POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE ON THE NAVY IN THE 1970'S

VOLUME 4 PART III

Section 5 SOCIAL & CULTURAL
Section 6 ORGANIZATIONAL

WESTINGHOUSE
DEFENSE & ELECTRONIC
SYSTEMS CENTER

1 August 1972
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PART III
Section 5
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

GENERAL

1. Following the Philosophical, International, Technological, and Bio-Medical
   crenas of future change, it is appropriate to turn to the Social and Cultural arena. The
   sub-sections into which this large Section are divided are General, Health, Urbanization
   and Housing, Education, Family and Marriage, Youth, Women, Minorities, Automation,
   Sex, and Sports.

2. We cannot of course, undertake to review numerous relevant concepts of
   sociology, psychology, and political science, such as cultural relativism, socialization,
   socio-economic status, value systems, value transmission, and hundreds of others. The
   scope of this study permits bare mention of only a few in passing, as we concentrate on
   predicted changes in these spheres.

3. It would be suitable, however, to begin with working definitions of "society"
   and "culture" as used in this study.

   Society. 1. A group of people with a common and at least somewhat
   distinct culture who occupy a particular territorial area, have a feeling of unity, and
   regard themselves as a distinguishable entity. Like all groups, a society has a structure
   of interrelated roles with proper role behavior prescribed by social norms. However, a
   society is a special type of group with a comprehensive social system that includes all of
   the basic social institutions required to meet basic human needs. It is independent, not in
   the sense that it is necessarily completely economically self-sufficient, but in that it includes
   all of the organizational forms necessary for its own survival. In addition, a society has the
   means to survive for a long period of time, and recruits its members at least in part by
   biological reproduction within the group itself.

   2. As defined by the early human ecologists, such as Robert E. Park, a level of
   human organization based on communication and culture and regarded as superimposed on and
   distinguished from a lower, subsocial level of organization that was referred to as community..." (BB224)

4. Culture. 1. The way of life of a social group, the group's total man-made
   environment, including all the material and nonmaterial products of group life that are trans-
   mitted from one generation to the next. The classic definition of culture, which most socio-
   logical definitions have followed, was stated by Edward B. Taylor: 'That complex whole which
   includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits
   acquired by man as a member of society.' After surveying current definitions of culture,
   Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn concluded that the consensus of most social scientists
   is that 'culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired
and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values.  

It should be noted that some sociologists exclude material objects (artifacts) from their definition of culture. They include technical knowledge about the artifacts, but not the artifacts themselves.

Other sociologists have suggested combining the concepts culture and society on the grounds that all human phenomena are truly sociocultural. However, most prefer to maintain an analytical distinction between culture and society, despite the difficulty, at times, of keeping the terms separate. (BB224)

5. We make an early point, via Pitirim Sorokin:

Any organized social group is always a stratified social body. There has not been and does not exist any permanent social group which is 'flat', and in which all members are equal. Unstratified society, with a real equality of its members, is a myth which has never been realized in the history of mankind. (BB366)

6. Warner also contributes several relevant points:

Statuses function to order and coordinate the multiple activities involved in the control of each environment. They assign tasks and socially locate activities; they include and exclude the members of the society while placing them in a social universe. The statuses directly involved in the several adaptive activities, as integral power and prestige according to the members of the society who feel their beneficial or harmful effects. Those with a high degree of adaptive control are likely to have high ranking; those believed to exercise low control are often given lower ranking. (BB366)

7. ... as the division of labor increases and the social units become more numerous and diverse, the need for co-ordination and integration also increases and when satisfied, enables the larger group to survive and develop. (BB366)

8. It cannot be denied that economic and technological factors are important in the determination of class and status orders. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that the social system, with its beliefs, values, and rules, which governs human behavior may well determine what kind of technology and what kind of economic institutions will
survive or thrive in any given tribe or nation. In any case, social complexity is necessary for economic advancement. Furthermore, social complexity is a basic factor determining the presence or absence of class. (BB366)

9. Social class in the United States is a major determinant of individual decisions and social actions; every major area of American life is directly and indirectly influenced by our class order; the major decisions of most individuals are partly controlled by it. (BB366)

10. To belong to a particular level in the social-class system of America means that a family or individual has gained acceptance as an equal by those who belong in the class. The behavior in this class and the participation of those in it must be rated by the rest of the community as being as a particular place in the social scale.

The mere possession of money is insufficient for gaining and keeping a higher social position. There must be social acceptance. (BB366)

11. Warner's method of measuring social class and the class position of an individual involves, first, Evaluated Participation, which is posed on the propositions that those who interact in the social system of a community evaluate the participation of those around them, that the place where an individual participates is evaluated, and that the members of the community are explicitly or implicitly aware of the ranking and translate their evaluations of such social participation into social-class ratings that can be communicated. (BB366)

Potential Impact

There seems no likelihood that social complexity will decrease in America. In view of the fact that social complexity is already present, and that technological and economic complexity is almost certain to increase, it seems likely that social complexity will also increase—not only in American society as a whole, but also in major social institutions, including the military establishment.

Potential Impact

Social class has affected the armed forces as it has affected all American social institutions, despite the generally muted role of class in American society, and in the normal omission of class whenever values are articulated. Within the military environment, however, the impact of class has been less obtrusive than in most other American social institutions; for, as Macke observes, the armed forces are largely (though not perfectly)
12. The second element of Warner's measurements involves an Index of Status Characteristics, comprising such factors as occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area. (BB366) Successful in maintaining an egalitarian and meritocratic institution. Nevertheless, so long as any stratification exists in society, some aspects of class will probably persist, perhaps in more subtly disguised ways. Various forms of elites are predicted for the future (scientists, computer programmers, intellectuals, etc.); if such elites materialize or continue, the factor of class may not disappear.

13. Warner sees social mobility as declining for workers. Mobility for workers is becoming more difficult; this means, for the United States generally, that the American Dream is becoming less real. Studies of the personalities of workers and managers demonstrate that the effects of social class and mobility drives are clearly discernible and demonstrably a part of the personality of individuals. (BB366)

14. Class is vitally significant in marriage and training children as well as in most social activities of a community. Status plays a decisive role in the formation of personality at the various stages of development, for if young people are to learn to live adaptively as mature people in our society they must be trained by the informal controls of our society to fit into their places. (BB366)

15. Education is now competing with economic mobility as the principal route to success. The educational conveyor belt drops lower-class children at the beginning and bottom of the educational route and carries those from the higher classes a longer distance, nearly all the upper-class children going to the end of the line. (BB336)

16. In a Delphi survey conducted by Rescher, it was concluded that social re-stratification in an affluent society will have some effect, with an increased emphasis on economic security, wealth, success, power, equality and civil rights, and social justice. (BB16)

17. It may be wondered that, in an introductory section concerned with the prediction of future cultural and social change, we have devoted a substantial part of our limited coverage to the subject of class — and to aspects of class which some would prefer to believe do not exist in American society. In response, we stress the comprehensive range of social change predicted in the rest of this long Section. Very little is related to class. Much appears to postulate almost total absence of structure of any kind in American society,
or that the future will see the dissolution of structure. It is not with any intention of ex-
tolling the factor of class, but simply with providing some rather firm description of some 
structure in American society as a kind of baseline from which to move on into predictions 
relative to the whole complex of American society.

18. Another criterion for social division
is age. One group that may not be as extensively 
discussed in the following sections as others is the 
aging. It should be noted that in general, in 
America today, people are retiring earlier; they 
are living longer, but having fewer children.

One result is that the population is growing older. 
There are 20 million people over 65, 10% of the 
total population and 17% of the voting population. 
One quarter live at the poverty level. Retirement 
programs are important to industry. Many workers 
seek vesting, or portability of pension rights when 
moving from company to company, or to or from 
government. Many older groups want special re-
ductions in travel, transport taxes, etc. Reduc-
tions would shift the tax load to the active popu-
lation. At the same time the aging resent tailored 
ads, "for the old folks." Retirement and its 
meaning is changing. (BP138)

19. G. Hardin suggests that the 21st Century may see a deliberate limiting of the 
technology we have developed and be the century of the Great No. David Stills calls for 
a Council of Social Advisors (counterpart of the Council of Economic Advisors) to report on 
progress toward social values. The nature of these values would be established by the same 
vast research program that would develop the social indicators used to measure progress. 
The efficiency of national programs would be determined by methods adapted from cost/
benefit and input/output analysis. (BB363)
20. One set of speculations concerns the lower middle class in 2000, which will then be making $10,000 - $20,000 a year (1965 dollars):

They will enjoy a greatly reduced work week with some emphasis on leisure. While their necessities and basic luxuries would be obtainable without great effort, they might still wish to increase income by moonlighting or by the wife working. Some, of course would have little motivation for expending extra effort, and for them the problems of occupying leisure time would be a primary concern. Others would want to save money, pursue expensive hobbies, or emulate some aspect of the life patterns of the wealthy. Both groups would provide a tremendous market for all kinds of sports and fads and particularly for various forms of mass entertainment. The drive-in church, the "museum-o-rama," and comparable manifestations of pressures toward a general degradation and vulgarization of culture would be a likely result of the purchasing decisions of this group. At the same time these people might militate politically against civil rights and against the poor and the relatively poor nonworking classes that they must support, and they would likely provide the primary support for both conservative national policies and political jingoism. (38170)

21. A comparable set of speculations concerns the upper middle class in 2000; most of its members will have annual incomes of $20,000 - $60,000. They would be emulating the life-style of the landed gentry of the previous century, such as emphasizing...
education, travel, cultural values, and expensive residences. For some there would be much
effort to amass property and money for personal and family use. There would probably
be some emphasis on self-improvement including cultural dilettantism. While
among most members of this group we would expect a continuation of current well-to-do
suburban patterns, in many cases patterns of life might be increasingly self-indulgent,
marrages unstable, or children alienated from their parents. Interest may grow in
strange or exotic political ideologies. Effete attitudes might be combined with contempt
of the lower middle class and fear of the poor and of their propensity for violence. There
may also be some romanticization of the "noble savage" (or hippie) who lives outside
the values of the society, in voluntary poverty or in minor or even major criminality.
(BBI70)
HEALTH

1. The School Health Education agency has described health as a combination of three activities:
   1. Human well-being, with its mental, physical, and social aspects.
   2. Human behavior, with its cognitive, affective, and action domains.
   3. The focus of health on the individual, the family, and the community.

   (BB242)

2. Medical sciences have made incredible advances during the last 25 years, but public health statistics reveal no comparable impact on overall American death rate, life expectancy, or infant mortality.

   Two vast epidemics are current: venereal disease and heart disease.

   It is a cliche' to observe that problems of illness and poverty are closely related. (BN449)

3. The following is a profile of the status of American illnesses:

   Arteriosclerosis is the cause of 48% of all deaths (1968).
   Cancer for 1 in 6 deaths.
   Mental illness affects 1 in 10 people (20 million), with alcoholism and schizophrenia as the leading causes.
   Mental retardation affects 126,000 infants per year.
   Arthritis affects 17 million.
   Blindness affects 5,390,000; 1 in 10 is a hospital patient.
   Cerebral palsy afflicts 750,000 persons.
   Epilepsy afflicts 1-2 million in some form.
   Deafness afflicts 1 in 10 to some degree.
   Multiple sclerosis afflicts 250,000 (70% aged between 20 and 40)
   Muscular dystrophy afflicts 200,000 (nearly all between 3 to 13)
   Parkinsonism afflicts 1 to 1.5 million.

   These figures should be compared with 55,000 annual deaths from auto accidents. (BN449)
4. Drucker states that hospitals in 1930 had 3 employees for every 10 patients and a low investment per patient. In 1971, hospitals have up to 30 employees for every 10 patients, and investment is high. Yet, there has been little increase in productivity, as viewed in the percentage of patients who leave the hospital alive. (BPI03)

5. Acute communicable diseases still present problems in large cities, and will continue to do so until social changes bring about comprehensive health services for all. (BB242)

6. In reference to chronic illnesses, especially among older adults, it is improbable that all causes of heart conditions (coronary artery disease, high blood pressure and hypertensive heart disease) and the knowledge necessary for adequate control will be discovered in the next decade. (BB242)

7. A shift should occur in the care of the mentally ill from large state hospitals to community centers, and to homes.

   Many of the mental ills of older persons can be handled by general practitioners; such handling would help alleviate the shortage of professional personnel. (BB242)

8. The "social-breakdown syndrome" could well become the most common psychiatric diagnosis of the future. "The aim of medicine —

Potential Impact

The military services are usually well ahead of the rest of American society in the administration of preventive medicine. Nevertheless, medical advances in both prevention and treatment will doubtless improve the military systems appreciably. One impact may be greater availability and utilization of personnel who have been, or may still be, eliminated because of questionable physical status.
a social goal — is to keep individuals adjusted to their environment so they can be useful members of society or be readjusted when they have dropped out because of illness (BB242)

9. Occupational hazards and illnesses will receive particular attention in smaller businesses and industries. (BB242)

10. Space flight and prolonged submarine duty will add extra dimensions to future occupational health activities. (BB242)

11. It is said that there are six problem areas in environmental health:
   - Water resources
   - Air resources
   - Food and pharmaceutical resources
   - Ionizing radiation
   - Human settlements and residences
   - General sanitation (BB242)

12. Two particular environmental health problem areas:
   - Refuse: a single power plant burning coal or oil can deliver several hundred tons of sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere daily. Such plant pollution will double by 1980.
   - Water pollution: by 1980 sewers and waste pipes in the United States will discharge enough waste material (feed for bacteria)
to remove all the oxygen (so unfit for aquatic life) from a volume of water equal to the dry-weather flow of the entire country's 2% river basins. (BB242)

13. By the end of the 1970's, there will be a comprehensive medical and dental insurance program covering individuals of all ages and economic circumstances. (BM94)

14. The role of the health officer is changing from enforcer of laws to community health leader. (BB242)

15. The primary and secondary forms of prevention — prevention of occurrence (e.g., immunizations, health education), and prevention of progression (minimizing effects, e.g., mass screening for cancer, early treatment of teenage emotional disorders) — will be the tools of future health leaders. Not only correction, but also the broad concepts of prevention, will be emphasized. (BB242)

16. Organization and management of community health programs:

Geographical reorganization of health services is likely to be the key administrative change. Federal and state health agencies will remain the main source of funds, yet interstate and intrastate regions will become operating entities. Computers will be employed in large centers, with additional data equipment in smaller centers. (BB242, BB18)

Potential Impact

If a complete system of health care ever becomes available throughout American society, the separate medical systems of the military establishment may become absorbed within such a total structure, with special provisions for medical service at sea, in combat land areas, and in remote bases.

Potential Impact

The automation of Navy medical records is likely to keep pace with such developments in civilian society, and may pioneer such methods. It may become anachronistic to charge each individual upon transfer, for example, to carry his medical records with him, or to "send for his records." Instead, each instance of treatment may be entered in central data banks, as readily available of access at his new base as at the old.
17. By 1980 the United States will have a complex of inter-connected hospital-based information systems containing complete medical records for an increasingly large number of patients. Among other advantages, these data will permit the establishment of the "normal" health of the population. (BB242)

18. Clinical work can be done by computer in hospitals. The accuracy of hospital patient therapy will increase. Automation of medical testing and the use of computers to screen out those individual records which should have the attention of a physician will make possible a preventive medical program for the entire American population. (BB242)

Potential Impact
Numerous applications of automation and computers have been predicted, such as in diagnosis. Some of these appear in other Sections.
URBANIZATION AND HOUSING

1. The mere increase in the number of people on our planet, if they were evenly distributed over the land areas, would not in itself produce a powerful force for change. But when people are concentrated in a small space, the force for cultural, social and technological change increases, in much the same way that, if gases are pumped into a container, the number of collisions between the atoms and molecules in the gas will tend to rise. Seen this way, the city is an instrument for accelerating change. It creates an environment in which dense concentrations of people of varying backgrounds can come into contact every day. The product of these contacts is accelerated cultural and social change. (BM43,97)

2. One aspect that immediately rises in concern is the effect on people of being compressed. One study shows that men and women respond differently to being crowded. Men become more competitive and more severe, and like each other less. Women became less competitive and less severe and liked each other more. In mixed sex groups, such effects disappeared. (BN307)

3. What can we say now about the effects of crowding on humans?

- There is little evidence that high population density per se produces dramatic effects (positive or negative). Those who predict great loss of efficiency or total breakdown of productive activity as population density grows are almost certainly wrong; Manhattan does continue to function.
Potential Impact

There are probably some unique aspects to being compressed on ships, as well as aspects common to compression anywhere. Some studies have indicated rising hostility among persons crowded beyond certain levels. As housing experiences change for large segments of the population in the future, reactions to different forms of crowding may also change, and may need continuing study.

- The effect of density is not simple—it probably depends on many other factors in the situation.

It is fine to be crowded at a cocktail party with friends, but unpleasant to be crowded in a doctor's office with strangers.

The main point at this early stage is for everyone to keep an open mind. Accept neither the doomsday notion that crowding is inevitably evil, nor the easy assurances that crowding is of no importance. For the moment, since the evidence does not support the former idea and actually suggests that crowding may not always be so bad, let us take a more optimistic view of our urban problems. Let us concentrate on solving the economic and logistic problems rather than writing off the cities. (BN307)

Rural Migration

4. The migration of agricultural population to cities has amounted to 28 million between 1920 and 1960, and is continuing.
Population Proportion Employed
in Agriculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 (predicted)</td>
<td>less than 4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. One reason for the decay of country towns and cities in the United States is the phenomenal growth of the nation's major metropolises, which are acting as population magnets on an enormous scale. Another is that rural cities are becoming less and less centers for the agricultural communities that surround them, with the result that their main economic base is decaying. (BB16)

Concentration in Cities

6. In 1969, 70% of the American population lived and worked in cities. Within 25 years the proportion can be expected to be over 90%. Cities of the United States are gaining new population at the rate of 100,000 people per week.

At present about 140 million Americans out of a total of 200 million are classed as urban dwellers. By 2000, at least 280 million of 340 million are expected to be so classed. (BP416)

Potential Impact

While these forecasts differ somewhat among themselves, they appear unanimous in that the overwhelmingly majority of Americans are going to be living in cities. This movement will have significance for personnel analysts of the Navy. Certain characteristics, attitudes, and values have been identified among persons who grew up on farms and in small towns, which differ from those who grew up in big cities. To the extent that such differences prove significant, training and other procedures and facilities will probably have to be revised to fit the preponderance of urban-bred youth. The characteristics of rural and farm youth will seem even more exceptional in the future. There will probably emerge needs for more detailed analysis of different kinds of urban experience.
7. By 1980, between 75 and 80 percent of our population may live in urban territory, which would place almost as many persons in urban territory in 1980 as there are in the entire United States today. (BB242)

The shift, still in progress, of the Navy's manpower base from a predominantly rural/small town background to a mostly urban one will have both positive and negative effects—positive, in that urban youths will be more accustomed to change, technology, and intense pressure than those from rural backgrounds; negative, in that those same qualities will tend to make them less amenable to discipline and military socialization.

8. Projections to 1980 for all metropolitan areas of the United States, based upon a continuation of past trends, show an increase of about 45 million in the metropolitan population between 1965 and 1980 on the "same class" basis. Such an increase would represent a number equal to about 95 percent of the projected increase of 47.3 million in total population, and would result in more than 70 percent of the population being in metropolitan areas in 1980. (BB242)

9. The pace of metropolitanization is projected to be greater in the Mountain States than in the United States as a whole. Even so, the proportion of the population which is metropolitan will be less than 61 percent—as against about 70 percent—for the total United States in 1980. And, past developments elsewhere in the United States may well serve as guides and warnings of the future in the Mountain States. (BB242)

10. By 1980 if the population trend to metropolitan areas continues, as many cities will need to be built as were created in the first 200 years of America. Growth is actually occurring at the fringes, while the center city is losing population. (BB242)
11. The United States will have 272 planned new communities by 2000. (BM94)

12. The United States in the year 2000 will probably see at least three gargantuan megalopolises. These megalopolises will all be maritime. While all three will be recognizably American in culture, they will most likely be quite distinguishable sub-cultures. They will contain 1/8 (40 million) of the population. Although between 80 and 90% of the developed world’s population will be urbanized by the end of the century, most people will still live in more traditional urban areas. Suburbia, then as now, will be a special kind of low-density urban living, quite different from rural patterns. (BP416)

13. The problems of the coming megalopolises (NY-Washington region; Chicago-Detroit area; California-West Coast region) include:
   - need for high speed rapid transit
   - growing slums
   - low-income groups without skills or education
   - civil rights tension
   - effective access to education and jobs blocked
   - huge minorities within sub-cities (BB242)

14. Urbanization and population density will increase. Megalopolises in the United States will grow as a result of increased urbanization. Cities will still be centers of producing national wealth and centers of social ills. Thus, though population will increase by 65% up the year 2000, the urban population will be 85% of the national total. There will be tremendous problems of communications, transportation, housing, social services, pollution, and integration.

   Metropolitan government structures will become increasingly obsolete.
   Financial problems of cities will become more difficult.
   The middle class may abandon the city. (BM34)
15. There will be minority control over an increasing number of cities (Moynihan, 1970; Banfield, 1970). The race problem will still be present in 2000, intertwined with the whole urban problem. It is the social structure of the city, and not the act of moving into the city, that affects the black family adversely. The affluent gap helps inner cities to become more segregated. There will be increased metropolitan dependence on state and federal levels. (BM34)

16. Black domination of the major American cities will increase. (BM43,95)

17. Migration from the South due to agricultural lay-off and racial pressures has more than doubled the Negro population of the North since 1940. In 1960, the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas accounted for 24% of the black population in the United States. 10.3 million non-whites (more than 1/2 the total) live in central cities in 1960, a gain of 63% in a decade. (BB16)

Potential Impact

Appropriately, the ethnic minority problem will become more intimately intertwined with the urban problem, requiring more sophisticated analysis of manpower and personnel aspects, in relation to Navy manpower requirements and personnel utilization.

Potential Impact

The future predominance of urbanization will affect Navy leadership as well as manpower. The officer corps, including the senior officers, are likely to come from urban backgrounds themselves.
Riesman still gives high marks to urban living:

Herbert J. Gans, who has been participant-observer in Park Forest, Illinois; in the West End of Boston (now undergoing redevelopment); and in Levittown, New Jersey,...observes that the attack launched against the suburbs by urban-bred intellectuals is often a disguised attack on the values of the non-intellectual world, particularly those of the lower-middle class—values more visible in the new suburbs than in the crowded tenements of the city. And Gans contends that people like myself should not project large esthetic and political judgments onto people in the first stages of emancipation from poverty and crowding, people who are often feeling for the first time that they have a real stake in society.

I would be less uneasy about Gan’s qualified and discriminating relativism if I could feel more confident about the prospects of American life as a whole. The suburbs represent both a liberation and a scattering of human energies and potentialities. And I believe that in a long life, inevitably beset by loneliness and loss, the densities and facilities of the city provide higher horizons and greater opportunities. (BB286)

Potential Impact

This differentiation of suburbia as the larger-included element within overwhelming urbanization, cites one among several elements likely to emerge from more sophisticated analysis of a range of differing urban experiences.
20. People move to the city from the country to change their way of life. They may, if successful, eventually move to the suburbs, hoping to preserve their new way of life. The suburb is thus an instrument designed to slow the rate of cultural change, by grouping people of the same economic status, race, educational background and nationality together. To some extent they are successful, but the suburbs are still within the field of force emanating from the city and the product of that force is change.

It is impossible that today's suburbs are the prototypes of the cities of tomorrow, for— with television—physical density and biological confrontation are no longer needed to bring about the interaction of different minds that is the accelerator of social change. The form of the city of the future, our immediate future, may be an electronic system rather than an architectural facade. (BM43, 95)

21. Suburbs have been growing more rapidly than central cities because of the impact of 20th century technology and the relatively fixed boundaries of central cities. While technology was developing, the boundaries of central cities remained relatively fixed despite annexations. On the average, the central city in the United States has been filled since the 1920's. Since central cities became filled within their relatively fixed boundaries, continued growth could take place only in suburbia, beyond the borders of the city. (BB242)

22. Our suburbia of ranch houses on one-acre lots where so many, in distinct income brackets, enjoy being half in, half out of the city, may be indicative of the transition from rural to urban. Certainly the tangled urban and county tax and legal structures of this country reflect suburbia's proximity to rural institutions. (BB16)

23. New methods of financing will become necessary for local governments to advance a variety of programs for dealing with critical urban problems. (BM94)
24. City governments may reorganize to improve city services substantially. At the same time, feedback mechanisms may be devised to ascertain citizen attitudes toward city services and their availability. This trend will become quite strong by 1975. (BM94)

25. Concentrations of population will increase problems of waste disposal. (BM94, BB16)

26. New forms of automotive transportation will be required for city travel.

27. Disorder and disequilibrium will increase due to urbanization.

Other trends affecting the city may be found in:

- Law Enforcement
- Control of the Environment
- Education (BM94)

28. Massive support for correcting problems related to city size will result in converting city cores into stable residential areas. The trend will begin to increase in strength around 1980.

29. The small municipality (within urban areas) may wither away as regional or metropolitan government takes on an increasing number of responsibilities. This trend will become quite strong around 1980. Elementary education in large urban areas will be decentralized. The development of new problem-directed orientation for the social sciences, with laboratories in the real world, will cause higher education to be involved with urban problems in a more relevant and effective manner. (BM94)

30. One projection of the continued urbanization: the grouping of population centers will ease conversion to a credit-card economy, in which computers keep track of transactions. (BB16)
31. Overcrowding can cause abnormal behavior patterns. However, proper design of the new vertically-oriented city should minimize apparent crowding. (BB16)

32. Central air-conditioning systems will make it simple to filter or add aerosols to the air for inconspicuous immunization and decontamination. (BB16)

33. Housing and zoning will continue to be key issues.

34. There will be a vast market in 1980 for low-priced houses. Renting of housing should increase, and municipal regulations should be modified to subsidize low-priced homes. (BB242)

35. The high cost of housing will result in greater use of mobile homes as permanent residences. (BM94)

36. For every residence which exists today, we shall have to build at least one other by 2000. Prefabricated, multi-family units will be the rule. Household appliances will make "home-making a breeze." Entertainment units will expand to 3-D color projection.

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Potential Impact

Changes in patterns of housing in the society as a whole may influence changes in Navy housing on bases, not only following general trends in style and materials, but also in response to tastes of Navy personnel who occupy housing.

Potential Impact

Several manifestations of social change (e.g., unwillingness to have one's private life circumscribed by occupational considerations) may result in a decline of those desiring to live on base and an increase in the number of Navy personnel living among the civilian community. This could lead to a declining demand for base housing and a further decrease in Service identification as different
video-recorder systems, etc.—all subject to individual control. (BB195)

37. One trend that will affect urbanization and housing is the gradual rise in the median age of the American population.

38. Gordon and Helmer oriented a Delphi panel to consideration of implications related, in this instance, to large-scale biochemical general immunization against bacterial and viral diseases. The panel noted the probable consequent rise in the median age and suggested these possibilities:

   The shift of the population median age may be accompanied by a trend toward greater urbanization, or toward specialized communities.

   The death rate would decrease, resulting in a shift of the age center of gravity toward old age.

   Perhaps immunization would be rejected by a significant portion of the world's population on religious grounds.

   New types of housing for the aged are emerging (especially in the Mountain States), such as whole new communities which provide health and recreation services and smaller housing units for those with diminishing physical from an ordinary civilian occupation.

The Navy will want to study this question carefully before assuming it is either a positive or a negative development—some consequences, such as increased interaction among Navy members and civilians, need not be negative.

