse the investigation data we grouped the leisure time activities into 4 main orientation groups (see Table 2). As it can be seen the enter-taining passive leisure time activities are prevailing. Youngsters who prefer this group of leisure time activities are not interested in doing sports either at school, sports schools or in the company of friends.

The hobby-orientated young people are also physically little active and are not interested in sports activities, for hobbies may take up a lot of time.

[Table 1] Evaluation of Different Leisure Time Activities

the average index on 7-point scale

1.	Having fun with friends	5.9
2.	Playing volleyball, basketball, football, badminton etc. with friends	5.6
3.-4.	TV watching, listening to music and to the radio	5.5
3.-4.	Reading books and magazines	5.5
5.	Cinema-going	5.3
6.	Theatre (concert) visiting	5.1
7.	Dancing	4.6
8.	Doing sports at sport clubs	4.5
9.	Jogging in the park (stadium)	4.3
10.	Organizing school or out-of-school activities	3.8
11.	Attending technology, photo or handicraft clubs	3.6
12.-13.	Visiting art exhibitions	3.5
12.-13.	Watching hockey, football etc. matches at the stadium	3.5
14.	Amateur art activities	3.4
15.	No special activities, simply having a rest	3.3
16.	Attending music or art classes	3.0

[**Table 2**] The Results of Grouping Leisure Time Activities

	index	differential index
I Passive way of life-cinema, TV, radio, friends, resting	19.9	54.8
II Practicing different hobbies-technology, dancing, photography, reading, organizing	18.2	51.5
III Doing sports-games, jogging, training at sport clubs	17.9	50.9
IV Taking interest in arts-amateur art activities, theatre, music and art schools	15.1	45.6

The art-orienteted young people do not deny doing sports. They are physically inactive not because of lack of interest but because they canot find possibilities to go in for their favorite sports. It is possible to carry along this group with sports connecting different sides of art with sports activities.

Table 3 presents our pupils' value orientation and the change in it during 10 years. The pupils were asked to evaluate 11 aims (values) in life. They ranged them from "1"-the most importand-to "11" the least important. The list of aims (values) was made up using the method of M. Rokeach.

[**Table 3**] The Change in Pupils' Value Orientation During the 1977-1987 Year Period

Figures in brackets indicate the results of investigation in 1977

Place	Different values	The average evaluation
1. (1.)	Health (physical fitness)	3.1 (3.4)
2. (4.)	Family (caring for close relatives)	3.6 (5.0)
3.-4. (7.)	Communication (friends, pleasant company)	5.3 (6.0)
3.-4. (3.)	Active life (exciting, full of emotions)	5.3 (4.7)
5. (2.)	Studies (work)	5.7 (4.1)
6. (6.)	Self-confidence, faith in one's abilities	5.9 (5.8)
7.-8. (5.)	Self-improvement	6.5 (5.5)
7.-8. (9.)	Secure financial position (material welfare)	6.5 (7.5)
9. (8.)	Social recognition	6.9 (6.1)
10. (10.)	Merry life (entertainment)	7.2 (8.0)
11. (11.)	Attraction tot he opposite sex	9.2 (9.3)

Table 3 shows considerable changes in pupils' value orientation during 10 years. Coimmunication with friends has become more important. (It was placed 7th in 1977 and 3rd-4th places ten years later). Family relations also became more important (from 4th place to 2nd). Active emotional life was highly evaluated both in 1977 and 1987.

As to the negative tendencies, the significance of such values as learning and self-improvement has declined. Learning was placed second and self-improvement 5th in 1977. Ten years later the same values were rated much lower- the 5th and 7th-8th places respectively. This change reflects the continuing decline of the prestige of education and self-improvement in our society. Our schools fail to provoke interest in learning and knowledge. Our society does not evaluate education (university graduates may earn less than unskilled workers).

Both in 1977 and 1987 health and physical fitness were very highly evaluated and placed first. 71.2% of pupils think that sports activities and good health are closely connected. 41.2% of pupils appraciate sports as a means of improving their physical abilities. 41.1%think that sports strengthens their character and will power. Correlation analysis shows that this is true. The pupils devoted to sports are healthier, more successful in studies and participate more actively in social life.

We also studied the real intensity of our pupils' sporting activity. We tried to find out why some children declaring high interest in sports do not realize this interest in everyday life-that is do not go in for sports.