Potential Impact

Substantial increases in military retired personnel may generate more requests for Navy support of housing for widows and other retired, similar to the Navy's Vinson Hall and the Army's Vistaff Hall. A number of other types of support for the ex-Service aging may be devised.
ability, with particular benefits of low taxes and no school costs.

The panel suggested these as disadvantages: extraordinarily high levels of health care need to be provided; better balanced distribution of housing is needed; and the aged poor still need facilities. (BB242)

39. The spatial patterning of the physical residential plant of our metropolitan areas, with its correlative socioeconomic stratification of the population, is likely to be drastically modified. It is possible that, while the obsolescent inner areas are replaced or renovated, decay will occur in the suburban rings. With increased intervention and urban-renewal programs, it is likely that the physical and socioeconomic character of a community in the future will depend less upon the historical accident of its origin and more upon the will of organized population groups as manifest in their planning and development activities. (BB242)

40. Almost every country in the world except the United States has a systematic program for the planning and construction of new satellite cities. These are among the aspects of metropolitan development which have to be faced in such planning:

1. Acceptance of growth and change (perhaps an Urban Extension Service to introduce the public to ideas).
2. Need for metropolitan government
4. The maintenance of amenity in the urban environment.
5. Maintenance and cultivation of diversity. (BB242)

41. Scattered and unplanned non-contiguous growth has destroyed the open character of 4 to 10 times the amount of land actually needed for urban use.

In Britain and Scandinavia, the fringes of metropolitan areas are controlled to preserve the rural, farming, and science areas until they are needed for contiguous urban growth. (BB242)
42. City planners consider cities with a population of 250-500,000 to be ideal. (BB242)

43. With the advent of the megalopolis, the concept of the discrete city will become an anachronism. (BM94)

44. Largely due to the effects of communications, the end of the boundary-walled city is foreseen. With increased communication circuits, there will be less need for people to communicate; tall office buildings may be less required. Distances between urban and suburban existence are blurred. Eventually, communications may substitute for transportation. With full effect of communications, the uniqueness would diminish much that the city now offers (e.g., easy access to concentrated facilities). The city may become more poverty-ridden that it now is. (BM9)

45. Pickard considers the "city" obsolete as an administrative unit. He suggests superseding cities with layer-webs of cities, or wider urbanization. Various specialists have recommended regionalization, including (1967) Pickard and Harrison Brown.

Pickard's report to the Federal Commission on Population Growth and the American Future (1969) included the prediction that in the year 2000, 80% of the population will live in some 28 regions that will each have more than one million people.

Pickard predicts changes in the growth pattern and form of cities, superseding the old forms with one principal center. New cities will grow with open, mobile forms with many centers and flexible patterns. These centers will be inter-linked through special means of transportation and communications, but not necessarily by rigid physical proximity.

This form of urban concentration should prove superior because it will be more efficient, while being more amenable to change, not restricted by old city-cores that are difficult to change. (B316)
46. The federal government will develop and implement a national policy to deal with urban growth, including a strong "new town" policy. (BM94)

47. Real community centers—with life-long education campuses, medical and health facilities, recreation centers, utility services, and underground wiring—will help create the amenity of a region. (BB242)

48. The institution of the communiversity is a possibility; its job would be to help the whole community in which it is situated to pull itself up, and to help the aged and unemployed to find exciting things to do. The strength of the trend should begin to increase around 1980. (BM94)

49. By 1980, when 75% of the United States population will be living in urban areas, urban data centers will be common for such subjects as land use, housing conditions, housing occupancy, school requirements and facilities, and business district operations. The feasibility of such an information system has been proved by the Metropolitan Data Center Project of the Urban Renewal Administration. (BB242)

50. Webber presents the theory that the collecting and disbursing of information, especially in urban areas, that is done mainly by social scientists, is not a neutral function, but a political one. He suggests that the man who pursues a career in urban information science becomes a policy shaper if not a policy maker, a producer of new facts, an identifier and evaluator of potential action courses, and a prophet of the future, as well as a planner. (BB233)
EDUCATION

1. If we were forced to suggest one other field of human endeavor to be placed on the same plane of responsibility as technology as generators of change, we would designate education. As the proportions of populations gaining access to knowledge have exploded from tiny coteries of scholars to majorities of whole national citizenries, some of the most formidable obstacles to human progress, to the attainment of social justice, have been, or are being, eliminated. Those obstacles included ignorance, myth, superstition, misunderstanding, incommunicability, inarticulateness, socioeconomic discrimination, racial and cultural bias, and many others.

2. Any analysis of the American education system must keep in mind a fundamental factor: its size. The state of California alone maintains an educational plant larger than that of any foreign country except the USSR. (BB242)

3. So rapid and so sweeping is the spread of education that it should come as no particular surprise that the field of education, as the following pages will confirm, is in a state of flux, confusion, and uncertainty. Nevertheless, while detailed predictions may be divergent, even contradictory, some main trends can be discerned with clarity.

4. For example, as they looked back over the past decade, college and university president designated increased faculty and student control over institutional affairs as the most important campus change in the last decade. Half of the institutions surveyed said the proportion of students completing undergraduate degrees was rising; 73% said the proportion of graduating students planning to continue their education was rising.

5. Some 40% indicated that there was growth in the proportion of married, transfer, and out-of-state students over the last 10 years. About 42%
noted an increase in the proportion of tenured faculty; and 25% noted a decline in age at time of receiving tenure. (BN479)

Educational Statistics

6. As would be expected, more college students today come from families in which the breadwinner did not get beyond high school. 61% of those who enrolled in college came from families whose head, at most, completed high school. Only 24% of college students come from families whose head finished college.

Potential Impact

74% of black college students come from homes where the family head did not go to college; 54% of black students come from families where a high school education was not completed by the breadwinner.

Of families with incomes under $3,000 in 1970 and a college-age child, about 14% had one or more members enrolled full-time in college.

Of families with incomes under $10,000, 31% of the white families have children enrolled in college, contrasted with 16% of black families.

In the income category of "$10,000 or more," 53% of the white families and 37% of the black families have children in college. (BN597)

7. The trend from 1960 to 1970 was for young Americans to stay in school longer.
In 1970, 48% of 18 and 19-year olds were enrolled, as compared with 38% in 1960.

The proportion of persons 20-24 years old enrolled in school increased from 13% in 1960 to 22% in 1970.

Of the 38.3 million persons 14 to 24 years old in the civilian non-institutional population in October 1970:

- 16% were enrolled in college
- 40% were below college level
- 67% left school after completing 1-3 years of college
- 23% left school after completing high school
- 12% dropped out of high school

- The total number of college students in October 1970:
  - 7.4 million, of which 522,000 (7%) were Negroes (a 123% increase between 1964 and 1970).
- Overall, students enrolled in college were receiving a considerably higher education than their parents.

- The likelihood of college attendance is still directly related to family income. In October 1970, among families which had members of college age (18-21 years) and which had family income of $15,000 or over, 62% had a member who was a full-time student. Only 14% of families of $3,000 or under had an equivalent-aged youth in college. (BG63)

8. Among persons 25-29 years old, 80% of white and 61% of blacks and other races were at least high-school graduates in 1971, as compared with 64% in 1960.

High school graduates were more likely to have gone on to college in 1971 than in 1960. (BG63)

9. According to findings by the American Council on Education, 58.5% of the students at 4-year colleges and universities received their degrees on time, or were still enrolled when their class graduated, and 40.5% of the students at 2-year colleges.
The ACE study found that the students most likely to complete college tended to be those who had good grades in high school and on college-entrance tests, did not hold jobs or live at home while they attended college, had good study habits as shown by turning in their work on time, and did not smoke cigarettes.

10. As noted, the number of black enrolled in colleges increased by 23% from 1964 to 1970.

- In the post-college age group of 25-29, 60% of Negro and other races now have 4 years of high school compared with 38% in 1960.
- The gap between races was narrowed; the larger educational gap is that between generations:
  - of white students enrolled in college, 59% had parents who never entered college.
  - of black students enrolled in college, 74% had parents who never entered college. (BN561)

11. Gannon has analyzed patterns of minority education:

Black college student enrollment has doubled from 250,000 to approximately 500,000. Still, they are largely concentrated in nearly all-black schools or in some major public institutions.

The precise figures on minority enrollments remain unclear. But in 1967, the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare conducted an incomplete survey on Negro enrollment. The study was never published by the government, but the figures leaked out. They showed a total of 4,764,834 full-time undergraduate students enrolled, with only 245,410 of them—5.15 percent—Negroes. Since 150,000 of the Negro students were enrolled in predominantly black institutions, a mere two percent, or 95,000, were in mostly white colleges and universities.

Of course, several factors are at work helping to keep discriminatory patterns in higher education in effect, including:
The continuing low level of demands for higher education by Negroes. With the expectations dimmed by prolonged exploitation and the need to earn a living a matter of urgency, countless blacks with great potential for higher education were probably still being passed over in the college selection process.

Low family incomes which make it difficult for black students to finance a higher education. According to testimony in 1970 before a Special Subcommittee on Education of the House Education and Labor Committee, two-thirds of America's black families could not contribute a penny to the higher education expenses of their children.

Continuing weak high school education for Negroes, leaving many unprepared for college entrance. One 1968 estimate states that only 15 percent of Negro high school graduates in the South went on to college, as contrasted with the national record of 45 percent. According to these figures, perhaps 250,000 Negro boys and girls in the South who graduate each year in the top half of their classes fail to continue their education.

Rapidly rising academic costs and the general economy which has made it difficult for many high quality institutions to open their doors wide to high-risk students.

The continuing financial and academic weakness of the traditionally all-Negro institutions.

The general unwillingness of the public to pay for higher education as it did after Sputnik of the late 1950's.

Problems of cultural integration, which work against many smaller colleges and universities. Even when actual desegregation takes hold in situations, both in policy and practice, social and cultural integration does not follow, any more than it does in society at large. In consequence, potential black enrollees are wary of entering institutions where they will be isolated from social and
community life. At the same time many in-
stitutions fail to encourage even small numbers
of potential black enrollees because the change
might drastically overturn community and college
relationships. (BP148)

Potential Impact

12. ...Prospects are not too bright
for seeing widespread improvements
in existing patterns of racial dis-
crimination in American colleges
and universities.

More black students than ever
may continue to obtain a college
education: But if conditions re-
main as they are, this achieve-
ment will no doubt be due more
to the continuing improvements
in the economic well-being of
the general Negro population
rather than to innovation or in-
spiring leadership by either
America's colleges and universities
or by the Federal government.

(BP148)

Potential Impact

Obviously these trends ensure that
more and more people, including minor-
ities, will be acquiring more and more
education. Whether this activity will
raise their levels of intelligence remains
to be seen; certainly, it will raise their
levels of competence to perform the in-
creasingly complex tasks in greater num-
bbers in future society. This trend bodes
well for institutions like the Navy,
which is dependent upon a rising level
of education among future youth.

(BP148)

Potential Impact

13. In the United States, total ex-
penditures on education doubled between
1960 and 1966. Annual expenditures
per pupil doubled between 1960 and 1970.
Pupil-teacher ratios continued to decline.
Turmoil continued to involve teacher
unions; student unions, formal and in-
formal; and parent groups—conflict over
contracts, funding, and curricula. The
Federal government is increasingly in-
volved, including curriculum formation
and TV programming, in seeking mech-

At the same time, education is a
powerful generator of social ferment.
The same effects seen plentifully now
can be expected to increase—greater
willingness to question institutions and
greater competence to do so, more em-
phasis on the individual versus the or-
ganization, continued emphasis on self-
actualization and egalitarian practices.

Potential Impact

The widespread interest in educa-
tion, including continuing education in
anisms for socialization. (BM94)

14. Relative to emphasis on subjects, American collegians are enrolling in courses which are keyed to jobs: pre-medicine, prelaw, social work, psychology, journalism and nursing.

There is a decline in engineering, education, physics, and ethnic studies. In psychology 'self-understanding' courses are more popular than social-action courses.

Currently popular are ecology, urban studies, city planning, theology, and agriculture. Interest in the Humanities remains about the same. (BN425)

The Community College

15. Public junior colleges are a major social force that is shaping industrial development, urban services, and personal pride. A Census Bureau report stated that total university enrollment doubled in the 1960's, and enrollment in public 2-year colleges quadrupled. (2.3 million, which may reach 5 million by September 1975.) The community colleges, or junior colleges, are tax-supported, at little or no cost to any resident who want to enter. Naturally, the expanding campuses constitute a physical impact on many communities. (BN343)

16. Besides being an academic training ground, the community college is a broad social institution that touches almost every facet of metropolitan life, via public-service courses, skills, and personal enrichment. Students in community colleges are more likely to be older, to work, to be married, to come from families without any college education, and to have lower incomes than students.
in 4-year colleges.

Some reasons for growth of the community college:

- Swelling numbers of high school graduates; parents want children to get ahead; industry demands more skilled labor; whole new demand for paraprofessional labor in public service fields which require more than high school and less than college; more leisure-time opportunity for enrichment.
- At Miami-Dade, for example, it is possible to earn an Associate in Arts degree after studying on Saturdays for 3-1/2 years.
- Subjects vary greatly in topic and also in difficulty, e.g., there are 15 levels for English. (BN343)

The Advantages of Being Educated

17. In nearly all of the careful studies of the economics of education, the incomes of population groups, differentiated according to their educational achievements, is regarded as a measure of their productivity, i.e., of their economic value to their employers. By and large, it appears, ability explains only a relatively small part of the differentials, and college education explains the larger part. (BP54)

18. Berg registers a different view, to the effect the salary and wage differentials paid to "better-educated" employees are not always linked to performance, or

Potential Impact

The explosive growth and growth potential of the community college may single it out as potentially a more remunerative source of officers and non-commissioned officers than the regular college has been in the past. There may be a greater return waiting for the concentration of efforts on forms of ROTC— not necessarily as currently structured. Or perhaps a new form of Training Corps can be invented, as a supplement to the university-level ROTC.
to merit, as ideology would have it. A large-scale examination of employee performance revealed that less-educated employees performed as well as or better than better-educated workmates doing the same tasks. (BP39)

19. In data covering thousands of employed Americans, education and performance were never positively correlated. Work and life dissatisfactions among the better-educated employees, meantime, appear in many instances to cause absenteeism, turnover, and other expensive "morale" problems. (BP39)

20. Boulding introduces the class aspect here:

The American educational system in the past has been quite successful in preparing people to be middle class, to the point indeed where middle class values permeate perhaps 80 percent of our population. The system has not succeeded in preparing people to live useful and cheerful lives at the lower end of the income scale, mainly because educators are themselves middle class and hence are unsympathetic to the values of a lower-class culture. Maybe a social invention is needed here in the shape of an educational subsystem which will give the culture of the poor a status of its own. (BB242)

21. In February 1972, Time recorded certain costs:

$4,000 to keep a student in college for one year.
$7,500 to keep one person in military service
$7,800 in VISTA
$10,000 in the Peace Corps

Time suggests that college support may be a national bargain. (BP132)

22. [Without contesting Time's point, we are skeptical of these figures; normal "costs" for a year of college indicated above appear to be personal costs, which are about 1/3 of total college costs. The three "Service" costs cited are apparently related solely to young entrants].

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Evans and Wicker apply an extended perspective to evolving criticism of our educational system:

The 'mystique' of higher education has been washed away, and along with it the public's uncritical acceptance of such matters as faculty tenure, admission policies and procedures, financial needs, and community responsibility. The high degree of autonomy of the fifties and early sixties is long gone. The most effective administrators are no longer those adept at manipulating alumni and a few public or private sources of funds, while keeping the rest of the world at bay...

Campus disorders, the war and economic crises have destroyed the public's ability to give its trust to any specially qualified group, whether that group wears the uniform of the military, of the politician, or of the academician. (BP12?:

The crest has been reached and the tide is receding in the fervent conviction of a suburban society and a corporate economy that only the college degree is a guaranteed ticket-of-entry to the good life. Every indication is that a healthy skepticism about mass higher education is replacing the admiring indulgence of the postwar years.

If that is the case, then it may also be supposed that more Americans than ever before will be turning to the life of the mind in order to develop the useful and fruitful way of living that is becoming ever harder to find in work. Work ultimately is satisfying only when it is productive, which it used to be in America; but productive work is almost the hardest thing to find in the technological society of created demand that we have today. (BP444)

Exactly how and why the ticket-of-entry concept flamed so fiercely after the war may be disputed—it probably stemmed from the complexity of a new technological economy—but by the early fifties, it was being strongly enforced.
Not to be college educated became a business and social handicap; the label college dropout became stigmatic, virtually an entry on police records. Even on women, whose place so lately had been the home, college pressures increased—largely because a man with a degree needed a wife with a degree, and some corporations even required it of him. And above all, if you were going for a degree, you could not be drafted—the ultimate enforcement.

Inevitably, ticket-of-entry attitudes influenced education itself, perhaps most seriously in the bigness of its institutions and the mass-produced techniques, with all that it meant in impersonality and monotony.

The campus also became a great operational talent pool—for private companies and the government, if less so for undergraduates. The mushrooming of military-oriented research is well-known. But beyond that, by the end of 1970, there were 120 American universities holding 318 contracts from AID alone, for overseas developmental work, at a price of something like $50 million annually. From fishpond research at Auburn to family planning by Columbia University in Costa Rica, such projects are big business. Louisiana State is even providing South Vietnam with a program of needed legal assistance services. (BP444)

The combination of a general economic crisis and a sharp loss of public confidence—the two are not unrelated—appears to have brought the whole field under the most searching public, political, and internal scrutiny.

The atmosphere of the seventies isn't going to be as favorable for higher education as it was in the fifties and sixties, says Logan Wilson of the American Council of Education. Again, a layman must wonder whether that is necessarily bad.

Probably even more young people...more sharply resist the mass-production, interchangeable-part approach to higher education that dominates the American campus.
Potential Impact

The four-year straitjacket, the lockstep of required courses, classroom hours, exam grades; the vastness of it all—computerized registration, huge classes, platooning professors—and the resulting impersonality; the increasing homogeneity of instruction and institutions (even the old distinction between public and private universities has been eroded, and will disappear further as federal support for higher education becomes dominant, which federal support always does); the relevance or lack of it that courses have to life beyond the campus; the dependence of the university on the government, particularly the military, and the big corporations—hence its supposedly stand-pat establishment nature; all these, real, imagined and in-between are causing wholesale unrest, resentment and refusal among the younger brothers and sisters of those who, ten years ago, marched in docility through the degree mill to the suburbs...

So the great degree chase, if it is by no means over, is suddenly being questioned by those whom it has duped or disappointed, those to whom it smacks of subversion, those who resist its pressures to make them like everyone else, those who have to foot the bills, those who have to cope with these attitudes.

Few critics of the American educational system ever integrate into their discussions any evidence that they understand that, unlike elite systems employed in other countries, the American system is truly a mass system, available to such numbers of persons that it has to be organized on a vast scale. It has disadvantages—"required courses, grades, large classes," etc; even so, it is an enormously expensive social system. To incorporate many of the innovations proposed—small classes, ideal teachers, almost unlimited flexibility, etc.—would multiply the costs, and is unlikely to occur. The impact foreseen here is increasing diversity and innovation, but within moderate limits and adopted at a gradual pace. The overall system is likely to retain a highly formalized structure—if for no other reason than that users of the products, such as institutions within the society, will be able to tell in advance what kinds of products to expect.
As for money, boom days are profligate days; if they are at an end, the university will no longer simply be able to add students, buildings and faculty to sate public demand. It may be forced to discover more innovative and creative means of spending its money, both in an educational and administrative sense. (BP444)

27. Howard notes a weakening of public "uncritical" faith in education, because of the failure of higher education to concern itself with development of responsible citizenry, and failure of leadership (for example in asserting that violence and intellectual processes are mutually exclusive).

The disuse of private colleges would diminish the variety and "yeastiness" of our society.

In order to provide worthy education to young people in a complex society, a college must make some value judgments, set some specific objectives for students; good education requires controlled neutrality (a balance of viewpoints).

Private schools are for students agreeable to the proposition that, by accepting restraints and obligations, one will be able to lead a more purposeful and rewarding life.

A large portion of college-bound youth have somehow come to believe that man fulfills himself by being freed from all obligations and limitations, despite the need for man to realize that man fulfills himself as he recognizes that limitations are necessary for humans to live together. (PB16)

28. Goldberg enunciates an enduring philosophic principle of education:

The knowledge to which Socrates sought to educate his students was not information stored up in memory banks; but rather self-knowledge (gnosce teipsum: know thy self); and the whole methodology of this art of self-knowledge, as well as its ontological, epistemological, axiological, and eudaemonistic assumptions, ran counter to that involved in the sort of education which computer systems generate.
Indeed, the fine instrumentality of the Socratic education—the Socratic dialectic—calls for a degree of non-programed, non-programable, non-systematized, non-systematizable, interaction between tutor and student which, at present and for a long time to come—if not forever—are beyond the computer-tutor...

The process of this qualitative Socratic education is an inner process of organic growth. And the goal of this highly personalized art of self-knowledge? The maturation of the individual, who is autonomous in at least a twofold sense—in the sense that he depends upon his own internalized dialectic and synthesizing competences, and he rests upon self-knowledge of that which is enduring within him—his universal, not his idiosyncratic self.

It takes no great perspicacity to realize how pluralistic are the society's expectations from the university, contrasted with the singular influence of a Socrates. President Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation of New York listed 13 functions that American institutions of higher learning are being asked to perform in today's society:

1. providing a liberal education for their students,

2. the preparation of young people for "an extraordinary range of professions, subprofessions, and occupations," Higher education also "serves as a sorting and selecting mechanism to route the nation's youth into employment."

3. the discovery of new knowledge through research, much of which "would never be undertaken except in an academic environment."

4. serving as "custodian" of our cultural heritage."

5. providing an environment for "detached, impartial criticism of the larger society based on knowledge derived from disinterested study and research."

6. providing an "administrative base for public service programs of an operational or research nature" that are found in such fields as health care, defense, foreign assistance, and community service.

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7. serving as a base for a "pool of specialized talent which it makes quite freely available to external agencies such as government and industry."

8. performing a "class certification" function, which makes "going to college" a virtual "prerequisite for entry into the middle class, or for remaining in it, if one is already there."

9. serving as "a form of occupation for an ever-growing proportion of youth during the transitional years from adolescence into adulthood—a kind of way station on the trail of life." Pifer asserted, "This custodial function is clearly at odds with many of higher education's other functions. It consumes scarce resources, creates institutions of a size so massive they are virtually unmanageable, and creates conditions on campus which impede the progress of serious students." He noted that many young people attend college because of a lack of an acceptable alternative.

10. offering educational opportunities for adults through the provision of external degree programs.

11. a related function of lifelong entitlement to periods of study in a college or university.

12. offering remedial education, particularly in English and mathematics, to able students with disadvantaged educational backgrounds.

13. serving as a "major purveyor of commercialized entertainment, principally through its football and basketball teams." (BM114)

29. Ohmann, in reviewing several books of criticism of our educational system, remarked that in the middle ages the university fed on the firm belief that knowledge in itself is important. The university was built for the clear function of discovering and teaching knowledge. The American university was brought into existence by the industrial system and its needs for knowledge and personnel. Jerome and Taylor, on the other hand, start from the simple assumption that the aim of education in a free society is "...to help all children everywhere to become what they are capable of becoming."
Ohmann insists that nothing in our experience indicates that, just by making universities freer and more loving places, we will temper those forces of unfreedom and violence outside universities that have made knowledge such a perilous adventure for the species (Hiroshima, napalm, death of biosphere). Educational radicals do not take us far toward the collectivity we need for survival. The risk is to reconcile freedom and collectivity, as democracy has failed to do.

(BP412)

30. With growing numbers of PhD's, products of the grand old model, driven into community colleges by the combined force of budget restrictions in the traditional scholarly apparatuses, and a market glut in many academic disciplines, we must fear that we will continue to produce more tradition-bound campuses that will provide for fewer needs of larger numbers of people. That we are well along on the course of universal higher education practically guarantees that the rediscovery of education for its own sake will fail as a winning slogan, and that we will have to reassess higher education's claim to legitimacy.

31. Taylor has little favorable to say for anything but some liberal-arts colleges:

Our universities have, in short, largely ceased to exist as universities, because they have abandoned what is essential to being a university. They have become research institutions and project centers having only a tenuous connection with liberal education, which is being left more and more to the smaller colleges.

Professing to honor the teacher, they brazenly promise him minimal teaching, and reward him when he does not teach. (BP404)

32. ...in the meantime, what has come to distinguish the curricula of most universities is that they have largely ceased to exist.

The pressing problems of education are more and more met by simple neglect. Problems of requirements are met by abolishing requirements, problems of grades are met by abolishing grades, problems of comprehensive
examinations are met by abolishing comprehensive examinations—and in short, the universities, finally bereft of any concern for liberal education and hence of educational leadership, allow matters to take their own course in whatever way seems effortless, never failing to represent such failures as liberalizing advances in the area of education. The loss is very great, and it can surely be questioned whether all of the vast research activities and projects that are thus fostered are really worth it.

This basic change of purpose in the modern university has resulted in its almost complete subversion as an institution of higher learning, a subversion wrought, not by the justified discontent of students, but by its highest administrative officers. (BP404)

33. Higher education still exists in our many liberal arts colleges, and while these colleges are for the most part in difficult circumstances and some are even fighting for existence, the undergraduate education they offer is still in excellent health. Liberal education is the first order of business there, and the intellectual needs of students receive first consideration. In these colleges, not only teachers, but sometimes presidents are likely to know students. Such teachers are usually teachers in fact, and such presidents are often educators in fact. These colleges are still victims of the myth that a superior education is obtained in a vast and powerful university, but perhaps the enormous falsity of this will soon be more widely realized. Perhaps it will come to be recognized that universities, still so-called, are in fact centers for research and training grounds for advanced technicians and specialists, and our liberal arts colleges will receive overdue recognition as the primary source of the educated individual. (BP404)

34. The universities must take primary responsibility for the confusion among many of our students.
Campus Activism

35. In a search for the answers to questions concerning unrest on American campuses, a few things are certain: The university is not the ivory tower it once was, rather it is in the mainstream of the social, economic, and political crises of our times. There is a generational gap which seems to account for much of the conflict. There are sensitive people working on the problems as well as those who would burn down the schools simply to stare at the flames. Student pressure is effecting change in university structures and processes; some of this change is fundamental while some is the proverbial window dressing. Student activism-become-violence is causative in the current emphasis upon law and order; the wave of unrest has not crested and is moving with great force into secondary and elementary education. (BP297)

36. A rash of books has been published on student politics and the university. Some take rather bizarre viewpoints. One appears to record the agony of modern American liberalism "created" by the American university, i.e., professors discovered that their teachings had little relevance to the way things occur in society. Both sides, the university and the students, have little to say about the university but much about American society, arguing that our country's institutions mock the pluralism supposedly built into our politics.

Some of the books criticize the educational process without describing any content to the process. Some describe the travail on a number of American campuses. (BN209)

37. For this project, we have studied many analyses. Some dissections of American Education are unrelievedly destructive. After mucking through them, one feels impelled to ask one or more authors: If the American educational system is so corrupt and destructive as you say, how did it happen that you emerged from it in such brilliantly assured intellectual condition?

38. One indicator of higher education's financial problems was felt, in July of 1970, to be the public refusal to finance violence and destructive activities on campuses. (BN518)
39. In October 1970, the Wall Street Journal suggested that perhaps the roots of campus unrest lie not in the counter-culture of youth but further back in the "adversary culture" of adult intellectuals. After all, it is on university campuses that the unrest centered; there is transmission of certain parental values to activist youth which is re-inforced by college faculties. (BS16)

40. Seymour M. Lipset, Harvard sociologist, feels the student protests of the late 1960's were important American student revolts, which had to calm down, for "you can't go on living in a madhouse."

Most American students have been conservative; there were about 3% activists, or 1/4 million people. These few had a profound effect on American attitudes on Vietnam and race problems.

There will be more such movements in response to particular crises, hopefully without the undesirable, negative aspects of the activist movements; sometimes disrespect for debate, and for law, and occasional use of violence. (BN543)

41. In this connection, Philip Jacob's observation is provocative:

There is reason to believe that the college experience socializes but does not necessarily liberalize the student. (BM31)

42. There was substantial support for the premise that three student pressures for university change were legitimate: 1) for a share of freedom in higher education, 2) to reduce or eliminate the "in loco parentis" concept, and 3) for a more active part in the educational decisions which affect them. (BP57)

43. Faculty roles have not been without relevance to student activism. In 1970, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education reported on a survey of the 500,000 members of the American "professoriate." Selecting their own

Potential Impacts

It is difficult not to expect significant results among youth who have been subjected to the perspectives of sociology departments oriented as indicated here.
categories, 47% of the respondents described themselves as "left" or "liberal"; 25% as "middle of the road"; 22% "moderate conservative"; and 2% "strongly conservative." There was great variation among disciplines. At the most conservative end, agriculture faculty members described themselves as 18% "left" or "liberal" and 49% as "moderately" or "strongly" conservative. At the other end, sociology faculty members ascribed themselves as 81% "left" or "liberal" and 5% "moderately" or "strongly" conservative. To the question: "What do you think of the emergence of radical student activism?", the following responses obtained:

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(AKP 310)

44. Amitai Etzioni sharpened incisive comments relative to the whole complex issue of political activism on campus:

A university education should be made more 'relevant' by being made more critical. 'Relevant' education requires more, not less, depth, richness of context, attention to complexities. It therefore demands some detachment from the street, an opportunity to keep one's mind fixed on an issue long enough to comprehend it.

As universities cut back the ivy and topple the towers, they will also become actively more involved in the debate as to what purposes will be served by the new
knowledge, techniques, and tools. While basic research may be relatively neutral, applied work has clear social designations. To be more 'relevant' means more actively to affect the purposes for which one's knowledge is available. Activism can enrich education and insure the relevance of research, yet it cannot replace either.

Revolutionaries must heed Lenin's warning that to act in a non-revolutionary situation as if it were revolutionary is to advance the counterrevolution.

The university is too fragile to dislodge the socio-politico-economic structure of the country. Attempts to use it as a revolutionary spearhead by the extreme Left will only serve those who seek to violate the university from the extreme Right. (BS33)

Irving Stock offers insights to ponder, also.

The essential difference between those who would remain faithful to the principles and methods of art and thought—say, a university faculty of the kind that used to be admired—and those who join the social or political battle is not that one group is escaping to an ivory tower and serving only themselves (or the 'establishment') and the other confronting reality and serving their fellow men. It is that the first wish to remain open to new ideas and to protect the conditions out of which they come, while the militants tend to think they have as much truth as they need. It is also that the former, as a class, serve men in the whole range of their needs, serve that Ideal City (never to be reached, though the struggle toward it can enrich our lives) which will be the home of man's fullest development; and the latter serve men in the short run and the pressing needs of the moment. Undoubtedly, both kinds of service have their place, and occasions do arise when those who are capable of action had better act. But we must all decide for ourselves how much of our time and energy we owe to each... And sometimes, too, they are taking the revenge of the mediocre on the gifted, and using social crisis as an alibi for rejecting standards they are incapable of meeting.

...though it is difficult to avoid both kinds of error, that happens to be the necessary job of those of us who would do justice to the works of human intellect. Or would serve our fellows in all the variety of their needs, and serve them without making them pay—as certain kinds of idealists always do—by giving up their freedom or part of their mind. (BP123)
46. A 1970 study conducted for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education found that there is increasing uniformity in colleges and universities; that there is widespread movement for institutions to offer more advanced degrees; and that the homogenation of higher education affects public, private, and church-related institutions although public institutions contribute a vocational, pragmatic, and utilitarian complexion that is not fully matched in other sectors. (BN6)

47. That study found few, if any, major differences regionally, among a wide variety of educational categories within institutions of higher education. Students, faculty, and administration, the study says, are a pretty homogeneous group from coast to coast. (BN181)

48. Arthur Goldberg insists that there is a need for education for employment and for the preservation of democracy. Students are under pressure to major in public affairs related to the whole occupational complex, while at the same time required to intensify their concentration on a chosen speciality.

According to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, half of the growth in American output in the last 50 years has resulted from factors other than increases in capital and manhours worked. Education is one of these factors. (BB99)

49. The universities are under multiple pressures for change caused by the side-effects of federal support, the demands of regional and community development, the creation of cross-disciplinary centers, the fading boundaries between training and work, and the demands from the new society of the young. As a result, a variety of new organizational forms linked more closely to community needs, to work, and to living currents of industrial-political-intellectual life than to the traditional community of scholars will be developed within, outside, and beside the campus. (BP416)

50. A report on New York City public schools gave these observations:

1. Schools were more stable when the supervisory personnel were visible, mobile, and accessible.

2. Students feel depersonalized in a large school.

3. Many felt that student government was unresponsive to them, did not
reflect their views, and was ineffective.

4. Parental involvement in the schools is minimal.

5. Most curriculum is college-oriented, with little for those who do not attend college.

6. Guidance procedures are inadequate for problem solving.

7. Security in the buildings and protection from intruders were minimal.

8. Police maintained excellent relations with the school students and staff. (BN579)

51. Another treatise holds that we do not know what we are teaching students for—creativity, aptitude, value and attitude changes, or behavior change? If we do not know this, how can we identify the appropriate conditions for learning?

Various approaches to education are discussed and found wanting in several respects. Most importantly, education has failed to breach the gap between theory and practice, dramatized by the example of economists who are unable to guarantee a profit in stock transactions or psychologists who are far from being the best-adjusted individuals. (BP159)

52. An experimental program has been established to recruit candidates from other professions for training as public school administrators, based on the conviction that many of today's school administrators have been recruited from too narrow a segment of the community and lack of knowledge and managerial skills to cope with widespread challenges to the public school's role in society. Such a program also provides the opportunity for some men to change careers in their middle years. (BN341)
53. Denny reports an increasing belief that a first rate secondary school may be more important than a good college. (BB99)

54. The National Assessment of Education Project: ten subject areas are used to test selected samples of pupils across the country, in a continuing attempt to assess the effectiveness of the schools throughout the United States. The reviewers emphasized that most of what students know was not necessarily learned in school. This reinforces the findings of the Coleman report, which found that the socio-economic level of parents and schoolmates had more effect on academic achievement than did the efforts of the schools. (BS1)

Some Current Straws in the Wind

55. A 1971 study concluded that school children are acquiring naive, stereotyped prejudices about racial, religious, and minority groups from their textbooks. North American Indian, Blacks, and Moslems come off badly in contrast to Christians, Jews, and immigrants. Revisions were recommended. (BN602)

56. Most students in a sampling of 15 New York State high schools (5 within New York City) have said that their teachers do not respect, understand, or help them, according to an independent study sponsored by the Fleischmann Commission on the quality and financing of education.

A report prepared jointly by Community Resources, Ltd., an independent research concern in Michigan, and the Human Affairs Research Council (New York City) indicates that "many students are finding their school experience painful and unenjoyable."

The report argues that the large size, authoritarian, hierarchical organizations of the schools are mostly to blame for the situation—that in such an environment, teachers, and students are almost bound to feel and behave the way they do. Students and teachers view each other as group members instead of as individuals. School units, it was proposed, should not exceed 150-200 students. Such units could operate separately and autonomously inside present school buildings.

More than half the blacks felt they were being excluded from school activities because of race, while only 11% of the white students thought that was true.
White teachers commented that blacks often exhibited racism against them.

More than 66% of the students indicated they did not enjoy school. One-fourth said none of their teachers were friendly. Both students and teachers value self-understanding and working for change in social situations. Some 52% of the students felt school morale was "negative," but 64% of the teachers felt school morale was "positive." Only 28% of the students felt the over-all education process was positive, while 52% of the teachers felt the over-all education process was positive. (BN475)

57. Dr. Norman Draebler, Superintendent of Detroit Schools, insists that greater sensitivity to student viewpoints can bridge the gap. He doesn't want to lock out any job opportunities by inadequate offerings. He worries that we will not have enough well trained minority people to fill the spots offered to them across all jobs categories. (BN211)

58. Hirsch identified four factors impeding educational change; we cite three of these factors here, and the fourth later. First, the general social or moral mission of the school system—to educate children to behave according to current social values—in itself tends to make people in education staunch traditionalists. (BF13)

59. The second of four factors impeding educational change is legal. The teacher-certification requirements, though designed to improve the quality of teachers, can actually prevent some of the more capable men and women from teaching in our schools. The extensive teaching experience required by many states before a person can assume an administrative position in a school is another legal constraint. But perhaps the most stringent legal constraints are those which stand in the way of funding educational research and new enterprises. (BF13)

60. The third of the four factors impeding educational change: The high value which schools (in contrast to other industries) place on maintaining a socially-approved pattern of primary group relations. This emphasis creates resistance to all those innovations which call for new patterns of social interaction, such as might be involved in the use of computer learning machines and education games. (BN152)
61. Those areas of our education which deal with the transmission of the symbolic and value content of our cultures are still largely preoccupied with the models of the past. Such models may now be grossly unreliable. They, in no way, reflect even those modes of symbol-transmission and value-transmission going on in the present.

The introduction of future-oriented studies, projects, and activities, into the educational curricula at different levels would generate new foci of interest in many areas. (BF13)

Potential Impact

This kind of prediction leaves us uncertain, for we do not know whether the author misreads the symbols and values of our past, or even whether he is hostile to them. There are many values and symbols from our past which we desire transmitted indefinitely as still-perfectly-reliable aspects. Moreover, we do not expect radical change in the status of many of our values. Perspectives, descriptions, examples—all may need modernization from time to time, and future-oriented studies would appear to be welcome in many instances. But it is a matter of concern to many that certain ageless values are not being transmitted, because of some delusion that they are out of date.

62. In its new role of enlarged social and moral responsibility in an era of abundance inhabited by a participative society, business must look into what can be done about education. "One thing at fault," ways Prof. Neil W. Chamberlain, Yale, "lies in our persistent notion that a person can acquire in the first 20 years or so of his life all the formal education he will need to keep him on an ascending career through the remaining 40 years or so of his working life." It does seem apparent that a system of universal and life-long education will have to be devised, and there is some question whether the traditional university or college is the place to do it. It may be that among other of its new responsibilities, business will also have to put its enormous talents and resources to work educating minds, with the same enthusiasm with which it has produced goods. (BM43,95)
63. At least one college dean praised the Vietnam veteran because of his leadership ability and his willingness to work hard to succeed. He credited veterans with filling many leadership roles on campus and with defusing troublesome situations. (BN22)

64. There have been a number of favorable responses to Alvin Toffler's suggestion in *Future Shock* for the introduction of science fiction and other "tomorrow courses" into high school curricula. (BN385)

65. Games such as role-playing and role-simulation devices are being used in all areas of teaching, and being devised in the fields of economics, democracy, the ghetto, the generation gap, the consumer, structured for the high-school-level student. (BM1)

66. A lawyer has been assigned to help University of Texas students with legal advice and court work in landlord-tenant, consumer, and employment cases. (BN219)

67. A "Charrette" (a last-minute, intense group effort to complete a given planning project) was proposed in Maryland by Howards County's (and the town of Columbia's) three colleges—Antioch, Howard Community College, and Dag Hammarskjold College. By organizing the charrette, the three colleges hoped to achieve an alliance with the community in approaching areas of mutual concern and responsibility.

The conferees discussed many subjects only indirectly linked to education, including peripheral questions of drug abuse, race, and student social problems, which points up the widening role for education in the near-future society. Antioch-Columbia administrator Stephen Plumer evaluated the charrette by saying, "It is successful to the extent that now colleges are accountable to the community. That I think is really the essence—that institutions have to become both responsive and accountable." (BP74)

Potential Impact

The private military school provided in the past a kind of extra larder of military training in the United States. It may be that becoming coeducational, as even the
68. The Boston Globe reported in September 1970:

Strained by the complexities of inflation and managed recession, loss of glamor (since Korea, and aggravated by Vietnam) and unprecedented restlessness of youth, a number of private military schools find themselves in struggles for survival. Several headmasters seem most concerned about the directions of the 'permissive society.' Few see any future place for the military school. (BN165)

69. Nevertheless, it is predicted that private schools, in general, aided by government subsidies to parents for the purpose of sending their children to schools of their choice, will flourish. (BM94)

70. Kenneth Boulding speculates on prospects for private education:

Private education would compete on equal terms with public; we might have something like the voucher scheme proposed by certain British economists by which each child would be given a voucher which would be exchanged for education in any school, public or private. This would not exclude the possibility of imposing certain legal minimum standards, but it would open up an enormous possibility for experimentation in education, which is something we severely lack under the present system. (BB242)

71. Turning to adult education. Clark notes that Adult Education has shifted from strictly structured remedial courses in the 1920's toward broader course selection and more diverse clientele.

California's system has an open-ended intent: to make adults in the community aware of individual and community needs, and to give such education as
Potential Impact

will enable them to meet problems that exist now.

The curriculum is based on present needs and problems over the whole range of human learning.

The specific objectives of adult education in California are stated as follows:

1. To make adults aware of their civic responsibilities to one another and to the community.
2. To make them economically more efficient.
3. To develop an understanding of the attitudes and personal adjustments required for successful home life and family relationships.
4. To promote health and physical fitness.
5. To provide an opportunity for cultural development.
6. To supplement and broaden educational backgrounds.
7. To provide for the development of avocational interests through opportunities for self-expression. (BP67)

Some difficulties include:

- Attitudes toward non-compulsory adult education as a step-child, which lowers the morale and planning quality of administrators.
- Possible competitive promotional pressures, since, in California, school income is largely set by student attendance.

While there is a legitimate service aspect (such as tailored courses for organizations; hobby training for the community), that purpose may become overriding when acceptance of adult education is sought on the basis of service rather than on intrinsic educational worth and professional competence. (BB218, BP67)

Boyer describes the movement toward the non-campus colleges.
Central assumptions include:
- Acquiring a college education need not be dependent on the familiar campus setting; the intellectual environment within one's head is what counts.
- The parietal element in education has been far too heavily emphasized; the new assumption is that the individual's own motivation should play a more central role in formulation of educational policy. (BP49)

There are four broad categories of programs:

1. Several forms of off-campus learning without traditional campus residency, e.g., work-study programs, "third year abroad," and others. Such efforts represent a concept of higher education that is far more in tune with conditions and opportunities of contemporary life, which recognizes that we have erected too high a barrier between the campus and the real world. The individual college campus remains an essential intellectual base, but it is also seen as only one element in a far broader educational environment.

2. Conventional academic work done off campus: external (extension or correspondence degrees, done chiefly by adults.

3. New York State Education Department's unique external-degree program, in which degrees are awarded to anyone who passes a set of comprehensive examinations, regardless of where or how the knowledge was acquired.

4. The State University of New York's "College without a campus." This program is free of the resident restraints of a single campus, making the resources the entire (many campuses) university system available to him. The pace is set by the student's specific circumstances and individual capacity.

Potential Impact

These versatile programs may suggest adaptations suited to the circumstances of Navy members in pursuing their educations while in the Navy. Particular aspects may have relevance for particular institutions, such as the Naval Academy, the Naval Postgraduate School, or the Naval War College.
knowledge explosion, and the "2nd admissions" boom (older persons reentering). These factors make old yarksticks of higher education inadequate.

75. Boyer summarizes critical elements of these new concepts of higher education:

1) Formal classroom instruction, while still important, is no longer the sole or even the principal means of acquiring information and ideas at the college level.

2) Given the present wide variety of students, the continuing explosion of knowledge, and the emergence of new fields of academic concern, the curriculum no longer should be the exclusive concern of the faculty. Responsibility for its design and content should be shared by faculty members and students.

3) Residency on a single college campus is no longer a requisite for quality education. (One-fifth of America's college student already study at more than one institution during their undergraduate careers).

4) Four years, and certainly four consecutive years, are not an inviolate block of time essential to an undergraduate degree. Longer or shorter periods of study, possibly interrupted by other activities, do not damage—and may actually improve—the net effectiveness of collegiate study.

5) While frequent and intimate contact with mature scholars is vital to a good college education, no faculty member can any longer be regarded as simply a purveyor of factual knowledge, even in his field of specialization. Increasingly, professors must act not only as sources of information but as sensitive intellectual guides, as concerned questioners of personal and social actions and values, and as provocative stimulants urging students to discover their own capacity for critical and creative thought. (BP49)
Justin Jerome explores both sides of the movement called "outreach," which breaks out of old forms, particularly out of formal classrooms and course structures. This movement encourages a wide range of learning experience, including jobs, projects, service programs, apprenticeships, independent study, work-study programs, and field work. By such innovations, students enlarge their awareness. But they need a core of values, also, a supportive community that provides greater acceptance than our "anxiety-ridden competitive culture." There are nuances involved in all of these values and life-styles; and careful distinctions must be made so that we do not ascribe certain effects to the wrong causes.

Jerome feels that too much "outreach" overemphasizes individualism, competition, and personal isolation, and that greater awareness and participation is desirable, but within some sense of community.

The concept of a Free University is perhaps the most dramatic contribution of the youth movement to university reform. As of 1970, some 300 free universities were functioning in the United States. These comments by Pugh analyze the faculty's response to the experimental institutionalization of a free university of a non-elite institution; Bowling Green State University, in 1970.

In examining academic rank, tenure, and years of service and participation in the Free University, it is evident that academic rank does not have the clear-cut linear relationship with participation in the Free University as do tenure and years of service. The latter two variables represent longevity in the university and perhaps a general acceptance of its culture.
Faculty members from the social sciences and humanities are more likely to be involved in protest activity than faculty from the natural sciences and education. Political liberalism accounts for this higher participation.

Active or passive departmental context is an important factor in explaining faculty participation. Faculty members with neutral attitudes showed a high tendency to participate if their colleagues were participating.

Untenured members of the faculty had a higher rate of participation than did tenured professors.

Faculty members with lower seniority (one to three years) were more likely to participate.

Faculty members from the business school had a very high rate of participation. (BM122)

Challenges

79. Teaching machines and programmed instruction will extend the network of noninstitutionalized means for getting more education. These are now used by industry, business, and unions, and use will increase.

Programs for the underendowed and functionally illiterate will grow at a slow rate, mainly because of uncertainty over what to teach and over what meaningful tasks will be available in society.

Vocational training will expand greatly, and vocational schools will undergo a radical revision. Vocational training could go a long way toward reducing the numbers of unskilled in the American economy. Vocational training will have to be tied to a job-opportunity-forecasting system and into a system offering the worker mobility and financial support for moving where the job is. (BB232)

Guidance Counseling

80. With increasing emphasis on vocational guidance for privileged and underprivileged youth, the guidance-counseling profession will suffer from a lack of adequate personnel with the knowledge and influence to affect school curriculum planning. More women will have to enter the field to give support to needed changes in occupations and avocations for women.
Guidance will be especially important for technical jobs, since these will change most rapidly in the changing technical scene. The counseling profession will be hampered by a lack of experience with the rapidly changing job situation. Schools will be unable, generally speaking, to adjust their programs to the changing job-market situation. (B8232)

Potential Impact

The Navy is one among several organizations which will need to make its nature and opportunities accurately known to guidance counselors, especially at the high-school level, nationwide, on a systematic basis. Targets of this effort should include all persons involved in giving frequent advice to young people, not only those carrying the formal title of "guidance counselor."

Perhaps one major group that should be sought out is the high-school teacher, as well as youth group leaders (Boy Scouts, Sea Scouts, Big Brother, etc.), religious advisors, etc.

Education for Values and Perspectives

81. The debate will grow about the purposes of schooling beyond job education and education for the national interest. More importantly, debate will center on the proper role of education in inculcating values and behavior appropriate to the various job categories outlined above. Confusion over what kind of world we want and the education needed to accomplish these ends will grow as our world becomes more complex. Implicit in the debate will be very difficult questions about the processes involved in teaching changing values.

The situation that students are subject to changing student values will require teachers whose values are also changing in ways appropriate to the future. The debate will be an abstract one for many years, because not many teachers are trained for teaching about the future. Debate will focus on training for leisure and concentrate on the need to teach the virtues of and means for the creative and productive use of leisure. There will be a growing number of experiments in education
for leisure. Regardless of the reason, education will no longer be viewed as something that stops after the age of 22. Experimentation will expand with a multilevel educational system that encourages persons of any age to continue their education for work and leisure. (BB232)

82. Primary and secondary school training for work and for living will become more differentiated and focused among professionals, skilled technicians, and the unskilled than is now the case.

Professionals will work long hours and require a deep and broad background in their fields, in addition to being able to absorb fresh intellectual material over a lifetime. Career preparation will begin early in life. Talented youth will be under pressure to choose a life of service in the national interest.

Technicians will often work shorter hours than the professional. Many a technician will expect to change his specialty two or three times in his working life and have the ability to learn a new specialty readily. (BB232)

83. Programmed instruction holds the seeds for creating a new system of learning. However, it is being used and will continue to be used in an uninspiring way for at least the next decade. Experiments with programmed learning will be conducted to mediocre schools in the hope of bringing their students up to some level of educational ability. To achieve any real progress, massive government aid will be necessary on a far greater scale than is presently being provided.

Potential Impact

In view of the earlier maturation of youth, to be discussed later, earlier career choice and preparation may well occur. If so, the Navy should adjust to stating its career message to younger Americans—at least, to beginning its programs earlier.
Teacher Training

Efforts will be made to upgrade the quality of teachers to teach the under-educated and underprivileged, but the rate of dissemination of these efforts will be limited by the costs of introducing the improvements, the limitations of the teacher-training institutions, and the inability of many teachers to take full advantage of these new innovations. The attractiveness of teaching will increase somewhat because of improving attitudes towards teachers and the need for better education. The increase in the number of teachers will not be great enough to overcome the inadequacies of mediocre teachers. (BB232)

84. Changing perspectives with respect to education in general are forecast for the next 20 years, including changing values and behavior that emphasize and comfortably mesh commitment to task; flexibility in learning, unlearning, and relearning. Constructive attitudes toward and effective use of more hours of leisure are the most pressing educational problems of the future.

Potential Impact

One potential impact of relentless change, on teaching as on other professions, may be diminution of incentive toward expertise. If change in substance, methods, and personnel occurs too quickly and too frequently, there may set in an attitude of being satisfied with doing enough to get by, since current programs won't last long, anyway.

Potential Impact

Teaching is a singular profession, in that it includes more practitioners than any other. Such great members are involved that quality is bound to vary greatly. Many critics of American education demand utopian systems and procedures that would require uniquely superior teachers in numbers that will never be obtained. A mass system such as ours strives to achieve diversity and excellence, but in many
aspects must be constructed for the average—the average pupil, the average class, the average teacher. Our system probably does a good deal better than "the average," but to demand or expect it to produce nationwide results of startling superiority is to deal in wishful thinking.

Elementary and High School Developments

85. More intensive use of live teachers, team teachers, and teachers' aids; programmed and self-paced instruction; and audio-visual aids.

- In the better schools, students will be allowed to deal with subject matter according to their ability rather than their age.
- All schools will move to the 12-month system of operation.
- Junior high schools may be eliminated from the school system because of social problems, lack of good teachers, and growth of administrative schemes that replace them. (BM232)

86. It is felt that teaching staffs must be evolved for the future based on three phenomena that have manifested themselves in the 20th Century: 1) the supreme triumph of the individual, 2) revelation of the multi-dimensional structure of the individual, and 3) the finding of a system capable of comprehending both the enormous and the intimate and of doing something about the pace of change. The significance of Futurism is that it is a comprehensive framework for all disciplines and their interactions, for handling change and for generating goals through consensus. (BM19)

87. The coming years will see the beginnings of a pre-elite composed of students who receive a special education at each level in preparation for the next level.
The natural way to learn in the future will be the depersonalized way, with the chief purpose of education being to help get a well-paying job. This is consistent with submitting to increased rationalization. (BB232)

Teaching Methods at the College Level

88. As student population increases, colleges will use more audiovisual aids and related materials, with the aim of improving the quality and the amount of learning per unit of time and of lessening the human teaching load.

As the college population grows, less and less of it will have opportunities for personal exposure to great live teachers. Important differences in viewpoint may develop between those exposed chiefly to facts-and-methods teaching machines and those regularly exposed to the give-and-take of a good live teacher.

Quality Education at All Levels

1. As carefully planned teaching films and television tapes are used, the average quality of students will rise. But the difference between the ordinary students and the extraordinary ones will be great. It should be easier to pay for higher education in the future because more subsidies will be available. The continuing shortage of skilled people and the economic necessity of keeping the unskilled out of the labor market (or parts of it) will reinforce this trend.

The unskilled worker will be in that category because he has been poorly educated, poorly motivated, poorly incorporated into the values of the society of the intellect toward which we are headed. A large proportion will be black, simply because many blacks will continue to receive education inadequate for more demanding skill levels. Influential factors for all will be home life and the values of the community, for a learning atmosphere in school will be vitiated if the home atmosphere places a low emphasis on education and learning. (BB232)

Financial Problems of Future Education

89. Boulding would not be surprised to see the educational system headed for a major financial crisis.

In terms of sheer rate of return on investment, investment in education probably brings a higher rate of return than that of any competitive industry, and there
are intangible benefits.

We are still underinvesting in education; there is a strong case for what would be, in fact, a universally free educational system.

The public educational system we have been depending on can easily result in subsidizing the rich, since they are based on state and local tax systems that are often regressive. In this connection, the 1971 Supreme Court decision should be noted, questioning the "equality" of the California school system based on local property taxes.

Daniel Fusfeld foresees two barriers to providing adequate resources for education:

1. Attitudes toward private wants and public needs, including that aspect of education in which the taxpayer pays the cost while non-taxpayers (youth) receive the direct benefits.

2. The development of education is hampered by institutions which make capital investment difficult and erratic, in contrast to the free access to capital enjoyed, for example, by business. One possibility may involve a greater degree of self-financing by the individual who gets the education, through long-term loans from either public or private sources. This will make possible more accurate estimates of costs and benefits and place greater emphasis on individual decisionmaking. (BB242)

Several predictions hold that financing the educational system will become more centralized, with a greater share coming from state and federal sources. (BM94)

Berg suggests that:

We might better look ahead to our role in the reform of tax arrangements that favor only the few, and to multiple educational modes that break the stranglehold of tradition that forces all the young into the same educational 'aging' vat. Subsidies, for example, might best be available to all youths.

As Hansen and Weisbrod suggest:

Those for whom the best way to increase earning power is through apprenticeships, on the job training, or night
school, deserve an equal chance in their struggle for productive and satisfying lives.

We will need to realize that there is a crisis in primary and secondary education, that higher education does not necessarily show itself to best advantage by focusing on students in a limited age category, and that education may be far more disassociated from the job complex than is presently the case. (BP39)

92. Another set of predictions holds that more educational time will be government supported in the future. Probably this aid will follow present patterns of grants for specific programs and needs, for Congress likes to tie funds to programs in the national interest. (BB242)

Future increases in expenditures for education will have to come from a level above that of the local community, which often spends 60 percent of its tax dollars for education.