[**Table 4**] How Often do You go in for Sports in Summer?

	less than once a week	once a week	2-3 times a week	4 and more times a week
Boys	14.2	12.5	37.1	36.2
Girls	24.9	15.4	28.5	31.2
In All	21.2	14.4	31.6	32.9

Organizational Form of Sports Activity

At special sports schools	At sports sections working at schools	Independently with friends	Together with parents, brothers, sisters	Individually alone
13.4	12.0	39.5	4.2	30.9

A certain rise of the sporting activity of our young people can be detected during the ten-year period from 1977 to 1987. In addition to attending regular sports classes which take place twice a week 40 miuntes each more than half of our pupils go in for sports at least twice a week (Table 4).

Boys participate more actively in sports activities than girls. In senior classes sports interest undergoes a certain decline. For girls the critical age of losing sports interest is 13-14-with boys the tendency is not so considerable and starts some years later, at the age of 15-16. What are the reasons for this? Our sports activities are orientated on preparing top-class sportsmen. The children who are less talented are rejected. The youngsters who would like to exercise for the sake of good health and simply for fun cannot find training facilities or instructors. The more energetic children (especially boys) find a group of companions to spend their leisure time together. Sometimes they play ballgames and do sports together. Unfortunatelly, they often become engaged in undesirable activities such as smoking, drinking, even delinquency. More passive youngsters often lose interest in sports and forget sports activities for the rest of their lives.

To sum the whole thing up I'd like to point out the most important, the vital problem which concerns every side-social, educational, medical and organizational-of sports activity of young people. The problem is how to guarantee that each child, no matter what his age, sex, talent and development, could participate in sports games, motion, feasible physical exercises and sports. It is the duty of adults to help each child find his place in sports activities. It is our duty to bring up young people who are healthy and physically fit.

Sports Activities

This term includes sport in all its various forms (elite sports, mass sports, junior sports, competitive sports & sporting events, exercise for "physical welfare"-recreational activitis, sport for all etc.)

But based on the nature of children's and youth's leisure interests, it is possible to classify them into three general types of voluntary leisure time activities (after school hours): 1. play-like activities; 2. recreational activitis (outdoor); 3. sports

It is proposal that these general types of physcial activity may be characterized according to the following dimensions:

1. regularity of participation in the activity
2. level of physical effort (freguency and intensity of the activity)

3. achievement setting (health improvement, recreation, achievement of higher results)
4. physical setting (in the street, sportfacilities, recreational areas etc.)
5. degree of organization setting (e.g. membership in sports organizations- clubs, sports schools, YMCA etc. or unorganized)
6. aim (purpose) of engagement in sports activitis.

Closing Remarks (1)

Ira M. Schwartz*

I feel very horored to preside this discussion which has good implacation of the future of KIYC. I want to make a few brief remarks. First, I thank KIYC for invitation us from foreign countries. On behalf of my colleagues, I appreciate your treatment of us with hospitality and sprit of welcome. Next, I have learn a lot more than I could give you through my presentation. Certainly I can go back to my home country with many ideas of my colleagues I met here. Lastly, I hope we will have a chance to see each other again at meeting like this. I met here three Korean staff of KIYC who had graduated university in State of Ohio. I hope in the future you consider sending your colleagues to University of Michigan, a good research istitution. Again, thank you for inviting me. We can start with Dr. Gomez's remarks.

* Professor and Director for the Study of Youth Policy, University of Michigan, U.S.A.

Closing Remarks (2)

Raja G. Gomez*

It is realy a pleasure to be involved in this symposium. When I accepted the invitation, I did not realize that it is the first annivesary of estabishment of KIYC. I think it is a privilege for all of us to participate in this international conference. I feel grateful for it. I organized many training courses, symposium, and so on, but at the end people always said that it should be two or three days longer. Now, I want to say the same. Actually we are trying to cover large area. However we did reasonably well. We must accept that no meeting can cover the the whole area. For the two day period, we did not wast any time to deal with different presentations and exchange theoretical arguements. Certainly for me, meeting people from countries other than Commonwealth is great opportunity and thank all of you for sharing your knowledge and ideas with me. I hope I can keep in touch with you through UNESCO and KIYC. Again thank you who helped me to learn through this experience, particularly KIYC for its hospitality from the moment I arrived at the air port. I wish KIYC and Korean people, men and women, young and old, most successful life in the future.

Thank you very much.

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