Government aid to non-public schools will also become more prevalent. Local reluctance and state constitutional restrictions mean that the federal government will be pressured by such schools for aid. A crisis in federal-state relations and a crisis in intracommunity relations are to be expected.

Control over public educational policy will be fought between proponents of federal control vs. state or local control, and between specialists seeking "federal control" (a system which favors the professional specialists) and generalists, who tend to favor state government control. (BB242)

93. Federal support of post-secondary education will make it possible for more people to remain in some kind of educational community for longer periods of time.

Increased support and importance of post-secondary education will lead to greater diversity in the forms and purposes of communities devoted to such education. This trend will increase strongly in the 1980's. (BM94)

Statistical and Related Projections

94. In overall summary, school enrollment in 1980 is projected as about 64 million persons. This represents an increase of about 10 million persons, or about 18 percent above the number enrolled in 1965... (BB242)
In crude terms, the only ones available, about 80 percent of the explosive 1950-1965 increase in college and professional education has been the result of much greater rates of enrollment of the college-age groups in institutions of higher education. A very large further increase of almost 3.5 million or 61 percent in college enrollment is projected by 1980. However, current college enrollments have been swelled by the Selective Service policy of student deferments. Should this policy be modified, the enrollment expansion may be slowed, though the longer-term trend will continue up at a rap'd rate. Offsetting this, and also perhaps underestimated by the projections, is the growing recognition of the need and the growing demand for community colleges. (BB242)

95. Conservative projections indicate that by 1980 the median years of schooling will have risen to 12.6 years. For those 25-29 years of age, an even higher level of attainment is projected. This, in turn, presages a continued rise in educational attainment to 1980 and beyond. Part of the rise in educational level has been the reduction in the proportion of persons with little or no schooling. Should these trends continue, the proportion of the functionally illiterate will decline to less than 4 percent by 1980. (BB242)

96. Projected Increase in Enrollment, 1960-1980
(For the United States—in Thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>32,441</td>
<td>39,791</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>10,249</td>
<td>15,679</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>3,570</td>
<td>10,866</td>
<td>304.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46,259</td>
<td>66,336</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One innovation occurs at a few colleges which conduct summer programs of continuing education aimed toward stimulating thought among the alumni and keeping them in touch with their colleges and the youth movement in general. Parents and alumni spend from two days to several weeks on campus, living and learning together. Many
people use these programs as vehicles of communication with the young in an attempt to understand today's youth and its problems and perspectives. (BN498)

97. Improvements in the economic status of teachers will occur only after teacher productivity has been improved (i.e., the student-to-teacher ratio has increased). This will be accomplished by greater use of either automated teaching machines, or non-certified teaching assistances, or both. (BM94)

98. Malamud observes that ten years ago public school teachers went on strike for the first time. Though no one knows whether colleges will be closed in the future because of faculty strikes, the shadows already cast by the unions indicate major changes are in the offing in the style of government of the university, especially concerning questions of shared power. (BP274)

99. As noted, unionization is becoming a factor in ever-more-unlikely groups, notably college professors. Hence, a realignment of power is taking place on the campus. This increases the contemporary aspect of collectivization of individuals ranged against institutions. (BN38)

100. Earlier, we cited three factors identified by Hirsch as impediments to educational change. Here we add Hirsch's fourth factor:

Teachers' unions, which represent over 65 percent of America's 1.75 million classroom teachers. These unions, which have the goals of full employment and high salary levels, might pursue a variety of strategies which can impede innovation. They may insist on stringent certification requirements, oppose increasing the pupil-teacher ratios, seek improved working conditions and higher salaries, oppose changes which would replace teachers, and favor centralization in the school system. There are, of course, other possible pressures, including efficiency, strong school board leadership, etc., which may tend to counteract these strategies. (BF13)
101. At the university level, it should be noted that at the City University of New York, two rival unions merged in April 1972, and now represent all 15,000 employees of the University — 8,000 full-time faculty, 4,500 part-time faculty, and 2,500 "professional support service people" — the largest campus union in the country. The union is expected to demand elimination of inequities in wages, tightening of faculty grievance procedures, limitation of work loads, and "mandatory standards" for overcrowded offices and other facilities. (BB81)

**Miscellaneous Trends in Education**

102. Massive improvements in educational programs for the culturally deprived will be instituted. (BM94)

103. Teaching machines will take care of many present educational disabilities among pupils. (BM94)

104. Johansen summarizes his views:

> If education is to be creative, it is not to teach creativity, but to set a stage for change, even violent change; and creativity—that human reaction to changed conditions—will take place.

The center of all of this is the teacher. He can best be termed the exponent of humanistic philosophy as reflected in C. Lamont's propositions, for example, freedom of choice; happiness, freedom, and progress; good life of personal satisfaction; aesthetic experience as the pervasive reality in life; and questioning basic assumptions and convictions—questioning which is based on the scientific method. (BM85)

105. The intellectual institutions of the future are all likely to be public in that they will all be dependent upon public funds. But unless they are also private in
the sense of having considerable autonomy over the ways in which they tackle problems and develop disciplines, they will not be able to perform the function of central intellectual institutions. This does not mean that they need have equal autonomy in their choice of problem areas or the disciplines they will develop. But once the priorities of the institutions are established through a process of interaction with other institutions, it is of vital importance that the intellectual institutions have autonomy over the ways in which they tackle their areas of inquiry and develop standards.

106. Education will start earlier and continue longer than at present, with less sharply defined natural terminal points. (BM94)

107. Hirsch foresees some effects of increased longevity on education:

Most likely the early formal education of the kind we know today would become a very small part of human activity. Rather, education might become a lifelong commitment which would alter even the primordial educational institution, the family. It might well involve different curricula at different periods throughout a person’s entire lifetime, with rapid shifts to meet changing circumstances. Work and education might become one. Longevity might bring other kinds of shifts in curriculum, such as subject specialization by age level. Education might be adjusted so that it could capitalize on the capability of youth for mathematics and science, and on the greater depth of understanding that comes with experience and maturity, for the subjects of law and philosophy. (BF13)

108. Maruyama:

In the past, education could be considered as information-giving and answer-giving. This type of education will become inadequate for people in an era of nonstationary cultures. Education will increasingly become a matter of developing attitude, ability, and skills to transcend the existing cultural goals and means, and to challenge present ways of thinking, logic, science, and epistemology. (BM100)

109. Children should be encouraged to participate in cooperation games and group activities where there is no hierarchical structure. Field work is important prior to book learning.
Recurrent education should be institutionalized to allow adults to take time periodically for education, travel, or new experience. (BM100)

110. Major improvements in curricula are coming. Changes will come quickest to the factual subjects and less quickly to subjects whose matter is more controversial and less bound by "facts." Whether to use the new subject matter will be determined by the community and the school system in question.

Organization

Trends at the College Level

111. As college and university enrollment increases, housing problems will become enormous. The university will lose its role in loco parentis because of the increasing age of the school population, and the diversity of the university community in terms of background and social values.

There will be increased decentralization of schools and colleges to achieve greater efficiency and less cumbersome organizations.

Satellite universities and junior colleges will grow to accommodate the less intellectually endowed and less career-focused student.

The demand for school administrators will increase greatly; but because of a shortage, the computer will take on more and more of the paper work. The university will be organized around whatever procedures the computers make possible.

As youth is exposed to rapid social changes in the campus, peer-group pressure will be the single most potent source of guidance. Contact with ideas and a "live" teacher to spark real intellectual-emotional growth will be the chief mechanism available at large universities for learning and insight. Dissatisfaction with life at the large universities could bring on a migration of students from the large schools to the small schools.
112. There will be many schools in which grades and credits will not be given; evaluation of students will be done by independent testing agencies. This trend will begin to increase in the last half of this decade. (BM94)

113. The formal intellectual institutions will have to take greater responsibility not only for stimulating cultural activities, but for insuring a level of common understanding sufficient to provide the basis for communication about cultural subjects. The university should be more responsible to the social needs of the time, and yet it must also be better insulated than it is now so that it can take responsibility for the long-range needs of society. Clearly universities must be national—perhaps international—in scope, but it also makes sense for them to be integrated into regional associations of complementary institutions, including governmental and industrial, as well as cultural ones. (BP416)

Potential Impact

114. Back in 1966, Morphet and Ryan related education to a social and community need, namely, conservation of natural resources. The conservation, development, and wise use of natural resources will require a highly trained professional group much larger than presently existing; numerous technicians will be needed in the middle levels in existing and new fields. More attention to basic principles at all levels in the school systems is needed, and a variety of educational activities and experiences for interested adult citizens;

Our capacity to utilize our resource base in support of a large population and a higher level of living will depend squarely upon educational advances in these fields. (BB342)
115. Elementary and secondary schools should offer material which teaches appreciation of the role that resources play in economic and social development: ecology, conservation, biology economics.

- Direct field observation and experimentation are needed, hopefully with appeal to urban youth.

- Actually, separate courses on this specific area are not essential (although they are desirable) if natural-resource considerations are infused into all phases of a school’s curriculum. (BB242)

116. Within thirty years, the educational systems of the United States, and several Western European countries as well, will have broken decisively with the mass-production pedagogy of the past, and will have advanced into an era of educational diversity, therefore, the society is shifting irresistibly away from, rather than toward, standardization. (BB355)

117. Jerome finds that the sense of academy as a pressure — free social enclave has given way to multi-purpose, competitive dynamism. He foresees four important changes:

- greater emphasis on undergraduate education for its own sake;
- more education outside of institutions;
- more experimentation with family and community forms; and
- more anarchic yet more cooperative forms of organizations.

(BP217)
118. Universities should strive to be universal, and yet they cannot pretend to have achieved this goal. An intellectual institution which limits itself to one area, excluding a priori the possibility of extension to new fields of inquiry, is clearly not viable unless it is part of a university.

Although there seems to be a feeling that universities ought to remain small in order to achieve maximum internal communication, they must be capable of absorbing many new ideas and responsibilities. In terms of numbers, we ought to expect the replication of leading universities, perhaps double the number by the year 2000. Yet, the capital cost of excellence will continue to increase faster than the population and the productivity of the country. (BP416)

119. Daniel Bell, Irving Kristol, and others have suggested that American institutions of higher learning will group into categories concentrating on different broad missions; some already emerging are universities continuing their classic roles as citadels of learning, others to become primarily training institutions for the professions, and others to serve as research institutions on critical problems of society.

120. The university will have to play a role in second-career development; for multiple careers are likely to become more common and more necessary. Preparation for a second career will require some radical changes in our educational and training procedures. There is a specific need to provide people who may

Potential Impact

As universities sort themselves out into categories emphasizing such principal functions, the Navy will want to keep abreast of the process, so that appropriate institutions can be approached to perform appropriate services desired by the Navy, and to join in alliance with the Navy for particular purposes.

Potential Impact

If institutions of higher education become representative of particular organizations or ideologies, the armed forces and the Navy may consider establishing their own university–level institutions, beyond the present parameters of professional service schools.
be working effectively in one area, but who could also be useful in new areas with new tools and opportunities for coping with important problems that are quite unfamiliar to everyone. Existing institutional mechanisms for such second-career training and placement are not very well developed, and they do not seem adequate to the future need. (BP416)

121. As a function of increased emphasis on education, Graubard sees increased emphasis on health and leisure. The central element of "university cities" will be education, instead of the present-day foundations of commerce, industry, and government. (BP416)

122. One Gordon and Helmer Delphi response suggested implications for education of uncontrolled population growth:

In the absence of control, education will become increasingly difficult. A tripling of population would imply a tripling of the world's schools and teaching staffs to maintain current levels of education. This would imply a change in techniques to achieve more efficient methods, including teaching machines, television grammar schools and high schools, reliance on canned material, etc. (BB16)

123. By 1980, it is likely that the combination of cheaper computers and various types of financial support will provide computer service for all colleges and university students having a need for it. Perhaps half of the public school districts and all of the colleges and universities in the United States will be employing remote-terminal direct-access computers. School business-office use of computers, as well as scheduling of classes, will be essentially routine by 1980. Benefits of computers for instruction can be duplicated by printed programs, but the "glamour" of the machine keeps interest. (BB242)

124. A Gordon and Helmer Delphi response suggested implications of widespread use of sophisticated teaching machines on education:

- Widespread use of sophisticated teaching machines could affect the form and substance of schools.
- The machines may be linked in the home via wideband communications systems and thus make college education generally available.
Key professors may spend full time with computer programmers rather than classes.

Increased efficiency of learning may reduce time to educate to a given level by 30 percent. (BB16)

125. Even today, a great many people are not aware of the potentials of alternative systems of education exploiting the modern time-shared computer, such as this one described by Miller:

The classroom is partitioned into semi-isolated booths. In each booth are a pair of headphones, a typewriter keyboard, a screen similar to a television set's, and a photosensitive light gun. All of these stations (and others in other classrooms) are in communication with a central computer. A student communicates with the computer by typing on the keyboard or by touching his light gun to a designated spot on the screen; the computer communicates with a student by playing recorded speech through the student's earphones, or by writing or drawing pictures on the cathode ray tube. Each student can be working on a different lesson, or two on the same lesson can progress at different rates. A teacher walks from booth to booth, answers questions, sees that the stations are operating properly, and supervises requests for new materials.

Such a system was operating in 1967 in a public school in Palo Alto, California. (BP416)

126. Miller discusses whether the computer results in depersonalization when used in education, in a view which disputes that of Goldberg, cited early in this Section:

For many people the computer is synonymous with mechanical depersonalization, and computerized instruction is frequently regarded as a way for the teacher to avoid his personal responsibility to his students. Fears have been expressed that the computer represents an assembly-line approach to the educational process that will increase alienation, identity crises, anomie, and so forth. Such attitudes seem overly emotional. The evidence points in the opposite direction.

The computer gives the child a measure of individual attention that he could receive in no other
way, short of a private tutor. To the extent that initiative can be left in the hands of the learner, rather than given to the machine, these devices can help to solve an important educational problem. (BP416)

127. Another set of Delphi responses probed for implications of demonstrated feasibility of education by direct recording on the brain (not generally considered possible until the next century, if ever):

- Shortening of the educational process and initiation of independent thinking at an early age.
- Factual teaching eliminated, since this type of data would be stored more efficiently in machines.
- Brain-washing whole generations of youth to certain value systems or political styles. (BP416)

128. Another set of Delphi responses explored possible implications of the development of sophisticated teaching machines utilizing adaptive programs which respond not only to the students' answers, but also to certain physiological responses of the students (such as tensions):

- Greatly increased rate of learning.
- Significant changes in the number and role of teachers.
- Significant decrease in those aspects of education transmitted uniquely by a human teacher (including, probably, humanistic values, and the stimulation and excitement possible in intellectual pursuits).
- Increased research into physiological responses and their relationship to learning.
- A more pervasive educational system which might end ignorance-induced poverty.
- A more rebellious student population than the present. (BM61)

Potential Impact

129. Perhaps more ominous than most of the predications discussed here is the "adversary culture" which both Irving and possible responses will be discussed in a later Section.
Kristol and Daniel Bell charge is being inculcated in our schools. We are not certain that we understand all the potential ramifications, but some very debilitating ones are in store for American culture if our children are brought up in a spirit of dissent, of confrontation, of being adversaries of our culture, of being anti-major elements of our culture. We feel impelled to observe that societies and civilizations are built by cooperators, by assenters.
FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

The Current Situation of the Family

1. It is widely (though not unanimously) agreed that the role and influence of the family in society is declining, portending in turn substantial change in the role and forms of marriage. The decline of the family is attributed to increased occupational mobility, crowded living conditions, and reduced parental influence in the socialization of the adolescent. The trend is toward the "nuclear family," consisting of husband, wife, and one or two children, and perhaps eventually to husband and wife alone. Childbearing is delayed. Other notable developments include an increasing number of temporary marriages, female careers, population control measures, and new patterns of child-raising, including the use of centers outside the family. (BM34)

2. The average family size is now 3.7 persons, and dropping. Collapse of the family system may be approaching but it is not near; in 1967, 92% of all Americans (99% of those under 18) lived in families. Nevertheless, the divorce rate and the remarriage rate are rising. Changes in the family situation include a longer period after the children leave home, due to increased longevity; less difference in husband-wife ages; younger age of children marrying; appearance of first child soon after marriage; and birthrate dropping slowly.

3. By 1975, the United Potential Impact

The decline of the family is having and will continue to have considerable (if often subtle and indirect) impact upon the Navy. It is in the nature of the missions assigned to the Navy by American society that is rooted Navy concern with authority, national interests, a sense of the obligations of citizenship, and government responsibilities, as well as with broader aspects of American society. All cohesive societies depend heavily upon the family to provide much of that cohesiveness and to perform much of the function of value transmission to the young. If the family becomes less

-83-
States population will be 215 million-219 million; median age will be 27.7 years, and rising. Other changes: formerly, as in Victorian times, the family was an economic unit, to which children contributed and which was a source of values; now, it tends to be a small, mobile unit (serial marriage, extramarital affairs) in which children are consumers. Children derive many of their values elsewhere. Some members live separately, and women’s place is no longer restricted to the home. In fact, women now constitute 40% of the work force. (BM94)

4. Some of the old values due to change are family loyalty, prudence, and thrift. The urban Negro family is already considerably different from the traditional American pattern. (BM94)

5. Bruno Bettelheim has emphasized one among several critical factors of change: Youth has turned from being the older generation’s greatest economic asset into its greatest economic liability (children do not add to a family’s income much, if at all). Thus, economic roles, obligations, and effective or ineffective as a value transmitter, and no other social element replaces it in performing that function, social cohesion will indeed be weakened. The social institutions which depend upon the acceptance of some minimal level of such values will find it increasingly difficult to perform their functions. In the end, the entire society will suffer.

Potential Impact
The Navy, as well as other social institutions, should give deep thought to have that part of value transmission traditionally accomplished by the family is to be accomplished at all, if the family does not do it, or does it ineffectively.
rewards are no longer clearly defined between generations. Because a parent's economic success or work contribution is no longer so important in a society of abundance, parents put much importance on how they have succeeded with their children. Youth, itself insecure because of its marginal position in society, is tempted to use the one power this reversal between the generations has conferred on it: to be accuser and judge of the parents' success or failure as parents. (BB99)

6. On economic factors, Rosenthal estimates that the typical American family spends $80,000 to $150,000 to raise two children and get them through a bachelor's degree. The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future spoke of "opportunity cost" or what the mother could have earned working besides the direct cost of raising the children; the study found wide variations in child costs, according to the mother's educational level; some variation for regions; but almost no variation according to residence.

The cost of raising a child to age 18 is over $34,000.

Potential Impact
The plurality of possible marriage and family styles predicted here indicate increasing diversity of social orientations with which the Navy will have to cope in attempting to translate or reconcile them with institutional values.

Potential Impact
Affluence as a whole will strengthen the individual's sense of not being economically dependent upon job or organization. In addition, expectations of being maintained in comfortable life circumstances will become so ingrained in many youth as to present special kinds of challenge to the Navy in administering its people and providing facilities—the Navy will be expected to provide amenities comparable to those "at home".
Four years at a public university cost at least $5,560. Four years at a private university cost at least $12,000.

Additional children, spaced two years apart, would cost about $50,000. The direct cost would be about the same as for the 1st child, but only 2, not 14, years of lost wages would be added for each one. (BN446)

7. As one result, Batalheim holds that in modern technological and mass society, only very few adults have a need to see their work continued by others; for rarely is the work so intimate.

Most parents have little emotional and few economic needs from children who have moved away and built a life different from their parents. It is because parents still have an emotional need for children (though not from youth that has become independent) that they often show strenuous resistance when youth fights for its independence. (BB99)

8. Making a comparison, Erik Eriksen says that the French adolescent is tired of parental authority will inevitably form an element in personal judgements as to how realistically the Navy recognizes such costs in pay, quarters, schools, and other facilities.

Potential Impact
With the rise of changing family patterns, women's liberation, and other influences, wives of Navy personnel who work will probably increase. They will participate in the work force to supplement family income or to realize their own self-development. Such trends will probably affect the traditional patterns of Navy family life.

Potential Impact
Among other effects on family, future changes will probably
and the phrase, "So long as you live in this house..." So, as soon as he finishes his military service, he tries to make a clean break to a refuge from the more severe restrictions of family life.

In the United States, marriage is a romantic refuge from the bewilderment of life. In American culture a child is taught very young to fend for himself, yet the household is open to outsiders. In deciding family affairs, the child is often given "an equal vote" so that a problem is worked out together.

Life at home is pleasant so an American adolescent often is in no hurry to leave home, to make a "clean break" when married. Eventually, it may be the parents of the adolescents who long for a clean break. (BB99)

9. Eric Hoffer furnishes us with a passage which provokes thought about current ferment and future change in relation to the role of the family:

The attitude of rising mass movements toward the family is of considerable interest. Almost all our contemporary movements showed
in their early stages a hostile attitude toward the family, and did all they could to discredit and disrupt it. They did it by undermining the authority of the parents; by facilitating divorce; by taking over the responsibility for feeding, educating and entertaining the children; and by encouraging illegitimacy.

Crowded housing, exile, concentration camps and terror also helped to weaken and break up the family. Still, not one of our contemporary movements was so outspoken in its antagonism toward the family as was early Christianity. Jesus minced no words: 'For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me'. He seemed to sense the ugly family conflicts His movement was bound to provoke both by its proselytizing and by the fanatical hatred of its antagonists. 'And brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child; and the children shall rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death'.

It is strange but true that he who preaches brotherly love also preaches against love of mother, father, brother, sister, wife and children. The Chinese sage Mo-Tzü who advocated brotherly love was rightly condemned by the Confucianists, who cherished the family above all. They argued that the principle of universal love would dissolve the family and destroy society. The proselytizer who comes and says 'Follow me' is a family-

Potential Impact

Regardless of the source, the Navy will want to look closely at any movement which erodes the cohesion of the family in American life, and which erodes in turn the performance of functions which are important for current and future cohesion in American society.
wrecker, even though he is not conscious of any hostility toward the family and has not the least intention of weakening its solidarity..." (BB155)

Adolescence

10. In evaluating the place of adolescence in society, it is relevant to note Bakan's contention that adolescence is a concept discovered in the United States in the late 19th century and early 20th, tied to social changes such as compulsory education, the development of the idea of juvenile delinquency, and child-labor legislation. (BP421)

II. During adolescence the child passes, gradually but persistently from the highly personal family envelope to the eminently impersonal societal envelope.

No adolescent...can develop optimally without societal structures standing ready to receive him...Whenever society lacks, to a critical degree, the quality of stable structure, then the maturing child turns, exclusively, to his contemporaries, his peers, in order to create for himself that social extrafamilial structure without which he cannot maintain his psychic integrity...The extremism (totalism) of adolescent attitudes and actions is by no means determined, exclusively, by the life history of the individual. The chaotic condition of contemporary society is a decisive, contributing factor.

12. Blos continues by placing his finger on a sensitive nerve:

Opposition to parental guidance, silent or vocal, belongs to the stage of initial adolescence. What is new is the self-doubt of the adult. (BP421)

Potential Impact

This insight of Blos is related to several in the subsection on Youth. It underwrites the importance of ensuring that societal structures exist prepared to receive the adolescent while maintaining clear connection to the adult world, in contrast to cutting him adrift, so to speak, to seek acceptance (by default) in an encapsulated subculture of peers.
13. Konrad Lorenz also commented on this point in a 1970 interview, partially in answer to a question as to whether the guilt for societal injustices lay at the door of the parental generation.

Parents are incapable of ceasing to love their children, and if they feel themselves accused and even hated they have a tendency to believe that they are guilty. And this is the worst thing they can do. Because, naturally the young people say, "There, he's admitted it!" This behavior is also found in animals. If you kick your dog, he thinks it's his fault. The more pain you cause a dog, the more submissive he becomes and the more he asks your pardon. The same thing is true of parents. The same is also true of professors. (BP403)

14. Bios describes the reason's for some of the parent's self-blame:

With the gradual, but radical, obsolescence of tradition in family life, reflected in child rearing, nutrition, manners, and moral stringencies, parent and child tend to rely more and more on the plethora of public advice which the mass media deliver into the home. Tradition has become replaced by the expert who offers answers to all of life's problems. Thus the family has become, gradually, a laboratory for the application of all kinds of counsel which fuse, contradict, or replace traditional patterns. Parents who reluctantly or eagerly put the bewildering jumble of advice into practice soon abdicate their personal responsibility in favor of the expert; thus they are surrendering their own convictions rather than passing judgment on what has been offered them. This submission to the expert has drained parental actions or attitudes of consistency, integration, and integrity. On the face of such synthetic guidance, a child becomes
unresponsive and confused. The scientific upbringing of children has turned out far more problematical than it seemed at first; indeed, many glorious expectations have come to dismal disappointment. (BP421)

15. To a question, "Do you perceive a kind of abdication of the father's role?", Konrad Lorenz responded thus:

I would venture to say that in man there is a direct correlation between the hate among children and the lack of a dominant father. But the domination need not necessarily be a brutal domination. The hostility that you see nowadays between brother and sister is a new phenomenon. It is particularly noticeable in America, where there is a tendency for real hatred to come between children on the same level of the family pyramid. (BP403)

The Nature of Family Relationships

16. We present a number of views, not all compatible. Warner makes an initial point of social significance:

Children are always born to their family's position. Through life, they may increase or decrease their status. The family thereby strengthens and helps maintain our class order. (BB366)

17. Katz examines law and cultural tradition to tie together his views on the integrity of the family unit, emphasizing the child's right to decent opportunity; and the state's need for new productive citizens.

He defines the function of the family as reproductive, social, and economic; transforming a biological organism into society's values, transmitting the cultural heritage; and developing attitudes. (BN433)

18. What are responsibilities of parents towards providing a
moral environment for sound character development: What are standards of fitness? What is the best interest of the child? He notes that some courts treat the child as a form of property, a financial asset. Middle-class cases of child neglect are often categorized as "social problems," while lower-class cases are termed "individual parental neglect."

Statutory criteria are negative, rather than proscriptive. The broad discretion given to the juvenile system may be abused in order to impose majority values on minorities. Katz asks that "emotion neglect" become a major charge in the battle against child neglect. (BN433)

19. The question at hand is not whether the public should involve itself in these matters, but what the nature of the involvement should be. A most important social value continues to lie in safeguarding the privacy and dignity of the family and parents. On the other hand, parents cannot have the right to consign their children to life without any hope of acquiring the tools to become productive members of society. (BN433)

20. In relation to the transmission of society's values, Katz asks: Is it not possible that "middle-class values" are accepted by the dominant groups because they work? That the poor (or many of them) are poor precisely because they or their parents do not live by these values?

Indispensable to progress is the formulation of clear and objective standards that are duly concerned with the privacy of the parent and the family, but that, while allowing for the genuine cultural diversity and the differences in attitudes that exist in this society, nevertheless safeguard the essential interest of each child. (BN433)

21. Bettelheim touches on parental roles:

Successful family life can be organized in which the woman is dominant in the home and even in intimate relations, as long as the man's dominance in his sphere is clearly recognized and never challenged by women.
The man's sphere is usually the work life, be it in the professions, in business, or politics.

The woman who engages in "mom-ism" and wishes to "wear the pants" does not act out of an original desire to go her husband one better, but in defense and retaliation.

The female is not taught that men and women are wholly equal or opposite sexes, but that they are complementary. (BB99)

22. Again, Konrad Lorenz, on family cohesion:

It is the moral codes that create family cohesion. If we are to take the theoreticians of complete sexual promiscuity at their word, we will have to ask ourselves among other things, What will become of the children? Because it can be shown that a child needs not only his two parents but even his grandparents, a family. (BP403)

23. This is part of the perspective that is increasingly under debate How much does a child need a family?

A brief evolutionary account may provide illumination. The 19th century in Europe was a network of various family levels living together, while the small and private family was common to the American social scene. Talcott Parsons believes that the small, private family accustoms men to the limited and fragmented contacts they will have when they go out to work in offices or factories. For example, the fact that the father is the source of income, and not the source of tender love, may teach children that in the world, kindness does not make for economic success.

It may be that the revolt against the middle-class home will continue as a means of trying to recapture the idea of human association connected
with the extended family pattern. We are on the edge of an immense change in
the conduct of family life. There is a longing for the kind of intimate yet complex
association that has marked the West for most of its history.

The idea of the normal American family as the standard of adaptation to industrial life against which other families should be judged is being challenged in two ways.

1. Social scientists, albeit with sketchy facts, seem to believe that children reared in the extended family atmosphere are more successful (happy?) than children reared in the private isolated family.

2. There are tangible signs that the private family is creating boredom, discontent, and aimlessness. There is a widespread yearning to find some kind of human association that is intimate and yet goes beyond the small isolated family.

(BN460)

24. Morison feels that the prestige and importance of the family is declining in advanced technological societies because the family is a poor assimilator and transmitter of new knowledge essential to survival in a rapidly moving world. He suggests that new mechanisms will have

Potential Impact

It may seem a bit far-fetched today, but the concern of social institutions over the effects of changing family life may extend to encouragement of certain forms and practices, such as encouraging extended family forms by liberalizing classifications of "dependents" by subsidizing larger quarters and special facilities.

Potential Impact

The transmission of knowledge may be separable from the transmission of values. It would be extremely difficult to devise structures that make such distinctions without accompanying tensions, but the effort may prove worthwhile.
to be developed to provide the satisfactions and human ties which used to be provided in family life. (BM68)

25. Slater looks at the type of family which might help to maintain the chronic change characteristic of our society. Such a family would act according to the assumption that children adapt better to their environment than did their parents, and thus, parents cannot take for granted the superiority of their own knowledge, attitudes, and skills. This helps to foster adaptability to change, while, at the same time, it is itself a result of change. (BM68)

26. Declaring that it has been established by research over many years, Conger emphasizes a firm principle of family relationships in modern time: Autocratic or authoritarian patterns of parental behavior will not work. (BP421)

27. Another report concentrates on another source of family tension:

As currently administered family planning programs fail to recognize the importance of the individual's responsibility, regardless of sex, for contraception. The programs emphasize the women's total responsibility for contraception. Little attention is given to the role or the responsibility of the male for family planning. (BMI43)

28. Bettelheim has also referred to this aspect. For girls, he says, the concept of motherhood as the road to self-realization is stressed

Potential Impact
Autocratic or authoritarian patterns will become decreasingly effective in almost all activities of future society. However, as more effective methods and patterns evolve within organizations, for example, there is no reason to expect that they cannot be devised for effective family relationships.

Potential Impact
More definitive identification and responsibility for paternity will involve Navy personnel not only with
at an early age. Only very occasion-
ally, for boys, however, is father-
hood added, like an afterthought as
domestic communities, but also over-
seas, especially in situations of
tension or extended overseas basing.

(BB99)

29. Several aspects and perspectives of family affairs are reflected in a variety of sources. In a review of a book about sexuality and homosexuality, the critic concluded that the family unit is safe, the youth culture is a paper dream, and the generation gap is only a diverging set of attitudes, not of life-
styles. The author appears to believe that many of the current opinions on the family and the generation gap are misconceptions. (BN376)

30. Several studies have concluded that child-abusers, and even murderers were often victims of abuse themselves as children. Severe early punishment appears to make people more "intimidatable" and, therefore, more susceptible to accumulating grievances related to later criminal behavior. (BN351)

31. Another "straw in the wind" relates to the movement toward suffrage for 18-year-olds and subsequent pressures to establish 18 as the age of legal maturity. In February 1972, a Tennessee State Appeals Court ruled that parents of children who have reached 18 years of age are no longer legally obligated to provide economic support for them. (BN544)

Current Marriage Statistics

32. According to the National Center for Health Statistics, marriage continues popular.

In 1890 half of all Americans over 14 were married; in 1971, over two-thirds of all Americans over 14 were married. Over one-half of all marriages in the United States take place on Saturday. Highest marriage rates occur in
Idaho, South Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Nevada. Unlike WWII and Korea, the Vietnam War has had no effect on the marriage rate. There is a large increase in remarriage rates among men, but not among women. Interracial marriages are increasing, but still constitute less than 1% of all marriages in the United States. (BN389)

33. Some statistics released in February 1972 show how the marriage and family situation continues to change. A striking drop occurred in the birthrate between 1967 and 1971: from 2.9 to 2.2 per woman. At this time (1972) the American birthrate is the lowest in its entire history. This indicates that the total population of the United States in 2000 will be about 280 million, instead of 305 million, as previously predicted. Family size will also decrease. In 1967, 44% wanted only 2 children; in 1971 64% want only 2 children. Between 1960 and 1971, the average age of entering marriage for women rose from 20.3 to 20.9. The proportion of single women between ages 20 and 24 rose from 28% to 37%. It is believed that the state of the economy and environmental concern are contributing factors. (BN443)

34. Certain Census Bureau figures are relevant. Both young men and women were more likely to be single in 1971 than were those in the comparable age group in 1960.

. Among 18-24 year olds, about half of the women and two-thirds of the men were still single.

. Despite increased mobility, the great majority of youth continue to live in families.

. About 29% of the men 18-24 were family heads, while 42% of the women 18-24 were wives. About 8% lived alone or with non-relatives.

. Young women living with their husbands, where family income in 1970 was $10,000 or more, were likely to have fewer children under 5 years old than were those women whose family income was less than $10,000. (BG63)
35. Some feel that the strong tendency toward early marriage will probably continue, because of a sense of footlessness and "nothing better to do," a growing belief that the government will care for them "one way or another," and social pressures which condemn certain types of adult behavior outside the marriage framework.

Factors favoring a reduction in the marriage rate would include cheap effective oral contraceptives, for male and female, inability of youth to find jobs in the labor market, and some economic disaster such as a severe depression.

Readily available contraception will accelerate changes in sexual morals and values related to relationships in couples. Experimenting with premarital sex will be encouraged by physical mobility, a consumer-oriented economy with its explicit approval of self-indulgence, the declining role of the family as the behavior-constraining and defining agency for youth, and emotional insecurity brought on by scarce jobs and alienation. Furthermore, sexual experimenting among adults will encourage the same

Potential Impact

It is not unthinkable that a trend of uninterrupted companionship between many husbands and wives may intensify in the Navy, as well as in other walks of American life. If this were to occur (see subsection on Women on new practices accepted by commercial shipping firms and trucking-fleet firms), the Navy may consider ways in which men and women in particular categories of eligibility (married? no children? both with rated specialties? etc) may serve aboard ship together.
practices among youth.

Possible dilemmas among goals or purposes which youth may have to meet in the future.

Prepare for a job or get a job.

Be a highly responsive member of the consuming market.

Behave like adults before being accepted as adults.

Do as parents say, not necessarily as they do.

Youth responses will range from ambivalence and indifference to frustration and misunderstanding, as youth turn to their peers for direction and understanding. More importantly, "reality-definers" and style-setters will not offer parents any consistent guides to incisive parental behavior and standards. (BB232)

36. Commenting on the fact that 41% of all marriages end in divorce (1970), a Rutgers sociologist suggested that, rather than ask "What went wrong with the marriage?" we should ask "What is wrong with the institution?" (BP300)

37. The Census Bureau reported that divorce is twice as likely among those marrying young, below 22 years of age. The rate among blacks and low-income groups was markedly higher than among white middle and high-income groups. Furthermore, men had a better chance for remarriage than women, and white middle and high-income men a better chance than black or low-income men. (BN440)
Alvin Toffler offers these predictions:

Millions of men and women now adopt what appears to them to be a sensible and conservative strategy. Rather than opting for some offbeat variety of the family, they marry conventionally, they attempt to make it 'work', and then, when the paths of the partners diverge beyond an acceptable point, they divorce or depart. Most of them go on to search for a new partner whose developmental stage, at that moment, matches their own. Serial marriage — a pattern of successive temporary marriages — is cut to order for the Age of Transience, in which all man's relationships, all his ties with the environment, shrink in duration. It is the natural, the inevitable outgrowth of a social order in which automobiles are rented, dolls traded in, and dresses discarded after one-time use. It is the mainstream marriage pattern of tomorrow. (BB355)

An economic and political group image is likely to reduce the emphasis whereby the family is the fundamental unit of society. Thus, children will probably look up to authorities such as the community nursery for inspiration, guidance, and consolation, rather than to their parents. (BF13)

One of Rescher's Delphi surveys concluded that, by AD 2000:

...Various tendencies ranging from the use of contraceptives to the welfare state's case of the helpless in an affluent society can reasonably be expected to make deeper inroads upon family values and the domestic virtues (family loyalty, prudence, thrift, etc.). (In the urban Negro ghetto the family is well on the way to extinction.) It is even possible that in a few decades the multi-generation continuing and tightly cohesive family unit may become -- outside the Catholic orbit -- a status symbol of the especially affluent, much as with the multiplicity of wives in the Islam of today. (BB16)

Potential Impact

Despite the unassailable evidence that the role of the family is declining, there does not seem to be evidence that the family is becoming extinct or on its way to becoming so. Until forecasters can envision what social elements and structures would replace the family in performing those functions that the family performs best, and until they can describe possible substitutes for the family persuasively, it appears prudent to receive with skepticism predictions of the family's imminent demise.
Dr. Margaret Mead offers these predictions:

Recognition of the population crisis, by the members of affluent societies may lead to a reconsideration of the present family style and the creation of a new style with an emphasis on very small families and a high tolerance of childless marriage or a more encompassing social style in which parenthood would be limited to a smaller number of families whose principal function would be child rearing; the rest of the population would be free to function — for the first time in history — as individuals. A change of this kind would present these alternatives: There would be a growing disregard for sex as a basic mode of differentiation. Adults who functioned as parents would be given special forms of protection. Protection would be extended also to those in dependent positions by reason of lack of education, physical disability, mental and physical illness, or old age. Limitations on freedom would be removed from women as a social group. Boys and girls would be differentiated not by sex-typed personality characteristics, but by temperament. The two-sex exclusive pair model of human relationships would lose its power. However, initially, a continuation of socially supported modes of sex differentiation might well be the easier institutional arrangement. It is predictable, however, that over time there would be considerable individual rebellion against any form of social sex typing that ignored personality differences and was unsupported by the economic necessities. (BP416)
42. Toffler suggests a number of possibilities:

Childless marriage, professional parenthood, post-retirement childrearing, corporate families, communes, geriatric group marriages, homosexual family units, polygamy -- these then, are a few of the family forms and practices with which innovative minorities will experiment in the decades ahead. (BB355)

43. The prediction that non-family methods of rearing children will be widely accepted has been expressed by a number of sources. (BM94). In this connection, one might note Bettelheim's reaction to the communal raising of children in kibbutzim in Israel. Parents visit their children once a week. Bettelheim found the children greatly peer-oriented. They seemed calm, adjusted, happy. However, they tend not to be creative or adventurous.

Four other predictions seem relevant here:

. In the 80's, child care may be viewed as a government responsibility. This will free women to return to work shortly after delivery. (BM94)

. National legislation limiting family size will be enacted, perhaps within the next few decades.

. Giving birth to children may become a "privilege," not a "right." (BM61)

. The educational system may find itself seriously overburdened by assuming the expanding range of social commitments previously handled by the family. (BM94)

44. Improvements in education will mean that some children will be able to reason more accurately on more complex matters than some parents. The
inability of parents to deal with these problems, in terms of their values, will heighten youth's belief that their parents are unable to cope with their social needs, and the needs of youth in particular.

Differences between parents and youth will be blurred by the ability of the parents to "catch up" to the youth through adult education, and the indifference of youth to the world's problems. It will be more difficult for parents to guide their children. A pattern of physical separation between generations may ease the problems associated with the generation gap and strengthen later parent-offspring relationships. (BB232)

47. A strong trend toward social-security-like schemes, begun at birth and providing economic means for provision of services to children, irrespective of parents' economic position, will occur in the 1980's. (BM94)

48. The family will increasingly become a "leisure-activity unit." (BM94)

49. Companionship will be the main reason for the family's existence, but greater leisure time will not necessarily provide more opportunities for family closeness. A more complex society will place greater demands on leisure time. Changes in child-raising patterns and in mother-child and husband-wife relations will establish new patterns or ways in which children will define their dependence on, and autonomy from, the others. (BB232)

50. Roiphe concludes these predictions on a positive note: Potential Impact

One thing not needed in relation to the future are apocalyptic predictions — predictions that changes in the offing will necessarily bring greater chaos and ambivalence to American life. Such predictions may be more reflective of the cast of mind and emotion possessed by the predictor than of any power to divine the mood of the future. The same extent, the same observation applies to the rosy-glow school, which predicts that happiness will prevail. What seems substantially probable is that society will move in ways which appear to fit the interests of most of its members. Some will doubtless be heartening changes, and
Current attacks on the nuclear family structure must not turn our attention away from the need for better child care, more love, not less, from men and women fully exploring the possibility of love between themselves.

The real revolution in the making is changing society to enlarge the potential of individual citizens at all ages. (BP354) some will probably be harmful; but society has built-in corrective mechanisms. The probability is quite high also that the Navy will be manned and led by persons who are able to interpret current social trends correctly, and to adjust Navy practices into reasonable compatibility with general society.
From the inception of this project, many colleagues and others aware of it have insisted on referring to it as "the Youth Culture Project." We have resisted that designation, on the grounds that cultural change will not be effective unless it becomes deeply rooted in all major levels of a society. Nevertheless, we are thoroughly in agreement with the fundamental importance of the role of youth in any large-scale change in American society. Certainly, youth is of critical importance to the military. War is fought preponderantly by young men. Military-establishment median ages are always in the 20's. Military training centers are designed for the young. Therefore, it should not occasion surprise that, of more than seventy sub-sections of this study report, the largest subsection is devoted to youth.

A number of analyses, appraisals, opinions, and predictions are cited in the following pages, drawn from a number of sources. As one reflects upon these judgements, one caution should be kept in mind throughout: When different authors refer to "youth" or "young people," they are not all referring to the same persons, the same groups of persons, or the same proportion of the population. Some literally mean all American citizens within certain age brackets; some mean only college students; some mean only parts or all of the Counterculture; some mean only disaffected, critical, alienated youth. In many contexts, it is difficult to discern which, "youth" are being referred to.

Perhaps the most incisive analysis of the nature of the Youth Movement was given in the report of the Presidential Crime Commission of 1967:

In America in the 1960's, to a greater extent perhaps than in any other place or time, adolescents live in a distinct society of their own. It is not an easy society to understand, to describe, or for that matter, to live in.

In some ways it is an intensely materialistic society; its members, perhaps in unconscious
imitation of their elders, are preoccupied with physical objects like clothes and cars, and indeed have been encouraged in this preoccupation by manufacturers and merchants who have discovered how profitable the adolescent market is. In some ways it is an intensely sensual society; its members are preoccupied with the sensations they can obtain from surfing or drag racing or music or drugs; in some ways it is an intensely moralistic society; its members are preoccupied with independence and honesty and equality and courage. On the whole it is a rebellious, oppositioned society, dedicated to the proposition that the grownup world is a sham.

...The weakening of the family as an agent of social control; the prolongation of education with its side effect of prolonging childhood; the increasing impersonality of a technological, corporate, bureaucratic society; the radical changes in moral standards in regards to such matters as sex and drug use -- all these are phenomena with which the nation has not yet found the means to cope.

4. There is an aspect of continuity in the direction, if not the details. Two sociologists, S.M. Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., examined the college-political experiences of graduates from the 30's, 40's, 50's and 60's. Their findings show that the variations in political opinions among college students follow an essentially linear, age-related progression. Thus a college man of the 30's is less liberal than one of the 40's, and so on. (BN386)
gardes, who will press in the same
direction, possibly achieving still higher
peaks of social and political ferment and
change.

5. Analysis in terms of
political generations came to the fore
in the 1930's in the work of such scholars
as Karl Mannheim, Sigmund Neumann,
and Rudolf Heberle. They contended
that individuals gain a frame of reference
from the decisive events of the period
when they first come to political con-
sciousness -- usually in their late teens
or early twenties -- which then shape
their subsequent values and actions.
Thus the prevailing climate in which a
cohort "comes of age politically" tends
to frame its later political orientations.

(BPI44)

6. What is happening in the Youth
Movement

Assertion of autonomy
in matters of appearance, taste, morals,
and values, and an ability to make it
stick. Political radicalization.

The demand for relevance in education.

Uncompromising resistance to the militarization of life, and
to war, as instrument of foreign policy.

Identification with the poor and underprivileged.

A personalist-communalist orientation, where full develop-
ment as a person is perceived as possible

Potential Impact

The frame of reference prevailing in the late 1960's and early
1970's which will shape the values and actions of those who come of age
politically in the later 1970's and the
1980's, provided a particular complex of
adversary orientations which may become
of increasing concern to social institu-
tions, including the military, over that
period.

Potential Impact

These are formidable
adversary orientations for any social
institution to cope with, particularly
an institution with the nature and
values of the military. No doubt, some
of these trends will subside, while some
intensify. Some represent adversity,
even danger, for the military -- such
as political radicalization, resistance
to the alleged militarization of American
life, and comprehensive alienation.

Nevertheless, some appear to be healthy
developments -- such as identification
with the underprivileged, and community
sense -- and can be adapted and re-

-107-
only within a community.

Alienation in all its ramifications.

An ambivalent attitude toward tradition and history. (BP267)

7. The following factors are said to include the reasons why the Movement is happening:

The age of affluence. Youth do not fear the necessity of survival. They don't feel the need to work for survival. Youth may unconsciously resent their parents because youth is forced to depend upon them.

- The presence of thermonuclear arsenals.
- The Cold War
- The hot wars (particularly Korea and Vietnam).
- The inversion of national priorities (e.g., guns for butter)
- The technological revolution and its threat to deprive youth of meaningful, satisfactory work.
- TV — vehicle of activists. TV furnishes a bond among youth in the form of instant and continuous awareness.
- Existentialism. Youth value immediate experience; the concrete

Potential Impact

Such interests as personal experience and personal craft development represent opportunities for the military to adapt in meaningful ways.
over reflection and the abstract. Personal experience is essential.

- The rigidity of social institutions; youth denied a part in the decision-making process.
- Art and craft technology; youth extols new art forms and creation of an independent life and art style.
- Literature; Current literature verified for youth its opinion of society. (BP267)

8. The Ripon Society has issued its own analysis of the Youth Movement, not exclusively admiring. Senator Baker is cited on youth: some of the mightiest and most energetic of our young are strikingly exclusive. As Abe Fortas expressed it, "... Immersed in the warm fluid of me-ness." They ritualistically reject the values of the Establishment, simply because they are Establishment. Lewis Feuer calls it "the moral de-authorization of the older generation."

It is often forgotten that the United States was founded by the young (Jefferson was 33). A majority of the citizens at that time were under 30, the last period until our own in which this was true. Keniston extols continuation of the same spirit: "Increasingly we must achieve, not discover, our identities; and create, not find, our homes."

Nevertheless, insists Keniston, youth are in many ways an out-group in society — powerless and without a lobby. (BM23)

9. Drucker evaluates the entire population of young adults, those between 21 and 35, and insists, contrary to Keniston, that they, especially the young adult women, tend to be the most conventional group in the population.

Potential Impact

The evolving values of this potentially-dominant group may provide greater support for the Navy than some anticipate.
and the one most concerned with concrete and immediate problems. This age group will dominate American society in the 1970's. (BPI03)

Some Demographics About the Young

10. Teenagers and children are a declining part of the total population mix. This trend will accelerate during the 1970's. The number of young adults 24-35 will increase by 35% or twice as fast as the rest of the population. (BN549)

11. Peter Drucker points out that in 1960, the center of population gravity in the United States was in the 35 to 40 age group, older than it had ever been before. Then, within five years, the center shifted down to age 27, younger than it had been since the early 19th century. The center of population will shift upward in the future, although by 1975 the dominant age year will be 21 or 22. From 1977 to 1985, the total number of 17-year-olds will drop sharply. (BPI03)


  The median age of the nation's population is 27.9. In 1930 it was 26.5. In 1910 it was 24.1. The age group 14-24 formed 15.1% of the population in 1960 and 20.2 of the population in 1971.

  Young people in 1971 appear to be staying single slightly longer and having fewer babies. For married women, 15 to 24, there were 23% fewer children in 1971 than in 1960. The sharpest decrease was among the best educated. In 1971, 67% of males from 18 to 24 were single, compared to 65% in 1960; 49% of females from 18 to 24 were single, compared to 40% in 1960 (white youth were more likely to marry). (BN561)
13. American youth (14-24) comprised 20% of the total population of the United States as of April 19, 1971; 41.6 million, or a 53% increase over 1960. Population of high school age (14-17 years) was 16.2 million in 1971, a 45% increase over 1960. College population (18-21 years) was 14.8 million in 1971, a 57% increase over 1960.

Youth of Negro and other races comprised a slightly higher proportion at all persons of "Nigro and other races" (22%) than did white youth of all whites (20%). (BG63)

14. The Census Bureau documents a high mobility among the young. Ten million persons from age 14 to 24 (26%) changed their address between March 1970 and March 1971, not counting men in the armed services. Of those between 22 and 24, 44% moved between 1970 and 1971. Most young adults from 18 to 24 (91%) live with families, either their parents or their own wives and children. (BG63)

15. More young people are going to college and staying there longer, but they constitute 1/4 of the age group; the remainder are working, in military service, unemployed, in high school, or in other statuses. (BN561)

Potential Impact
These statistics underestimate the likelihood of continuing mobility being exercised by young persons who make movement a habit.

Potential Impact
The attributes of college-attendance tend to give greater visibility to students, almost to the exclusion of the millions who do not go to college and those who, for any number of reasons, will not be able to attend college in the future. The point is introduced here and will be repeated later, that the capabilities and interests of non-college youth are certain to continue to
be of prime concern to the Navy in the future.

16. Both young adult men and young adult women were likely to be income recipients in 1970. Among persons 20-24 years old, 95% of the men and 77% of the women had incomes in 1970. The median income for women of this age was less than that for the men. 24% of the women had incomes of less than $1000 as compared with 14% of the men. 22% of the men had incomes of $7000 or more as compared with 6% of the women.

The median income in 1970 of young families whose head was under 25 years old and a year-round full-time civilian worker was $8,840. (BG63)

Some Analysts of the Youth Culture

17. Harrison says youth of today are better educated, more sophisticated, and in some respects more mature than youth in the past. Advanced industrial society is found oppressing, inhuman, unresponsive, and out of control (the youth's control). Hypocrisy and injustice anger them as do riots, poverty, discrimination, and the waste in the Vietnam War.

They seem to have an extremely simplistic view of the social and political world. There is little cooperation between black and white student organizations.

The radical activist believes that revolution is necessary, that the Establishment must be "creat-
ively" destroyed, and that there is no requirement to justify any act of protest or violence; total contempt for an authority is expressed at every opportunity.

There is no clear evidence (FBI claims some evidence to the contrary) that student organizations (e.g., SDS) are controlled or dominated by Communists; but it is "quite likely" that they are Communist supported and exploited. (BG22)

18. "The image, the dream that America manufactured for itself — of an open, expanding liberal society, full of opportunity, where the good life was easier to find than anywhere else, where individuality was prized more than anywhere else — no longer matches the facts. The contrast between dream and reality, seen with clarity by the young, is intensely depressing, for the reality is a diminishing of opportunity, a contradiction of idealism, a visible network of corruption, oppression, and greed. Of course, mixed with the evil is much good, much idealism, much aspiration, but the uncritical acceptance of old-fashioned American social values is well nigh an impossibility now for any intelligent and sensitive man or woman under twenty-five." (BP321)

19. The United States Chamber of Commerce reported on its enquiries in the Values of the Young. When asked, "If you had power to change one thing

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Potential Impact

Communist and other subversive organizations operate with methods appreciably more sophisticated than the old "Red cell". The fact that some radical extremists regard the Communists as outmoded will probably not lessen either group's determination to subvert the armed forces.

Potential Impact

This kind of confused analysis of values reinforces the propensity of the young extremist to see only the apocalyptic "reality" that he wants to see, which is frequently the reverse of the reality that exists. To see in America today "a diminishing of opportunity, a contraction of idealism, etc" is to see what is not there. There probably never was "uncritical acceptance of old-fashioned American social values" (and which values are meant here?). Such misrepresentation of the American scene is debilitating when repeated widely, often, and loudly enough. Countering its impact will require repeated and frequent, though calm, refutation.
in American Society, what would it be?" more than 1/3 of the males and 3/4 of
the females had no specific answer. Otherwise, replies scattered throughout
many categories — draft laws, discrimination, materialism, poverty. Most were
concerned with questions which affected them directly. When asked "What is your
top priority personal goal for the next few years?", the majority emphasized skill
development.

One word which was felt best to describe American society was
"materialistic," others were "sick," "affluent," "idealistic."

When asked, what

excited them most, the majority cited
"opportunity" and "attainment of personal
goals."

In response to "What
do you consider the most valued quality
of your own generation?", they said
the ability to challenge old assumptions;
others included optimism about the future,
and acceptance of reality.

Although mass society will persist, there will emerge a trend
toward the strengthening of the individual, as evident in the growing emphasis by
the young on self, and on protection of the right of privacy. (BS24)

20. Psychology Today

expressed its perceptions: American
children are cut off at an early age
from influence of significant adults.
They become more isolated in the com-
pany of the TV and their friends, resent-
ful of their parents' neglect. The
dominant group pressure is likely to be
negative. And the child will be strongly

Potential Impact

Despite the rhetoric on
other points, the reiteration of emphasis
on "opportunity," "skilled development,"
and "personal goals" supports our expect-
ation that most youth in the future will,
as in the past, respond to opportunities
to develop their skills for life-prepar-
ation.

Another confusing pre-
diction. There seems no reason to con-
sider "group expectation and goals" as
invariably antithetical to "adult values."
The Navy can play a role with other
social institutions in reducing situations
in which American children are "cut
off" from "influence of significant
influenced toward group expectations and goals and away from adult values. As a result, in the future,

we can anticipate increasing alienation, indifference, antagonism and violence on the part of the younger generation in all segments of our society, middle-class children as well as disadvantaged.

Some look to the USSR for an alternative model. Russian children spend less time with their parents; but the key difference is that the American peer-group is cut off from the adult world, while the Soviet peer-group acts as an agent of the adult world. (BP72)

Potential Impact

There may be more than the germ of a suggestion here, in the concept of constituting the young as agents of the adult world. It will take creative innovation to devise social concepts in which childhood and adolescence would be regarded less as entities and more as integral parts of the social fabric, clearly understood by the young as essential parts.

John D. Rockefeller sponsored a small task force to explore the possibilities for youth and the Establishment coming together and breaking through the anger and hostility that now divide them. He discounted initiatives on the part of the government, such as VISTA, because of political ties, and felt that the initiative should come from the private business sector. On the part of the young, there has already
been a large initiative in a peaceful voluntary way, but the Establishment by its lack of response had frustrated youth and played into the hands of the radicals or extremists.

The task force found upon interviewing 872 students and 408 Establishment leaders that while there are formidable obstacles to be faced — and they should not be underestimated for a moment, there does exist a solid basis for co-operative effort between young people and the Establishment. Co-operation is worth effort by both groups. Both believe that it is urgently needed. (BP351)

22. Three "generation-units" are recognized in American youth.

1. those who renounce modern Western society (radical)

2. those who desperately want a piece of its action

3. those who as desperately want to keep the piece of the action they have.

There is potential for serious conflict; for each group tends toward the irrational, moralistic, and non-negotiable.

Most literature has been on the renunciation (radical) youth, but there is a tug of war between the

Potential Impact

Retention of the conviction on the part of the Establishment that the large solid proportion of sensible youth is there, ready to compromise is taken seriously (and that it will always be there), will go a long way to eliminate the uncertainty and ready-to-capi-
tulate air that the Establishment often manifests.

Potential Impact

The more "action pieces" the Navy and other social institutions becoming willing to provide or share with the latter two groups, the more isolated will the first group become.
other two for possession. (BP257)

23. Harvard sociologist S.M. Lipset identifies two major gaps, or axes of polarization, evident among American youth. "The first is an axis of value, one of whose poles is renunciation, the other acceptance. Both the backlash youth and the radical youth, including a substantial part of the black youth, occupy the pole of acceptance together. The second axis is an axis of interest: how power and wealth are to be distributed. One pole of that axis is occupied by the backlash youth; the other, by the radicals." (BP257)

24. In the sense of time, tone, objectives, and issues, Harrison Such rapid changes in time, tone, objectives, and issues will probably continue unabated, warranting caution not to accept too long an impression that the nuances of 2-3 years ago are still operative, when in fact even subtle changes combine to revise the nature of any current version of the same problem. (BG22)

25. Other analysts categorize young people differently. U.S. News and World Report designates three groups of young people:

1. The normal youngster: home life has been strong with fine interpersonal relationships with his parents. Perhaps he is overreacting to the materialism of the parental society. This includes young idealists who work within the system.

2. "Hippie": reared in an emotionally unhealthy home and is himself emotionally starved, or unhealthy. He is not aggressive but turns inwards. Some are mentally ill and should be in hospitals.

3. The young criminal: as a rule his home was not warm; family ties were not close, with hostile or even cruel parents. He vents his hostility toward society. The dangerous revolutionist may come from this group. (BP437)
26. John Hersey states in his Letter to the Alumni that if one were to isolate one thing that students hate most these days, one would have to settle on bureaucracy. While this is in some respects an unrealistic view on the part of youth, it is none the less possible to alleviate the undesirable image of bureaucracy by making its processes more simplified and less formidable, and making it comprehensible — why what exists is necessary. (BB151)

27. Martin Duberman, in discussing a book by Kenneth Kenniston, refers to youth's "now traditional demand that all men be granted access to the prerogatives still monopolized by a few." The other major thrust of youth, he says, is the "newer revolution of consciousness that seeks fulfillment beyond material abundance."

28. Professor Michael Lerner suggests that the young grow up with a different cast of mind (sometimes
influenced by drugs) and approach slowly
the formulation of conceptual schemes
that can absorb "the terrible facts."
Lerner frankly concedes that this is a
partial explanation.

To be sure, this is no
newly-discovered process. Every genera-
tion encounters some "terrible facts" of
reality not previously internalized, and
develops generational perspectives not
wholly compatible with those of the
previous generation.

Lerner highlights the
interest of the New Culture in diverse
experiences; the young admire those
who have done extraordinary things,
including some areas of experience not
previously admired. He says the New
Culture has moved relatively rapidly
through a number of activities—civil
rights, antiwar activity, anti-poverty
and community activities, elections,
hippies, violence, and the rural scenes.

To some extent, says
Lerner, this rapid change in emphasis
has led to some insistence that society
most needs whatever crusade the New
Culture happens to be working on.

Potential Impacts
Perhaps more initiative
and imaginative condor in providing a
sensible Gestalt would preclude wide-
spread subscription to extremist structures,
which sometimes arise in a vacuum which
no one else offers to fill.
Still, he grants that not everyone is expected to participate equally in every movement; even the young accept diversities of commitment in the New Culture, so long as overall commitments remain to social justice and improvements in control of dangers to society.

(PB248)

29. Dr. Jeffrey K. Hadden surveyed 2000 college seniors, and found a new ideology of "privatism" to be the most distinctive and obvious trait to emerge—a combination of altruism and selfishness. If privatism leads toward becoming a sensitive honest person, our society's unfettered faith in youth may turn out to be justified, but privatism's present mood and form seem...almost void of nations for exercise of responsibility toward others. (BS23)

30. Some analysts of the Youth Culture are somewhat ambivalent about it. Many of us are going around in great earnest trying to establish national dialogues with young people. The fact is that youth has nothing at present to say. It is busy changing, and being changed. One cannot ascribe much meaning to the sound of their turmoil; the meaning is the sound itself.
How is it possible that a youth which is in such a mess is not a mess itself? It is possible because, until now, they did not themselves create that mess. Or so they feel. They feel clean. But part of the price of their feeling so clean is a continued, unresenting disaffiliation with us elders, us dirties...

I refuse the guilt. I didn't do it, not personally, I say toddling off to my warm and peaceful home. And yet I know it was done in spite of me, that somehow I was too weak a force in my society, am too weak a man in my society. Now I begin to understand youth's determination to be unlike me, to be force felt, a force effective, a shaper, not an inheritor.

In the past education taught the ways, the values, the powers of the group that reigns—it is essentially a training for replacements to the group.

Such education is a privilege. You must deserve it. Students on the contrary are saying that the education must deserve them. They are the consumers of education, with all the potential power that implies; power to spit out what they don't like, suggest new goods and services to the manager, and later to have their own kind of store.

In the end, what the counterculture became was a dramatization of today's social strains caused by self-indulgence, materialism, and alienation from the past.

The result could be a generation and a movement more inoculated against self-righteousness, dogmatism, moralism and collusion with violence, a movement that did not need to view the world as consisting simply in the struggle of good men against evil men, a counterculture that could recognize the enormous difficulties in resolving the problems of our society without losing its determination to solve them. (BPI23)
Mr. Monroe Bush in a letter to the Saturday Review, attempts to fix the new culture in historical perspective:

It is an unfortunate exhibition of intellectual pandering for Daniel Yankelovich to write that. "Our sons and daughters on campus are urging us...to restore a vital, more harmonious — and more humble — balance with nature." He confuses what they say with what they do.

I raise two points: First, nowhere does he recognize that the ideas of the youthful counterculture are seldom embraced in personal lifestyles, except in a most partial, fragmentary way; and, second, he fails to make clear that the sources from which the counterculture borrows its ideas have been shaping U.S. society for decades.

Having dealt with these new revolutionaries at close quarters, I would counter the glow Yankelovich's article with a conviction that they are, individually and variously, irresponsible, dishonest, drug-dependent, physically dirty, stray boys and girls who wander in fear and uncertainty through the best years of their lives.

Yankelovich is correct, of course, in foreseeing with great clarity the social revolution that is under way. The influences that move us come from Dostoevsky, Kierkegaard, and Camus, from Tillich, May and Fromm, from the New Christianity, Yoga, the Environmental Movement, and, in large measure, from America's own Frontier Tradition. The syncretic growth of these forces is driving relentlessly toward fundamental changes, with little if any aid from the sad, confused hedonists of the counterculture. (6P59)

The Nature of Childhood and Adolescence

Gordon discusses important factors:

The period from the onset of puberty (now around eleven for girls and twelve for boys) until the legally defined changes of status concerning driving and leaving school at one's own discretion (typically
at age 16) contains some of the life cycle's most important development in value, aspiration, role, identity, and interaction patterns.

Among the major sociological parameters of early adolescence in contemporary America...is one of the core value dilemmas of this developmental state: the problem of integrating the partially contradictory value themes of social acceptance and social achievement. (BP421)

33. The New York Times cited a number of corroborative studies in several countries, which show conclusively that boys and girls are maturing physically more rapidly (at an earlier age) than at any previous times in the past 300 years. The increase seems to be linked to nutrition. There is also some indication, although far from conclusive, that intelligence "matures" earlier in those whose growth and physical maturity comes earlier.

The report is well documented. Although researchers found that the maturity age steadily declined over this period, it was not felt that the decline would necessarily continue, at the same rate, since nutritional levels have begun to level off. (BN480)

34. J.M. Tanner describes physical growth as a very regular, highly regulated process. From birth, the growth rate of most bodily tissues decreases steadily (swiftly till age 3). Body shape changes gradually; rate of arms and legs greater than trunk. At puberty, very considerable alterations in the growth rate occurs. There is a swift increase in body size, rapid development of the gonads.

Boys have great increase in muscle size and strength — specifically adapting the male to the primitive primate role of dominating, foraging and fighting. Tanner says, Evolutionary adaptations of body structure usually carry with them and increased propensity for using those structures in behavior, and

The purpose of including this discussion is obviously to impress upon doubters that the onset of physical maturity is now occurring almost two years earlier than in earlier times, including the times when present senior persons were growing up. Many social
there is no reason to suppose this principle suddenly stops short at twentieth-century man. There is no need to take sides in the current debate on the origins of aggression to realize that a major task of any culture is the channeling of this less specifically sexual adolescent energy into creative and playful activity.

The nature of adolescent changes have not altered in the last 15 years, or the last 50, or probably the last 5000 years. There are two major biological facts:

- Girls still develop two years earlier than boys; the two-year difference is invariant.
- Some boys complete the entire process before other boys of the same bodily age begin the process.

But there is one considerable and important change: the events now occur at an earlier age than formerly. Fifty years ago, the average girl in Britain had her first menstrual period (menarche) at about the 15th birthday; now, the average has it before the 13th.

Fifty years ago, class differences in Britain played a part, the less-well-off grew up more slowly. Now the age at menarche is virtually the

customs and institutional procedures were established in earlier times, consistent with earlier conditions which no longer obtain. Of critical interest here is the basis for reevaluation of regulations, statutes, and customs which may be inconsistent with evolving conditions.

One obvious possibility is the lowering of the age of admissibility into military service. The British, for example, take young people in at age 15. It may make sense for America to do the same, at least selectively. This would be one way to increase the available manpower pool in the future.

This whole question of earlier maturation has various ramifications. The military, especially the military academies, have maintained in the past that they benefit from training young men "at a malleable age." It appears that the malleable age is beginning earlier (and perhaps peaking earlier), so that the objective of indoctrination may have to be aimed at younger starting ages.

It is notable also that females begin physical maturation two years ahead of boys. This condition may have further implications for possible use of womanpower by a number of social
same in all classes, and variations are mainly due to genetical factors.

In sum, there is a secular trend toward earlier maturation. (BP421) institutions. These trends are slowing down, but they may still continue.

The problem of disturbed youth in relation to society apparently demands involvement of youth at younger ages than society has been taking for granted.

None of the foregoing are recommendations, they are areas and questions suggested for exploration.

35. Tanner continues with data on physical changes: The earliest elements to reach adult status are heads, hands, feet. Before adolescence, boys and girls of given body size and shape are similar in strength. After, boys are much stronger, with larger muscles, more force per gram of muscle. Boys have larger heart, lungs, higher systolic blood pressure, lower resting heart rate, greater capacity for carrying oxygen in blood, and greater power for neutralizing chemical products of muscular exercise (e.g., lactic acid). Boys increase in red cells and hemoglobin; girls do not. Boys have greater increase in length of bones, and thickness of cortex; they lose less fat than girls. The puberty process in girls can vary from 1-1/2 to 6 years.

After age 3, each child tends to be consistently advanced or retarded during the entire growth period.

This is evidence that in European and North American school systems, children physically advanced toward maturity score on the average slightly higher in most tests of mental ability than same-age children who are less physically mature. The difference is not great, but it is consistent at all ages from 6-1/2.

It is also true that physically large children score higher than small ones, at all ages from 6. And at least part of the height-IQ correlation persist in adults. The relationship is not clear, but emotional attitudes are potential impact evidently, physical
clearly related to physiological events. Boys advanced in development (not only at puberty, but also earlier) are more likely to be leaders; muscular, powerful boys on the average mature earlier than others, and have earlier adolescent growth spurt — i.e., they get an early start and are in a good position to increase their domination.

Most studies of later personalities of children whose growth histories are known show that early maturers are more stable, more sociable, less neurotic, and more successful in society. However, the early maturer may also suffer a long period of frustration of sex drive and longer frustration of efforts toward independence and vocational orientation. (BP421)

36. In many societies, puberty occurs later in poorly-off children. In most societies, children with many siblings grow less fast than children with few or no siblings. In Northeast England, differences in puberty in different classes are now associated only with the size of one's family.

During the last hundred years, there has been a striking tendency of children to become larger at all ages — the "secular trend." The magnitude of the trend dwarfs difference between socio-economic classes. There is some evidence to show that in the United States, the best-off sections of the population are growing up at the fastest possible speed.

There is also an upward trend in adult height (but to considerably less degree). In earlier times, final height was not reached till 25 or later; now,
in men, final height is reached at 18 or 19.

Most of the trend toward a greater size in children reflects only more rapid maturation; only a minor part reflects greater ultimate size.

Most (not all) differences in the onset of puberty between populations are probably due to nutritional factors, operating from conception; e.g., in the well-nourished Western population menarche median age is 12.8-13.2 years, but among the Bantus in South Africa: 15.5; in Central Africa: 17.0; and in the Highlands of New Guinea: 18.0. Hot climates used to be cited as the cause of early menarche; but the effect of climate, if any, is far less than that of nutrition. (BP421)

37. To the analysis of physical factors, Blos adds insight into psychological factors: Everything typical for middle or late adolescence seems to be happening at younger and younger age. The initial state of adolescence is the most crucial period of whole adolescence in identity formation, personality consolidation, character formation, and second individuation.

Between 10 and 12, the child loses some responsiveness to controls by adults, clock, and conscience; he feels a growing uncontrollability and intensity of affective responses. Delays and restraints are not intrinsic impediments to successful completion of the adolescent process. (Damage comes from "too much" and "too little," and "too early," or "too late.") Mastery of the world he lives in begins to serve as his source of

Potential Impact

Emphasis is repeated on the initial stage of adolescence as the crucible of personality formulation, etc. — perhaps even general politicization. The age bracket would appear to merit closer attention on the part of the Navy and other social institutions interested in social cohesion and the transmission of the society's values. Waiting for forms and periods to which we have become accustomed over a long period may lose by default the opportunity to participate.
self-esteem, replacing earlier dependence on object love.

"Adolescence is a culturally-determined transition from childhood to adulthood."

Blois states that, after 50 years of observation, he can say that pubescence starts about 4 months earlier every 10 years. (BP421)

38. Gordon has analyzed school enrollment across the adolescent years and found that Orientals in the United States consistently have the highest proportion of age groups enrolled as students across all teen years. White students are next at every age; but among older adolescents, whites fall far behind orientals (at age 20, 35% of whites are in school, but 51% of Orientals). Large increases occur in school-leaving at 16 for blacks, at 17 for whites, from 12 on for Indians.

Increasing frequency of father-absent homes, premarital pregnancy, early marriage and, children soon after marriage put increasing pressure on the two core values of the 12-16 age group: acceptance and achievement.

Acceptance (or symbolically validated membership and welcomed participation in a group with important interaction patterns) can refer to family, peer group, or clique, official school groups, or the wider world of social class, socio-economic status, or ethnic subcultures.

Achievement (or symbolically validated performance, against a socially defined standard of excellence or competition) can take place in any of these social arenas.

There is some contradiction; the most visible form of achievement (e.g., high grades) may rank low in popularity.

In Coleman's study, achievement of high acceptance for adolescent boys include being an athlete, in the "leading crowd," or a leader in activities. Achievements with high acceptance for girls include being in the leading crowd, a leader in activities, or 'having nice clothes." (BP421)

39. One study of high-school students shows steady correlation between rising socio-economic status and increased identification with adult authority figures. Age and sex makes no difference. (BML01)

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Erik Erikson speculates on modern youth:
I would assume that adolescents today and tomorrow are struggling to define new modes of conduct which are relevant to their lives. Young people of a questioning bent have always done this. But more than any young generation before and with less reliance on a meaningful choice of traditional world images, the youth of today is forced to ask what is universally relevant in human life in this technological age at this junction of history... We are apt to forget that young people (if not burdened with their parents' conflicts) have no reason to feel that radical change as such is an imposition. The unprecedented divorce we see is between our traditional culture and the tasks of their society...

The traditional sources — economic, racial, national, religious, occupational — are all in the process of allying themselves with a new world-image in which the vision of an anticipated future, and in fact, of a future in a permanent state of planning will take over much of the power of tradition.

Young people feel attuned, both by giftedness and by opportunity, to the technological and scientific promises of indefinite progress; and that these promises, if sustained by schooling, imply a new ideological world-image and a new kind of identity for many. (BP416)

Youth Values
41. There are innumerable exegeses extant on the roots and courses of formation of the values of youth. A few themes receive widespread currency, but consistency is not remarkable among these analyses. We attempt to cite a range of views.

Peter Drucker observes that in urban and developed economies the four years that separate age 17 from...
age 21 are a true generation gap. There are great social and psychological changes. Those which are important to young people. Some may not even be relevant to a sponsoring organization's normal functions. For example, since music is of basic importance to the young, the Navy might sponsor travelling rock groups, prizes for rock compositions, instruction in composing rock and recording, etc. Navy sponsorship might be clear but muted. This is only an illustration of a desire to "go where they are," to deal with younger age-levels than have been customary, and to intensify the image of the big organization that is really interested in the young.

42. Some assert that very young children learn aggressive behavior by observing adult behavior. Carefully designed experiments showed that preschool, middle-class children tend to imitate the aggressive behavior of adults. Studies showed how children could learn aggressive patterns by watching films or TV and later enact these patterns in their play. (BN490)

43. Warner calls the factor of social class: Potential Impact

Perhaps the most powerful influence of social class in the educational careers of our children, and certainly one of the most decisive and crucial situations in settling the ultimate class position of children from the common man and lower class levels, is the influence of few institutions understand or give cognizance to the factor of social class, yet there does not seem reason to expect class to disappear as a factor in social stratification, access, and other means for effecting discrimination. A realistic approach for an institution to take may be to seek to benefit from already-operative aspects of class (e.g., the inculcation of higher motivation),
other children on the child's desire while seeking to ameliorate perpetuation to stay in school. If the world of the child is pleasant, rewarding and increases his self-esteem, he is likely to want to stay and do well. If it is punishing, decreasing his self-respect, he is likely to do poorly and want to quit. (BB366)

44. The emotional development of a child cannot be hurried up, as the intellect and senses are. What a child once experiences at 16, he now gets at 12; what he did at 8, he now does at 4 or 3. But what is the price? (BN582)

45. Senate hearings on runaway youth found that 43% of the runaways in New York City are between the ages of 11 and 14. (BN582)

46. Another result of speeded-up people is that personality becomes excessively passive; e.g. the Jesus movement. Senator Dole, (Kansas-R) spoke about TV programs during which problems are solved in 30-60 minutes. Children might be having trouble separating TV from reality. (BN582)

47. Flack holds that certain tendencies are generated in middle-class family situations:
   1. Confusion and disquiet vis-a-vis conventional definitions of success,
   2. Restlessness under conditions

Potential Impact
We probably understand very little yet about the changes in life-orientation being effected by television watching on a massive scale during early years. It seems likely that the changes will be profound in the expectations of many young people, and that it will be difficult for elders who did not have the same formative experience to understand certain expectation of youth.

Potential Impact
Restlessness with these aspects of family life have always been present in middle-class youth. A principal difference in the future will be the mass character of the restlessness and the need for social institutions to

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of the imposition of discipline.

3. Restlessness when authority is used in arbitrary or coercive ways.

4. Discomfort in relation to sex roles defined conventionally.

Individual tendencies such as these were aggregated by the influence of mass communication and the rise of a common consciousness; expression of the movement was facilitated by geographic concentration, as in universities.

The themes articulated by small and relatively isolated groups of youth (particularly the intellectual and alienated) attracted larger groups of mainstream youth, since, to some extent, they felt stirrings of similar problems.

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48. Gordon holds that achievement values seem to be class oriented. There is a large area of agreement on shared values in all classes (e.g., honesty, happiness, consideration, dependability) there are also differences. Middle-class parents desire to instill inner control, concern for others, and interest in the respectability of an infringement; whereas working-class parents desire to instill obedience, nearness, and interest in the respectability of an infringement.

Deferred gratification is a middle-class phenomenon, while the lower-class lacks interest in gratification deferment. In addition, the lower-class deal with it as a mass phenomenon, rather than with individuals or "small and relatively isolated groups."

Potential Impact

Such differences will not readily disappear. They illustrate the range of value-differences with which the Navy and other institutions will have to cope. Moreover, the different values may appear more overtly, with less readiness on the part of the holder than formerly to revise his value-system to fit the more-or-less monolithic value system of the Navy. There may be less willingness than in the past to adjust, to compromise, or to "surrender" one's value system to that of the large corporation.
tendency to be ready to engage in physical violence and free sexual expression minimizes the pursuit of education and maximizes the free spending of available resources; in short, this approach maximizes remaining dependent on parents. (BP421)

49. Keniston defines "youth culture" as a special culture of those who are between childhood and adulthood, involving two considerations: the increasing gap between the generations, and the discontinuity between childhood and adulthood.

"Generational discontinuities" are gaps in time, between one mature generation and the next. "Age-group discontinuities" are gaps between different age groups at the same time. In societies where these age-group discontinuities are sharpest, there is usually some form of initiation rite to guarantee that everyone is seen to grow up, that the transition is clearly marked. But in America the essence of the youth culture is that it is not merely a rational transitional period; instead, it has its own, values, and ways of behavior. It is not always or explicitly anti-adult, but it is belligerently non-adult. For many, the youth culture is the last phase they will enjoy or really feel commitment to. (BB99)

This comment is related to a precious one, concerning the potential desirability of breaking down the encapsulation of the youth culture and attempting to relate its major strands directly, clearly, and visibly to appropriate strands of the adult culture. This means making a clear distinction between providing oases for privacy for the adolescent, for example, while making sure this world is still clearly leading toward the adult world, and permitting a "walled city" to grow up with little or no adult contact; with its own variant laws and customs, so to speak—a sort of sanctuary; and with pervasive reinforcement of anti-adult, anti-Establishment orientations. The more encapsulated
and isolated the youth stage of life is permitted to become, the more grief and tension will be in store for the Establishment when the members, as they must, emerge.

50. Erik Erikson characterizes our youth culture as a psychosocial moratorium on adulthood, which provides young people with an opportunity to develop their identity as adults.

One of the chief tools of identity formation is the creation of a sense of self that will link the past, present, and future. But continuity is difficult to maintain. Some young "adults" become "other-directed" and let the environment have control. Some become "beats" and "opt-out". The majority are not rebellious but feel estranged and relatively powerless to control the personal world around them. They try to make up for this feeling by emphasizing their private lives. (BB99)

51. Erikson: Youth searches for something and somebody to be true.

This search is easily misunderstood, and often it is only dimly perceived by the individual himself, because youth, always set to grasp both diversity in principle and principle in diversity, must often test extremes before settling on a considered course. These extremes, particularly in times of ideological confusion and widespread marginality of identity, may include not only rebellious but also deviant, delinquent, and self-destructive tendencies. However, all this can be in the nature of a moratorium, a period of delay, in which to test the rock-bottom of some truth before committing the powers of body and mind to a segment of the existing (or a coming) order. (BB99)

52. A psychology of rapid change involves the widespread felling of powerlessness — social, political and personal — of many young people. The world is seen as fluid and chaotic, the individuals as victims of impersonal forces and The need for youth to test themselves, to explore and discover where the limits are, is a natural process. That is needed in the future is the long-sought "Moral Equivalent of War" advocated...
which they can seldom understand and never control.

Students tend to have a negative view of the world of the average American adult, seeing it as sterile and unrewarding; and, being caught up in the system, they can expect little more. Such feelings tend to be self-fulfilling. The most common response to this feeling of helplessness is what David Riesman calls "privatism". Young people want to have a close family to enjoy their leisure time.

Present pursuits are emphasised once the promise of continuing inflation makes the concept of a nest egg obsolete, the guarantee of changing job markets makes commitment to a specialized skill problematical, and the possibility of war (if seriously entertained), makes all future planning ridiculous.

The consequence is that only the rare young man has life goals that extend more than 5-10 years ahead; most can see only as far as graduate school. The long-range goals, postponed satisfactions, and indefinitely-deferred rewards of the Protestant Ethic are being replaced by an often-reluctant hedonism of the moment. (BB99)

Potential Impact

The possibility of war does not make "all future planning ridiculous" — otherwise, no future planning would ever have been conducted in the history of man, and none would go on now. Each youth needs, now and always, to undertake future planning despite whatever contingencies exist in his time (and the possibility of war is always one of them). It can be expected that the voices crying apocalyptic predictions will be detected eventually to be false voices. Nevertheless, the compression of time and the rapidity of change in future years will probably emphasize the desirability of pluralistic structures and approaches within the Navy and other large organizations, to permit adjustment to changing life goals and work patterns.
One dimension of modern social organization, as youth views it, is that it is big, BIG (Government, business, industry, sports, university, metropolis). Society is apparently (as expressed by the media) obsessed with the richest, fastest, biggest, strongest, (involving more and more out-of-the-ordinary people, like 7 1/2 foot basketball players) not with ordinary people and the activities (e.g., sports) within the capabilities of ordinary people. Some fantastic rewards in fame, and money influence go to socially-meaningless activities (e.g., mostly involving the movement of some size ball by outsize persons). Do some young people expect less acceptance as ordinary people, less and less capability of competing with extraordinary specialists? Such aspects may seem forbidding and alienating because so much of society seems to think it is so important. And so youth may turn elsewhere for reasonable contexts of acceptance: "Perhaps a few peers will grant me acceptance on an ordinary level as an ordinary guy."

Bettleheim explains that:

Youth is not in flight from society. They seek a goal. But the state of existing manhood is viewed as empty, static, obsolescent. If there is no certainty of fulfillment, then it is better not to give up the promise of youth with its uncertainty, its lack of

Potential Impact

The impact of competition may require far more probing analysis in future organizations (not only in athletic pursuits) than it has received in the past. Up to a certain point and in carefully selected aspects, competition doubtless produces beneficial effects for the participants and the organization. Carried beyond that point, or conducted in certain other activities, however, competition appears likely to be counter productive in future organizations, particularly in both youth and career perspectives. Internecine rivalry, for example, can eventually bring deterioration in an organization's critical objectives. The one winner of a competition may be heaped with honors, but group members may become more concerned eventually with the fate of the dozens of losers, some of whom may have lost by a hair or because of various external circumstances. Concern for all participants in competition may become characteristic of the developing "spirit of community" of the future.
definite commitment. It is a romantic position...
Youth does not create its own cause, for which it is ready to fight.
All it can do is to embrace causes developed by mature men.
A youth expected to create a new (but not yet delineated) society
finds himself a rebel without a cause. (BB99)

54. Youth cannot test its own worth, strength, and vitality, when all it
can push against is a vacuum, or an adult society more than ready to give way and act
more youthful than even befits youth. Many causes are embraced by youth, not for the
causes themselves, but because in fighting for them, its strength can be tested against
something. Hence, youth favors causes that run against the established order, even an
ultraconservative cause, because nothing is quite so safe a testing ground as the well-
established order. (BB99)

55. Denny cites H.H. Remmers and D.H. Radler of Purdue
University, who report that many of the
youthful population are notable chiefly
for their traditionalism, in the sense that
there is a generally low evaluation of
tolerance for diverse viewpoints among
high school students, as among adults.
Thus, the young people are "traditional"
in the sense that they continue a habit
of disrespect for traditional American
liberties of conscience, free speech, and
the press. (BB99)

56. Despite high-visibility campus activism, Kenneth Keniston discerns a
corollary of the emphasis on the private and the present in a decline in political involve-
ment among many college youth. Instead, there is a burgeoning of the arts on many
campuses. Underlying this preference of aesthetic to political commitment are certain
outlooks:

- The feeling of public powerlessness
- The emphasis on the private and immediate
- The feeling of disengagement from the values of the parental generation.

Most important is the real anxiety that overtakes many thoughtful young people when they contemplate their own helplessness in the face of social and historical forces which may be taking the world to destruction.

So high a level of anxiety is generated by any discussion of complex international relations, the possibilities of nuclear war, or even the complicated issues of American domestic politics, that all but the extraordinarily honest or the extraordinarily masochistic prefer to release their tensions in other ways than in political activity. And in this disinvolvevention they are of course, supported by the traditional American myth of youth, which makes it a time for panty raids, but not for politics.

In general there is a kind of "cult" of experience which stresses sense experience: a search for self within the self, rather than in society, activity, or commitment, and a belief that truth can be uncovered by burrowing within the psyche. (BB99)

57. It may contribute to better understanding of trends among our own youth to glance overseas at what is said to be taking place among youth in certain foreign countries. Wylie analyzes aspects of French youth, Sherman the Soviet youth (1955-1959), and Lifton of Japanese youth.
There is more talk within the United States today about the importance of giving children a feeling for limits; e.g., Ann Landers encourages parents to assert rules as little as possible, yet to draw the line somewhere.

In France, youth are revolting against the particular set of rules which their father insists they accept, but not to his authority to set rules.

The differences between the way the French child and an American child are brought up point to significant generalizations about socialization in France and the United States:

The French child learns that life has been compartmentalized by man and that the limits of each compartment must be recognized and respected. The American child learns that life is a boundless experience.

The Frenchman recognizes that rules are a convenience, but that they are man-made and therefore artificial. The American believes he has discovered the rules for himself and that they reflect the essential structure of reality.

For the Frenchman, reality is dual; there is the official reality of man-made rules, but it is only a facade concealing a deeper, more mysterious reality, which may be felt by the individual in moments of introspection or revealed by art and religion. For the American, reality is a unity, and any apparent discrepancy between the ideal and the actuality is essentially immoral. (BB99)

One of the principal problems for an adolescent, then, is to conduct his life so that he has the feeling he is achieving this ideal image of himself. For the normal French child, the clear definitions of expectations make the problems of fulfilling his ideal self-image relatively simple: he has only to accept and to live up to what is expected of him.

There is a tendency in France to assume that one's position in the social structure is fixed, just as Americans assume there is more mobility in their society.

The American adolescent's problem lies not in living up to expectations but in discovering what they really are. He is taught a Sunday-school sort of code and learns as he up that the code is not what people live by. The ideal is held up, but no direction on how to achieve it is given. (BB99)

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59. Soviet youth are less timid than their elders and are displaying some of the same virtues and weaknesses of youth in other countries. 

There are stilyagi or "style-chasers," which has become a term for anti-social behavior, including hooligans. "Comrade courts" exist in factories or offices to criticize and ostracize minor offenders of dress conformity. It seems there is greater individual freedom in private as long as lip service is given.

In the Soviet Union the "generation gap" is reflected in parents wanting more substance for their children's lives.

Young speculators have been raised in working-class slums, and want more than one-family-per-room. They are outside the law and non-respectable.

"Gilded youth" are those youth who have protection via parental influence (wild parties, the family Zim limousine, illicit foreign goods). Time and age are supposed to bring these middle and upper class delinquents back into conventional society.

The bulk of young people are conventional, especially the young workers, who are hardworking yet submissive. So long as they have enough money and more things to buy, they are happy. The oncoming adult generation little resembles the "ideal Soviet Men" of Communist mythology. (BB123)

60. Materialism and prestige are important. (BB99)

Institute and university students judge the value of their education according to the status and money it will earn for them.

Students specializing in engineering, chemistry, and physics have a higher prestige and will earn high salaries than those in the humanities, in law, or in medicine. While these professions (the sciences) are freer from political pressure, there is constant supervision by Party or Komsomol "activists."

The system of rewards through education has led to a great contradiction in Soviet society; although common physical labor is praised, children of the powerful professional groups consider themselves failures if reduced to it.

Khrushchev's solution included (1959-1960): work-study, i.e. "polytechnical" education in secondary schools, a requirement that all students entering
professional institutes and universities have at least 2 years of work experience; and a
much closer alignment of specialized studies with practical work. In practice, there are
leeways for children of officialdom, who are confident of a good laboratory or executive
office apprenticeship.

Some intellectuals, or malcontents are somewhat bitter about lack of
intellectual freedom, and become indifferent to politics: others worry about spiritual
decay. The "man of action" is diligent and ambitious; he joins the Community Party to
get ahead, but thinks little of ideology. The activists exercise enormous power through
the Komsomol. In the administration of higher schools, the 3-year work assignment
a student receives on graduation depends as much on his Komsomol recommendation as
his grades. (BB99)

61. In postwar Japan, there is an absence in contemporary youth of
vital and nourishing ties to their heritage, a break in their sense of continuity.

The traditional is condemned, yet inwardly many seek to recover
these symbols, so that they might be "beautiful and psychologically functional."

Family relations are still strong, with a readiness of parents to cater
to children's wants and to encourage dependency. This relationship is a balancing force
for Japanese youth.

On matters of ideology and general social outlook, most Japanese
students feel completely apart from their parents; but the youth's emotional state is
less one of "rebellion" than of continuous inner search.

Selfhood, a developing awareness of one's own being, is stressed in
relation to family and to movements. A mood of nihilism and passive disintegration is
common. Yet, there is an even more profound craving for renewed family life, for
solidarity — even at the cost of nearly all self-assertion.

The struggle for selfhood in combination with historical dislocation
has resulted in a burst of literary and artistic creativity. Non-western cultures have
been stirred by the concept of the individual self, but have found it necessary to
adopt a form of self-expression via the group. (BB99)
The conscious ideal which a large portion of young Japanese wish to chart out for their character structure is an "active-Western-masculine": progressive, innovative, anti-traditional, active, individually independent, socially committed, logical, realistic, tough-minded, and scientific.

Characteristics which Japanese youth wish to avoid absorbing involve the structure of "passive-Japanese-feminine": "old," unprogressive, acquiescent, traditionalistic, passive, wholly dependent upon others, socially uncommitted, irrational, unrealistic, wishful, and unscientific.

The struggle between the two sets is continuous.

Two problems young people face are totalism and moral backsliding.

1. Totalism (or psychological extremism) can be totalism of the new, to which a closed ideological system is very attractive (usually derived from Marxism); or totalism of the old, which disdains symbols of logic and science, and which is encouraged by traits of absolute self-negatism and exaggerated dependency on a group system. On the other hand, this is resisted by traits of tolerance, distrust of immoderates, and a general acceptance of bodily functions and the sensual.

2. Moral backsliding amounts to giving up one's ideals in order to make one's peace with organized society. This is an old heritage, yet youth are looking for a new form of integrity. (BB87)

In passing, it is interesting to note the universal pressures for peer conformity among youth. A Summer 1970 account in the Monitor described activism in progress on Italian campuses. Two instances are relevant. When one militant student was chided for participating, he responded: "When you occupy a classroom, the place becomes a pigsty in less than 24 hours. The speeches are boring, too. I wouldn't do it, but everyone would think I was old-fashioned."

A pretty girl in Rome, gazing fondly at her wisp-bearded consort, protested that: "We are not married. Marriage is a bourgeois institution regulated by a lot of laws and obligations and constrictions which are convenient to the bourgeois...

These passages document certain relevant phenomena: the growing universality of youth culture, the strength of the search for new sources of value in a changing world, and the power of peer
state. Our relationship concerns only ourselves. Look at the way things are in Scandinavia.

The reporter subsequently learned, however, that in fact, they had been secretly married, and in church. But they were unwilling to admit it to their peers, in view of the winds of change they believed were blowing down from the north. (BN229)

Attitudes of American Youth and Their Parents

64. A. Brunswick has conducted empirical studies bearing on the alleged generation gap and concludes:

There is considerable evidence... that working-class youths, and even the majority of white college youths — those who have a definite career goal and means of entering the occupational structure — do not differ so widely from their parents in basic attitudes and values. (BM101)

65. Brunswick says that race and education make at least as much difference as age does (and probably more) in creating 'gaps' over issues, especially issues related to racial tolerance, and advocacy of racial rioting. (BM101)

66. Perhaps the most extensive time study is that conducted annually by the American colleges. The 1970 report was based on data from 206,865 students, entering 246 institutions. (BM10)

67. At the moment, the finding germane to the point here is that pressures for conformity among young people. None of these trends is likely to decline in the decade ahead. The Navy can feel confident that navies of other nations are trying to cope with similar trends.
only 20% of males and 16.3% of females said they have a "generation gap" with their parents; this order of response on this same question is repeated year after year on the ACE survey. (BM3)

68. A Harris college student survey in July 1970 elicited these responses:

The cross-section of students was asked these two questions:

"If you really felt strongly about any cause or issue, would you be willing to do these things or not?" and

"Have you ever personally done any of these things or not?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Would do</th>
<th>Have Done</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sign a petition</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact a public official</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit a public official in person</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in demonstration</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join a picket line</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defy school authorities</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk losing security clearance</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in civil disobedience</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to jail</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Violate the law | 33 | 16 | (BN196)

69. The Harris poll asked students to classify themselves in one of six categories from "Far Right" to "Far Left" and then polled a sample of those who classified themselves as "Middle of the Road." The following are the responses of this "middle" sample:

- 12 percent of the middle-roaders say they would leave the country or go to jail rather than serve in the armed forces, and another 27 percent of them
"would try to avoid induction."

- By 35-33 percent, moderate-minded students would respect draft resisters more rather than less.

- A substantial 44 percent of the middle of the road students (and, indeed 41 percent of the far right and conservatives) go along with the charge that "the United States has become a highly repressive society, intolerant of dissent."

- By 66-26 percent, middle of the road students feel that "basic changes are necessary to improve the quality of life in America." (Even 57 percent of the conservative and far right students go along in this feeling.)

When asked what changes were most needed, here is what the entire sample of students volunteered as their priorities:

1. Change in people's values away from material wealth toward social needs.
2. Change in governmental, political structure.
3. Racial equality.
5. Economic changes, most of all halt inflation.
6. Increase war on poverty.
7. Better communications between leaders and people. (BN193)

- By 57 to 23 percent, the students would respect a young man more, rather than less, for resisting the draft. A year ago, the number who felt this way was 40 percent and the year before that only 29 percent.

- By 52-30 percent, a majority feel that "war protesters have not been given fair trials."

- And by 67-26 percent, students feel decisively that Yale President Kingman Brewster was right to express
his skepticism that black revolutionaries probably could not receive a fair trial anywhere in the United States.

One of the most interesting responses from all students was that, when they had started college, 22% would have denied that "except for a few radicals, most young Americans are satisfied with the direction in which America is heading," but that at the time of the poll, 70% would join in denial. (BN192)

A particularly relevant feature here is the students' estimate of what their parents' attitudes are.

- By 78-20 percent, students believe "the real trouble with U.S. society is that it lacks a sense of values -- it is conformist and materialistic." Yet by 50-44 percent, students believe their parents would disagree with the claim that America is lacking in values.

- By 69 to 30 percent, students disagree with the proposition that "America must maintain the policies it does, because Communism is still our biggest threat." However, by 71-25 percent, they think their parents back up that statement.

- By 70-25 percent, college students agree that America will be in trouble as long as it continues its arrogant, imperialist policies." The same students think their parents disagree with this claim about "U.S. imperialism" by 58-32 percent.

- By 65-32 percent, students feel that "our troubles stem from making economic competition the basis of our way of life." But they also think that their parents go along with the idea of a competitive society by a 50 to 43 percent margin.
Finally, by a lopsided 81-17 percent count, students say that "until the older generation comes to understand the new priorities and lifestyle of the young, serious conflict is going to continue." Contrary to most other results, however, 50-44% think their parents agree. (BN191)

72. The historians Oscar and Mary Handlin recently published a study, Facing Life: Youth and the Family in American History. They conclude that we are raising a generation that does not know how to leave home. (BN374)

73. Vice President Agnew has expressed his views on certain aspects of American youth and child rearing:

We must look to how we are raising our children. They are, for the most part, the children of affluent, permissive, upper middle class parents who learned their Dr. Spock and threw discipline out the window -- when they should have done the opposite. They are the children dropped off by their parents at Sunday school to hear the modern gospel from a progressive preacher more interested in fighting pollution than fighting evil. Today, by the thousands -- without a cultural heritage, without a set of spiritual values, and with a moral code summed up in that idealistic injunction "Do your own thing," Junior -- his pot and Portnoy secreted in his knapsack -- arrives at the "Old Main" and finds there a smiling benign faculty even less demanding than his parents. (BP298)

74. Bettelheim argued that the self-identity, and even more the self-realization, of the young man implies to a large-decree his replacing the preceding generation. In order for the young...
man to come into his own, the old man must move over. There is no point for the older generation to selfishly hold on to knowledge, or even to property rights because they were only theoretical, once physical power had failed. (BB99)

If the young man's coming into his place as head of the living unit is not assured by the natural order of things, if he cannot be sure that the dominant position will be his at a foreseeable and not too distant moment, then he must fight for his rights and obligations, and the sooner the better. (BB99)

75. Only a youth who is kept (or who keeps himself) economically and emotionally dependent on the older generation will experience an oedipal conflict — a frequent occurrence among middle-class adolescents when parents wish to remain very important to the child.

A psychological impasse is created whenever society is so organized that youth remains dependent on the older generation because of the duration of the educational process, or for other reasons, and this older generation is not able or ready to step aside economically, politically, or emotionally. (BB99)

76. Many more (particularly middle-class) youth come to grief because of their parents' insistence that the young justify them as parents than because of any revived oedipal desire. One form of such pressure is for a youth to provide the parents with what was lacking in their own lives (e.g., success with dates, athletics, college). Many youngsters do end up doing better than their parents, either socially, economically, or intellectually; yet there is an account to be paid concerning emotional well-being. (BB99)
77. Keniston insists that young people have a relative lack of rebelliousness against their parents; that is, a youth simply sees no possibility of his becoming like his parents, so that their world neither tempts nor threatens him. Parents often sense that they appear daied; and this knowledge makes them the more unwilling to try to impose their own values or preferences. The result is frequently an unstated "gentleman’s agreement" between the generations that neither will interfere with the other. One problem appears in the absence of paternal exemplars (rebel without a cause): young people want and need models and guardians of their development; and they usually feel cheated if they are not available. (BB99)

78. As the relations between the generations are weakened, and as the rate of social innovation increases, it is the youth who must cope with the strains of social change; and it is "elite" youth who feel this most acutely. A surprisingly number of apparently ambitious young people see society as a rat race — a cold, mechanical, abstract, specialized, and emotionally meaningless place. Thus, it is essential to stay "cool"; and "coolness" involves detachment, lack of commitment. However, to many older people, this attitude seems to smack of ingratitude and irresponsibility. Yet the sanity of young people is partly manifest in their awareness that their world is very different; that rash commitments may prove outmoded tomorrow; that most viewpoints shift; and, therefore, that it is difficult to locate a fixed position on which to stand. (BB99)

79. Keniston predicts that almost all young people will eventually be in the system — that is, they will occupy occupational and other roles, but

Potential Impact

The whole problem of value transmission will become even more critical for the Navy and similar institutions. An old bromide says that you can never really change the perspectives of the mature; you must wait until those who occupy the seats of power die or retire (obvious exceptions occur to everyone). On the other hand, if profoundly disturbing social and cultural change is occurring, there are arguments to be made for moving into critical positions.
a relatively large number will never be for the system. The split consciousness between detachment at work and intensity in private spheres is a compartmentalization which will create a new psychological strain.

An alienated generation seems too great a luxury to sustain. There are counter forces at work: more planning is being done in America than before. Psychosocial sensitizing could help the younger generation understand their situation.

Certain principles and values need to be transmitted. (BB99)

early those who have been raised in new perspectives and understand them better. On the other hand, there is no such thing as a New Value; all the values likely to motivate mankind constructively have been identified and are well known. What does occur, however, is shift among the relative importance attached to different values. Certain core values of American society are not going to change or be replaced, and only modest changes in emphasis can be expected among them. But which ones?

In any event, the transmission of certain core values is of unchanging importance to the Navy. It will take great sensitivity and imagination to implement this interest within acceptable limits and without encroachment on other important values.

Youth Rebellion on Campus

Perhaps the most highly publicized aspect of youthful alienation, or counterculture, was the wave of student activism, including violence, on campus, with implications for education, politics, foreign policy, economics, and society as a whole. Many of society's interrelationships with youth were highlighted in that situation.

Richard Flacks, a sociologist at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California, offers a hypothesis that organizes a number of the
contributing causes of student unrest into a pattern:

The expansion of higher education in our society has produced a social stratum that tends to rear its children with values and character structures that are at some variance with the dominant culture. Affluence and secure status further weaken the potency of conventional incentives and undermine motivations for upward mobility. The outcome of these new processes is a new social type or subculture among the young — humanistic youth. Such youth are especially sensitized to injustice and authoritarianism, are repelled by acquisitive, militaristic, and nationalistic values, and strive for a vocational situation in which autonomy and self-expression can be minimized. They have been politicized and radicalized by their experiences in relation to the racial and international crisis, or by the failure of established agencies of renewal and reform including the universities, to alleviate these crises. They also sense the possibility that opportunities for autonomy and individuality may be drying up in advanced technological societies.

(BP451)

81. The factor of numbers, of magnitude, plays an inevitable part. In the 1930's America had 1/2 million college students; in 1970, 7 million; in 1980, America will have 1-1/2 million. Location in capitals, especially in foreign countries, stimulates political activity; e.g., Rome has 70,000 students, Paris 200,000; Tokyo 400,000.

82. The conditions of life and society on campus makes activism readily feasible, in free time, in quickness of assembly. Students are free to adopt what Weber
called the "ethic of absolute ends" instead of the ethic of responsibility. In addition, universities are usually run by people who are liberal and disinclined to punish young people.

83. According to FBI figures, a total of 1785 demonstrations took place on college campuses between Sept. 1, 1968, and June 9, 1970; there were 313 building seizures and sit-ins, 281 demonstrations against the ROTC and 246 arsons. The damage to campus facilities in the same period totaled more than $9.5 million. (BP185)

84. The radical, activist militants comprise only 2-5% of the student body, yet that totals up to several hundreds of thousands of radical militaris, or several times as many officers as there are in the Army. About 40% of college students share the same beliefs and attitudes as the activist militants.

Some issues of the militants, such as student involvement in decision making and the governing of the university, are held by a large majority of the college populaticn. The percentage of campus youth that are activists and those that agree with the activists is increasing. (BG22)

85. Most recent college students to graduate (1971): The proportion describing themselves as "radicals" rose from 1965 on to the high point of 11 per cent in a Harris Poll in May 1970; it declined to between 4 and 7 per cent in Gallup and Harris surveys during the "ebbng wave" of 1970-71. Yet in response to a Gallup Poll in late 1970, 44 percent of college students replied that violence is justified to bring about social change in the United States (compared to 14 per cent of the public at large), 49 per cent maintained that personal freedom and the right of dissent are being curbed in this country, and 37 per cent described themselves as "far left" or "left" politically, against 17% who called themselves "right" and "far right." (BBI4)

86. The President's commission on student unrest dealt mainly with "the war and related national difficulties as the cause of campus upheaval." However, Professor Kenneth Keniston (Yale) and Sidney Hook (NYU) in testimony outlined specific codes that would deal with and, it was hoped, curb student violence. (BN474)
Several studies tested the hypothesis that student activism represents an extension of parental beliefs and values, rather than a form of general rebellion. This held generally true at prestige universities; but at more "egalitarian" campuses, peer groups and subcultures become more important agents than parental political beliefs. (BMI34)

87. Contrary to some literature on student radicals, Jews were the most likely to identify in medium or strong terms with adult authorities. On the other hand, unchurched and the Liberal Protestants were least likely.

It is relevant to check attitudes toward television, especially TV coverage of campus unrest:

Activist students (in January 1971) almost universally dismiss TV as unresponsive, obtuse, and largely irredeemable as an instrument for illuminating the root issues of student unrest. On the contrary, to hard working middle class Americans — who get most of their news from TV — the students are perceived as a fearsome, dangerous, and ungrateful subculture afflicted with a chronic and unjustified dissatisfaction. (BPI86)

88. Two student views on television coverage of college unrest: "The reason that so many young people — wherever they perch on the political spectrum — are turning increasingly to the underground press and away from TV and 'straight' newspapers is that those media simply haven't taken the trouble to plumb the generational differences that are causing strife. The content of TV and many newspapers is unreal. That's OK, but they mustn't expect us to share their fantasy life."

"Consider the hypocrisy: TV editorializes piously about student violence while searching the world for violent scenes to jazz up their news programs." (BPI84)

89. Among relevant events, it should be noted that the Kent State Faculty issued a statement bitterly condemning the shooting and calling the incident "a massacre" for which Governor Rhodes and State Adjutant General S.T. DelCorso should be held responsible. Nevertheless, the University announced that in a
special referendum, 78% of the students participating voted in favor of keeping ROTC on the campus and 55% favored continuing academic credit therefor. Some 5,400 of the 18,700 students enrolled for the spring quarter took part in the mail referendum. (BN216)

Kent State, like virtually every other American college and university, was unhappy over the war in Vietnam. But apparently, Kent State students were able to separate that war from the question of providing trained leadership for America's defense establishment. Such independence and judgment are heartening. (BN216)

90. Senator Kennedy spoke out to students on violence:

For violence has no reward; violence is an act of self indulgence; violence is an admission of the lack of power; violence has no morality in it — all that it leaves in the crucible's ashes is the bitter dust of hate...Physical violence has no place in America; it has no place in your cause. (BN186)

91. A critical view of the campus rebel was cited by Robert Conquest. He cited a Czech student who had spent time in the United States and wrote about how totally ignorant American students and spokesmen are about really sick societies. American students he had met, said the Czech were "pampered children of your permissive, affluent society, throwing tantrums because father gave them only (!) education, security, and freedom, but not Utopia." He said: students

...bitterly resent society because it does not treat them as the fulcrum of the universe...They seem to have no idea of the cost or the value of the privileges they receive. What surprised me most is not that they take themselves seriously...but that their elders take them seriously...In the West it seems quite possible to grow quite old without having to grow up ...They haven't faced up to the fact that you can't build Utopia without terror, and that before long, terror is all that's left. We've had our fill of Utopia.

John P. Roche suggests that young extremists are a pathologically ill group, and that, through high-level theorizing about their dedication and ideals,
attention is drawn away from their illness and encouragement given to their destruct-
iveness. (BN593)

92. Max Lerner notes that in the universities we expect students to go through changes, and Erikson's notion of college years as a period of psycho-social moratorium is widely accepted. The new culture tends to view the motionless, often largely cerebral, "changes" the students go through in universities as an inadequate form of experimentation and learning. (BP248)

93. Riesman writes,

Young people in college today frequently feel that the problem of their unique individuality and nonconformity is the all-important one; one psychotherapist has told me that this is the major presenting problem with which his college patients come. A confusion between a solipsistic egocentrism and autonomy is often made, and a contempt for the "masses" is cultivated by much of modern writing or read into it, whether the critics come from the social sciences or from literature. (BB286)

94. And the problem is equally grave for the radical opposition. As Margaret Mead observed in a recent address, a student in this country a generation ago who had radical ideas had the advantage of being powerless, of being on the side of a future which did not yet exist. Today, however, such a student may find that this particular idea happens at the moment also to be part of the Communist party line, in which case he is not in alliance with a nonexistent and therefore uncontaminated future, but with an extremely menacing and totally unwelcome power. (BB286)

95. Morphet and Ryan focus on alienation, the great moral problem of the current campus generation. Alienation is evident in the ethical passion of students in the civil rights movement, and in the turning from a "materialistic" society. One form is impatience (from sublime to immature) with the normal social processes. It is reflected in growing juvenile delinquency.

It will be necessary to appreciate valid protests within this alienation and to correct its destructive impulses. (BB242)

-155-
96. To most middle-aged Americans the student revolt is as startling, as unlooked-for as an outbreak of yellow fever. Yet, oddly enough, it is the result of a condition with deep historical roots, going back some 400 years or more in Europe, and a number of generations in America—a fact of which, the students themselves, amongst myriad others, are unaware. None of the authors involved in the protest movement whom I have been reading recently seem to be conscious of history, or indeed of any need to look at the past in order to discover the source of their problems. (BP321)

97. Flack reviews certain phases of the student movement, each resulting from interaction with the political authority, each becoming more radical and more militant. In 1960-64 there was active involvement in civil rights and peace reform, which led, it was said, to disillusionment with the political system and society. Then came Confrontation, Radicalization, and Resistance during 1964-1968, including the Free Speech Movement, university reform, and profound radicalization.

Then came the 1969-70 period of increasing militancy of blacks. The rhetoric heightened, and, at the time of Cambodia, mass gatherings of protesters increased against the war. However, the mood receded in late 1970. Rabid protest was seen as self-defeating; students realized that, acting as students, they can have only limited effectiveness in pressing their goals and aspirations. The student challenge to the university also became self-defeating, for students need the university.

A student movement is not an optimum vehicle for the establishment of personal identity, although participation can be liberating. (BB115)

98. Lipset offers sociological explanations for student activism. Politics is the cause of activism, not university grievances. Current student unrest started with the race issue, but activism has focused on Vietnam. The motivations for
activism include frustrating elements of the student and the transition role; idealism and reformism which have not yet confronted the real world; universities foster dependency; students are easy to recruit; the majority of students are not activists; a distinct university image results in similarities among student political orientation, hence solidarity.

Lipset suggests one very important needed study: an evaluation of the long-term effects of heightened periods of activism on the outlook of future generations. The campus mood may have the most significant impact in 2-3 decades, when our elites will be those recruited from the ranks of today's student populations. (BP253)

99. From the Wall Street Journal:

The war and the threat of the draft have created consternation on campus. Many able students are shocked by the disparity between their own luxury and the deprivation around them when they leave comfortable suburban high schools for the dirt and tedium of urban university neighborhoods. (BN614)

100. The issues at the root of student discontent in the winter of 1971 are inseparable from those which involve the mind and energies of the nation as a whole: war, race, environmental pollution, overpopulation, military spending, women's rights, housing, unemployment, consumer fraud illiteracy, invasions of privacy, Congressional ethics, penal reform, urban renewal, arms control, the draft.

A Harvard 1970 graduate, Steven Kelman, told the Scranton Commission:

The problems of the campus do not originate, nor can they be solved on the campus. Students who feel despair and resentment with American society take out these feelings on the object closest at hand, their university. (BP186)
101. A university campus, needless to say, is not designed to offer such a range of experiences nor should it be. And if external factors tend to pressure large numbers of young people to remain in school when for many, education in the truest sense might better be gained elsewhere, the resulting frustration is all too understandable.

A long-range solution to the problem of early adult confusion will only occur as both the young and the old gain more tolerance for a notion well enough understood in other societies: an immature age, a person of 20 or so might do well to spend a couple of years travelling, meeting people, working at various kinds of jobs, or just sitting around and meditating in an attempt to find out what life, for him, is really all about. (BN52)

Potential Impact

More and more suggestions concern the interruption of extended education by a year between high school and college, two years of national service during the same period, programs which alternate work and study periods, and similar devices. Many of them appear viable in reconstructing the social system applicable to youth activities, and may serve to harness youth's energy and idealism in constructive ways. Some alternative to unrelenting successions of years in school environments should be devised, particularly programs which involve youth in earlier years, perhaps during summers, or in alternating periods of work.

102. Flacks cites some reactions which students feel they received from participating in the movement: relief from status-seeking, alternatives to materialism, deeper communal relations with others, and commitment to social justice.

One must observe that none of these is peculiar to student movements, but are rooted in our culture at large and in the experience of a liberal education.

In any event, Flacks insists that student environments give little guidance for post-university commitment, and that, to be successful, youth groups must ally their movements with broader groups committed to radical change. (BB115)
Flacks adds that the youth counterculture and the student new left have been two "social inventions" of intellectual youth, crucial to social change over an entire generation, and that the movement came to a pause, not because it failed, but because it had gone as far as it could go. (BB115)

One of the most illuminating events in this area was the exchange which took place, based on a book by George Kennan that was largely critical of the "radical left on the American campus today." We cite here some of Kennan's points and those of a number of young respondents:

If I see them correctly (and I have no pretensions to authority on this subject), there are two dominant tendencies among these people, and superficially they would seem to be in conflict one with the other. On the one side there is angry militancy, full of hatred and intolerance and often quite prepared to embrace violence as a source of change. On the other side there is gentleness, passivity, quietism—ostensibly a yearning for detachment from the affairs of the world, in the form of an attempt to escape into a world which is altogether illusory and subjective.

One thing they all seem to have in common—the angry ones as well as the quiet ones—is a complete rejection of, or indifference to, the political system of this country. The quiet ones turn their backs upon it, as though it did not concern them. The angry ones reject it by implication, insofar as they refuse to recognize the validity of its workings or to respect the discipline which, as a system of authority, it unavoidably entails. (BB179)

(The radical student) is the product of his national culture and his time. He reflects faithfully, but in expanded, oversized dimensions, like shadows on the wall, the bewilderments and weakness of parents, teachers, employers, molders of opinion, leaders of government. He comes, often, from a home that is affluent yet insecure.
He senses in his parents, and feels in himself, the malaise of material satiety with the balancing influence of any inner security. Imagination, fears, hopes, desires: all these are overstimulated, and prematurely stimulated, by exposure to the products of the commercialized mass media. Yet there are no adequate countervailing sources of strength, confidence and hope. There is no strong and coherent religious faith, no firm foundation of instruction in the nature of individual man, no appreciation for the element of tragedy that unavoidably constitutes a central component of man's predicament, and no understanding for the resulting limitations on the possibilities for social and political achievement. The student is the victim of the sickly secularism of this society, of the appalling shallowness of the religious, philosophic and political concepts that pervade it. And in addition to all this, his estrangement from nature, his intimacy with the machine, his familiarity with the world of gadgetry, and his total lack of understanding for the slow powerful processes of organic growth, all these imbue in him with an impatience and an expectation of an immediate connection between stimulus and effect that do not fit even with the realities of his own development as a person, and even less with those of the development of a society. (BB179)

106. ...Here is today's radical student. He is as he might be expected to be in an overwhelmingly urban society, a distinctly urban creature. He is
anxious, angry, humorless, suspicious of his own society, apprehensive with relation to his own future. Overexcited and unreflective, lacking confidence in anyone else, impatient and accustomed to look for immediate results, he fairly thirsts for action. Romantic and quixotic, he is on the prowl for causes. His nostrils fairly quiver for the scent of some injustice he can sally forth to remedy. Devoid of any feeling for the delineation of function and responsibility, he finds all the ills of his country, real or fancied, pressing on his conscience. He is not lacking in courage; he is prepared, in fact, to charge any number of windmills. But in doing so he is often aggressive and unintentionally destructive toward what he needs to live by, destructive sometimes toward himself.

It is not their own plight that student radicals are concerned to alleviate. All evidence suggests that they are largely the children of middle-class, even upper-middle-class, families. Neither they nor their families have suffered inordinately, as a rule, from poverty, lack of status, or lack of civil rights. The fact that they have not done so is, incidently, something they take entirely for granted, and for which they experience no sense of appreciation. They are mindful only of the problems their society has not solved, not of the ones it has. Their grievance against American society is not that it has mistreated them but that it has not treated others equally well. (BB179)

107. A Harvard freshman in response to Mr. Kennan:

We (students) do not constitute a pertinent bloc of voters. We exercise no real power and have little hope of doing so until someone hears us from a position of power and acts on our behalf. Hence "the movement" does not enjoy the position of working for a change but must be content with working for recognition of its validity. The vehemence of our demonstrations reflects the frustration of this situation. (BB179)

108. A Columbia University senior on the Vietnam war:

I should not fear giving up my life for my country. I and my fellow students are unwilling to sacrifice what our parents have given us in material comfort.
and moral training, and what our country has
given us in opportunity and freedom to use that
opportunity for a cause which, to our eyes, is
both politically and morally wrong. (BB179)

109.

Response from a Princeton graduate student:

We have a technology that has been busily
liberating man from his sense of doing meaning-
ful work and a society so vast and technologized
that many feel they will be deprived of all
individuality unless they offer total resistance.
Moreover, everything about us stresses instantan-
eousness of gratification of wants. We can travel
anywhere in a matter of hours or days. We can
communicate instantly, get entertained instantly,
etc.

A Dartmouth senior's view:

The student left grew out of nothing less than a
protest against the irrelevance of the academic
community to what is going on in the world.
This irrelevancy is not at all strange. After all,
it is the nature of the academic's work to order
the world so that he may explain it. History has
shown that at times when the world defies ordering
in times of violent change, the academic community
becomes irrelevant. All it can do is to wait for
some stability to return to the world and then attempt
to explain what has occurred during the period of
change.

A Columbian graduate student's views:

Mr. Kennan seems to assume that this generation of
students is somehow strikingly different from any other
in its lack of concentrated effort on its studies. How
many students in Mr. Kennan's university days were
immersed in their books while their fellows were out
on the football field? Why does the active student
take to the streets instead of discussing these affairs
'with knowledge and without passion'?

One answer is that the energy expended on the street
could well be applied in the classroom if more social
science departments offered courses about race relations,
urban problems, and Vietnam. Many students find that their university experience is divorced from reality and therefore reject the scholastic tradition. (BB179)

110. A Notre Dame senior's views:
You (Mr. Kennan) call us rebels without a program, but we are rebels because there is no program. Students are not and have never been charged with the responsibilities of leadership. Student dissenters do not incur 'the obligation of saying in what way this political system should be modified.' Your generation incurs this obligation — whether or not it thinks or dissents. We know the value of experience and maturity, we shun the demagogues of our own generation; we want leadership, we will respect and follow leadership that is creative and dynamic. My generation literally cries out to your for a direction in which to prove our idealism and energy. (BB179)

Statistics on Political Orientation

111. A summary of a Gallup poll conducted among 1,063 full-time students representing 61 campuses completed in December, 1970:

1. Party labels have become increasingly meaningless in classifying college students.

2. 52% of the sample identify themselves as independents, 30% Democrats, and 18% Republicans.

3. Only 1 in 11 classifies himself as either Far Right or Far Left.

4. Liberals or leftists outnumber conservatives or rightists 2 to 1.

5. The radical left is smaller than sometimes believed; of the 7% who called themselves Far Left, 4% considered themselves "radicals." (BN557)

112. It was particularly after the bombing of the Army’s Mathematics Lab on the University of Wisconsin campus, that a wave of revulsion spread widely, as even leftist students realized that bombings had hurt their cause. Many radical students began feeling ambivalence, with a sense that bombers are wrong and are
hurting chances for political change. (BN366)

113. Nevertheless, caution several critics, numbers are deceiving. Many commentators in the field play a numbers game in an attempt to downgrade the youth movement. It is probably a mistake to discount youth based exclusively on the size of the youth movement. Minorities have always played an important historical role. The majority of students, while not in favor of protesters, do not hinder them. The calling of police on campus usually wins support for student demonstrators.

114. In early 1971, Monitor reporters across the country found that the activist movement was losing direction; that its members were feeling despair and less of perspective and leaving radicalism for something quieter. Also cited as a discouraging factor to violent radicalism was the Women's Lib denunciation of male chauvinism. (BN226)

115. Dr. William J. McGill, upon assuming the presidency of Columbia University, told President Nixon's Commission on Campus Unrest that its most valuable service might be to dispel the widely-held belief that campus alienation is limited to "a very tiny fraction of radical revolutionaries." He estimated that from one-third to one-half of all students today are dissatisfied in varying degrees with their universities and their society.

A survey of 7300 students of 197 campuses taken in 1970 after the Kent State incident showed that 88% were in favor of large-scale alteration in the United States system of government; 82% were dissatisfied with the university system as it exists in America; and 14% claimed that "violence is the only way to make the establishment respond."

Negative Aspects of Youth

116. The largest Federal survey of marijuana on American college campuses concluded that 31% had tried it and that 14% had used it regularly (every week or two). The frequency of severe psychotic episodes was 1 in 300. Major points of the survey included: 1) marijuana usage is on the increase in
America, although the increase has slowed in the past year or two, and, 2) in some areas (West Coast), usage seems to have "crested." (BN391)

117. It is not without relevance to note the veritable flood of dramas, particularly on American TV, purporting to portray the contemporary drug culture in America, with emphasis on middle-class white America. An analysis conducted by a television magazine said it was clear that the values of American society were being indicted; not one drama conceded that any responsibility for his plight was shared by the drug-taker. (BPI16)

118. Three recent large-scale studies in the United States and Canada indicate that illicit drug use is far higher than average among teenagers whose parents use tranquilizers or stimulant medications regularly.

The Canadian study tested 8,900 in Toronto and 5,900 in another part of Ontario. The study in New Jersey involved 12,000 junior high school students in the Northern part of the state. The California study involved 1,300 students at several colleges. Trends noted in the three studies in the three areas all confirm the above conclusion. (BN451)

119. In Canada, the teenager whose mother is a daily user of tranquilizers is three times as likely to use drugs as the teenager whose mother does not use tranquilizers. When the drug is heroin, the ratio is 6 to 1. When the drug is amphetamines by injection, the rate is 5 to 1. (BN451)

120. In February 1972, the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse recommended that criminal penalties for possession and private use of marijuana be entirely abolished.

We might cut the use of heroin by taking the "younger user out of the criminal drug-using subculture."

The Commission contended that marijuana is not addictive, and that it is "totally invalid to assume smoking escalated to heroin." Marijuana has little or no relation to crime and violence and may even deter them by reducing aggressiveness. It is not rebellion or alienation that leads to put use as much as
the life-style of certain groups; and social behavior cannot readily be changed by legal fiat. Estimates show that 24 million have tried it; 500,000 or more use it daily. (BP325)

121. Street gangs have reappeared in a number of big cities, after having more or less subsided in the early 1960's. Whereas in the 1950's gangs were mostly white, now they are mostly black; but motorcycle gangs on the East and West Coasts are white. The Pennsylvania Crime Commission has attempted to diagnose the causes of this teenage vagrancy; it stems from city core disintegrations: in schools, housing race relations, family structure. And now, with a mild recession, it is abetted by job scarcity. The remedy for youthful gangsterism, officials say, is very simply: More attention to city core life. More youth workers and youth centers. More urban renewal. A genuine start on low-cost housing. More job training. More jobs. More remedial schooling. More local autonomy. (BN232)

122. Crime by children is rising all over the United States — some serious, some by not-yet-teenagers. Mostly petty shakedowns for money, property, bicycle thefts, school lockers. But violence is not uncommon. The same trend was noted in 1969 by a National Commission: Between 1958 and 1967, assaults committed within the ages 10-14 rose 300%, and robberies 200%. (BN362)

123. Another account of how juvenile crime is increasing at an alarming rate (167°: increase of violent crime in the 1960's) says it is threatening to swamp attempts at criminal reform at all levels. (BN387)
One campus observer cited in the New York Times in March a growing number of "Manson freaks" on campus. Some who previously paid lip service to non-violence now quote with approval the ideas of this convicted mass murderer. They are taking themselves very seriously, carrying lethal weapons and mongering aggressive slogans. It is not frustration so much as fear that attracts the weak to Manson's "philosophy," one theme of which is pretending that one is a criminal and hence need no longer fear being a victim. (BS8)

The American Association of Suicidology reports a dramatic increase in suicide rates among the young, and particularly among young women. The official count shows 11 suicides for each 100,000 of American population. Between 1960 and 1970, rates increased for women under 20, from 0.4 per 100,000 to 8 per 100,000; for women 20-29, from 6 per 100,000 to 26; for men under 20, from 3 to 10; and for men 20-29, from 18 to 41.

Reasons suggested include earlier break with family; the sexual revolution; changes in women's roles. There are indications to suggest links with drug use (youthful drug users are 15 times as suicidal as non-users).

There may be a carry-over into the military environment of rationales among young people from certain milieus, emphasizing fatalistic and suicidal responses to frustrations encountered in military life, or even frustrations encountered in all adult life.

A Few Miscellaneous Aspects

Many college yearbooks are expiring due to decreasing interest, and mounting costs. Schools are more impersonal, and students are getting away from "Joe College." Also, to some students, in view of Kent State, Jackson
127. A United States Court of Appeals decision upheld the Federal judge's ruling in the case of Richards vs. Thurston, to the effect that public school principals have no legal jurisdiction over the length of a boy's hair. Before the ruling was handed down, many school systems had revised their hair and dress codes and regulations, and found in most instances that this move has not caused problems of discipline. Many found a more relaxed atmosphere, improved student-teacher relationships, and as one principal said - "We've had a very good year." However, others feel that "sloppiness in appearance leads to sloppiness in work," and that the decision is a "threat to the established order of authority in public schools." (BN164)

128. The National Federation of Teachers voted at its national convention in 1970 to support children's choice of "dress and grooming." They also supported the student's right to petition. (BN304)

129. The hippies are said to be a new phenomenon; but historically, people left home and hit the road long before hippies and beatniks mesmerized the mass media. Some towns have always been too dull, or too cramped; and, some people have always been too restless to stay in them.

Hitchhikers have a conviction that adulthood is a sentence of doom hanging over their shaggy heads — that youth, alas, is definitely fleeting.

Hitchhiking equates to anonymity, which means freedom. The hiker's ideal: to have no structured thought in your mind, and to experience new things without having a basis to relate to them. (BN434)

Potential Impact

The hippie syndrome may be one which is beyond the capability of the Navy to alter or absorb or adjust to, but it should not be invariably equated with syndromes associated with the commune or community. Some former denizens of these groups may well be retrievable as accessions for the Navy, and in fact the world of communes might be investigated as a source of manpower motivated by a number of different values.
Political Participation and Other Activities

130. The Ripon Society detects a decline in the number of youth interested in business careers. They seek more secure and relevant jobs. If some businesses also become part of the nation's hope for social reform, they will boost greatly our success in reform, and will find all the young talent they need. The competition will force other businesses to change, also.

Tax incentives are suggested, perhaps credit for contributions to charity and any political party; and a Youth Service Foundation, with facilities for volunteer services through subsistence fellowships and information.

It is pointed out that there is a "youth class" consciousness which takes on a global character. Their energies should be channelled into an international Peace Corps and international youth exchange programs. (BM23)

131. The Wall Street Journal offered a set of four constructive suggestions which might, over the long term, prove beneficial in solving the problem of "early adult confusion." First, rather than establishing a national service program to complement the draft, the Federal Government might do away with the draft altogether and establish a volunteer army. Bureaucratic government involvement in the lives of young people can only serve to deepen the bitterness of the alienated.

Second, universities might begin to think of implementing strong admissions and other policies designed to admit only those young students who truly understand what academic life involves and who truly have an interest in it. They might also give some thought to the idea that a university need not be an exclusive
preserve of the young, but rather a place for people of all ages and situations to come to for periods of study at various times of life.

Third, parents of young people and prospective employers of young people might begin to take a different view of the importance of a college degree. To be sure, a college education is essential for some kinds of success; but for other kinds, an understanding of one's self and of the real world may be far more important. And the self-understanding may make a postponed college education far more meaningful.

Fourth, the young themselves might somehow gain an increased familiarity with a simple insight that too often seems strangely incomprehensible to the. It is that personal identity, a sense of meaning in life, is not something given by society, but created by the individual. Often the creation is necessarily an arduous task, and all the more so in a huge nation changing rapidly in a host of ways. (BN521)

132. A 1970 New Yorker analysis, noted that in the past a large portion of our leadership has come from our colleges and universities, especially the Ivy League. Documented by surveys of recent Dartmouth classes, there is a trend away from military leadership. Dartmouth's class of 1968 made a decision not to help lead the current war, as its predecessors had helped to lead all other American wars, and, if possible, not be in it at all. The class of 1969, graduating five months after Mr. Nixon's inauguration and inclined to be hopeful about his intentions, followed suit, but primarily in a series of private

Potential Impact

The defection of any good college from support of the military establishment is a loss. Concentrations of potential leaders of exceptional qualifications are especially to be desired as sources of accessions. The role of the military establishment in relation to society needs to be explained more carefully, and the explanations cannot be left to adversaries. Some suggestions relative to ROTC are included in other sections, but here the general impact is foreseen to be continued negativism unless positive and imagin-ative steps are taken to see that balanced
actions. But the class of 1970 decided

to reassume the college graduate's

traditional role of leadership. Unlike

their immediate predecessors, who,

by one, went off to teaching jobs or

VISTA or a safe 1-Y, wishing the war

would end but willing to give the

government a chance, 1970's graduates

from Dartmouth and hundreds of other

colleges made a deliberate decision

to try to lead the country out of war.

(BP319)

133. Peace Corps volunteers have come from every state; and ranged

from 18 to 69: the vast majority ranged from 22-25. Men outnumbered women

2 to 1, but there were fewer jobs for women. More than half are serving as

teachers. Kauffman insists that Peace Corps service is not seen as an escape but

mostly as a chance to fulfill a need the American society has failed to fill.

In many ways today's college experience encourages and perpetuates a kind of

ego-centrism: one is encouraged to work for oneself (not the community or humanity).

The Peace Corps may be something of a compromise, a way to

gain personal fulfillment while serving others.

Some potential benefits include an opportunity to apply what is

theoretically the ideal in our value system but which rarely has an opportunity to

be expressed: sensitivity, patience and courage, manliness; an opportunity to feel

honestly needed and to perform vital tasks that require skill and training; and an

opportunity to learn about others as well as oneself.

Professor Arnold Toynbee feels the Peace Corps may help

revolutionize the American people's attitude towards the non-Western majority of

mankind by sensitizing the volunteers, who will influence others in America. (BB99)
The White House Conference on Youth evinced considerable concern and attention to problems of the deprived, minority groups (broadly defined), and the inner city. Educational issues were dealt with extensively, particularly the rights of students, their participation in academic machinery, and increasing the relevance of education to employment. (BM153)

We feel it is also appropriate to note the condition that the White House Conference on Youth expressed many resolutions across the spectrum of national activity, and that in resolution after resolution there was repeated stress on the rights and privileges of youth and of the individual. One searches the record of the Conference almost in vain, however, for resolutions which emphasized the obligations and responsibilities of youth, and of the individual; there was nowhere an attempt to give equal stress or balance to both rights and obligations.

This may be a typical resolution of the Conference

6.2g BE IT RESOLVED that the White House Conference on Youth strongly endorses and supports non-violent demonstrations in opposition to the United States military activities in Indochina.

The conference chairman divided the themes of the conference into a six-fold categorization:

1. Youth involvement (in decisions that affect their lives)
2. Community Control/Participation (again, control related to those most affected)
3. Equality/Pluralism — more practice and less hypocrisy toward the terms of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

4. Libertarianism (freedom or choose one's way of life as long as it does not limit or harm this right of others)

5. Humanization (vs. technological threat; in employment and economy)

6. Humanitarianism (toward the human plight in the world)  (BMI53)

137. This is perhaps a typical, rather sweeping, resolution by the Conference:

6.11a Resolved, That if the White House is serious about a generation of peace, the Administration and the Congress take steps to initiate a fundamental change in our economic priorities away from arms production and war material and toward international exchange, food programs, housing, health care, education, and environmental protection. In order to implement this, we recommend a reduction of 25 percent in our defense spending for next year from present levels and the immediate initiation or steps toward the implementation of a peacetime economy. Yes 45; No 23; Abstain 3.

Be it Resolved, That the Conference condemns the resort to political and military operations; advocates as a general principle military non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations; and recommends that in every case of internal conflict, our government should initiate negotiations with all parties a policy of universal military and paramilitary non-interference with the internal affairs of other nations. Yes 76; No 14; Abstain 6.

J.D. Rockefeller's task force included this among its conclusions:

Students do not doubt their ability to make a living, to be successful in the conventional sense if they so choose. Taking these benefits for granted, they discount them and emphasize the importance of the individual, the desirability of social change, the search for meaningful personal relationships and work. They question authority on almost every count and hold up
virtually every institution of our society for re-examination. For the most part, they find them wanting. (BP351)

138. Another Rockefeller task force conclusion:

There is substantial agreement among college students and business executives on the issues that must be dealt with on a collaborative basis: poverty, racism, pollution, overpopulation, drug addiction. Ending the Vietnam War remains a vital concern for the students, but when asked about problems to which they will devote their personal time, they rank the war fourth, behind poverty, pollution and racism.

The great majority of students surveyed believe that the American system is flexible enough to allow them to solve problems and overcome flaws without resort to radical change. They overwhelmingly prefer reason to violence.

Students do not trust businessmen to stay with any project in which business interests become affected. The percentage of student activists who regard businessmen as overly concerned with profits as against social responsibility has increased sharply in the last year. (BP351)

139. Again, a Rockefeller group conclusion:

There is a very strong and frustrated wish on the part of business leaders to establish dialogue with the young. Three out of four want active cooperation. Among businessmen there is less backlash against students than is the case in the general population. The accent is not on writing off or further isolating the college rebels, but rather on talking and working together. Businessmen are wary of student immaturity and radicalism, and few see any reason why they should subject themselves to harangues and abuse. (BP351)

Some Indicators

140. For some of 1971 and 1972, various observers have felt that the volatile aspects of the youth movement have been simmering down. The most visible change has been a return to personal interests as opposed to public issues and a
willingness to work within the system for meaningful change. This change has occurred because many of the burning issues of the late 1960's have been "resolved"; viz, winding down the Vietnam War, acceptable draft lottery, educational reform in the colleges, activating a lagging economy, and enduring the passage of time. Youth seem more willing to work quietly for reform and more willing to listen to those in authority. (BN368)

141. Michael Lerner reported that the direction containing the most energy and talent in the new culture is the movement back to the land.

The new culture teaches entirely different and many varied ways of life to those who enter it. In the countryside something like the tribe has become the most common social unit, though the organization of such tribe-like groups varies immensely from remarkably successful anarchist groups to groups organized around a single enlightened leader. (BP248)

142. Early in 1971, the Monitor discussed the "counter-culture" at Berkeley, the communalism, emphasizing the Free Clinic and Berkeley Food Conspiracy, and noting its peaceful emphasis as a reaction to "People's Park." It describes an independent community with schools, etc., but with little "establishment" influence and very much "return to the land" attitude. (BN225)

Potential Impact

Willingness to listen will continue to go a long way. But this is a two-way device. Willingness to talk is also needed, in a helpful, constructive, but not derisive way. A great many foolish programs have been passionately advocated, based on tremendous ignorance of the basic subjects concerned. At the height of the Vietnam War controversy, the Army War College offered a team of five senior officers, including a chaplain, all of whom had served in South Vietnam, to any campus, school, or group, for a discussion. The team found almost abysmal ignorance of elementary facts behind many passionate positions, frequently goaded by some faculty extremist. On the whole, however, through calm and good-humored and never condescending discussion, they found the overwhelming majority of the young eager to learn and highly appreciative of the opportunity to discuss the Vietnam problem with reasonable persons who had actually been there. The team did not seek polls or favorable votes, only a hearing; they felt they did much good in a quiet way.

In India there is a shanti sena, a peace brigade, which works to defuse conflict between Hindus and Moslems. It may serve as a prototype for the Navy and the rest of the military, with civilian-agency allies, to form "defusing brigades," or discussion teams, to be available for participation in discussion of appropriate national issues with the young.
143. Lerner commented:

Pollution, or a right-wing social upheaval are all very real possibilities in a twenty-year perspective: those most likely to escape nuclear, chemical or political agents are those who know how to live on the land in the most isolated mountains. (BP448)

144. Davis is more incisive:

The hippies are expressing what is best about a seemingly ever broader segment of American youth: its openness to new experience, puncturing of cant, rejection of bureaucratic regimentation, aversion to violence, and identification with the exploited and disadvantaged. That this is not the whole story barely needs saying. Along with the poetry and flowers, the melancholy smile at passing and ecstatic clasp at greeting, there is also the panicky incoherence of the bad LSD trip, the malnutrition, a startling rise in VD and hepatitis, a seemingly phobic reaction to elementary practices of hygiene and sanitation, and — perhaps most disturbing in the long run — a casualness about the comings and goings of human relationships that must verge on the grossly irresponsible. But then, social movements — particularly of this expressive-religious variety — are rarely of a piece, and it would be unfortunate if social scientists, rather than inquiring into the genesis, meaning, and future of the hippie movement, too soon joined ranks (as many are likely to, in any case) with solid burghers in an orgy of research into the pathology of it all: the ubiquitous drug use (mainly marijuana and LSD, often amphetamines, rarely heroin or other opiates), the easy attitudes toward sex, and the mocking hostility toward the middle-class values of pleasure-deferral, material success, and ultimately the whole mass-media-glamorized round of chic, deodorized, appliance-glutted suburban existence. (BB233)

145. Some critics find that the youth movement has split into so many smaller movements that it seems to be grinding to a halt. Some regard it as a carnival of continuous action, while others can stand back and view themselves with irony and perspective. The movement appears to be in a period of retrenchment with young people re-examining their positions. (BN290)
The magazine Seventeen conducted a widely cited poll in 1971: Among political trends, youth between 14-22 chose as two top candidates for president in 1972 Edward Kennedy (20.9%) and Richard Nixon (19.0%). 57% would vote against legalizing marijuana, 62% would vote for less strict abortion laws. 69% agreed there is no "just" war. 67% agreed that service in the armed forces should be voluntary. 55% disagreed that morale among soldiers in Vietnam is high; only 28% agreed and 17% had no opinion. 84% agreed that there is a generation gap; 48% agreed that it's the same as for their parents; 47% disagreed. 75% felt most middle-aged people are prejudiced against new ideas. 55% consider themselves part of the silent majority; 71% consider their parents part of it.

On education, youth between 14 and 22 reach significant agreement that students should have more say about their curriculums, dress and conduct codes, and grading systems; however, they felt that staff hiring and firing should be left to their elders. They felt that there should be free education through college, as well as free trade training. 66% felt college students should have more to say about whether ROTC is offered. 58% felt that college students should have more say as to whether the college engages in military or defense research. 56% felt college students should have more say in whether the armed forces recruits on campus and whether defense industries recruit on campus.

Youth between 14-22 showed themselves to be very aware of environment problems and personally willing to give up almost anything but their cars, to help curb pollution. However, they showed themselves to be poorly informed about minority-group problems.

Interracial marriage was acceptable if love was involved (60% said they would marry someone of another race in that situation); but 43% felt that other young people would not approve. (BP455)

Youth between the ages of 14-22 felt somewhat hopeful (60%) about America's future, but that something is basically wrong (73%) and that hard work is necessary to make it better (49%).
In regard to social institutions, 61% felt that they are responsive to change; however, 51% feel we can accomplish that change by working through the existing political framework.

Only 20% felt that violence is the only way to accomplish anything. (BP455)

An interesting comparison by Gallup of age-groups 21-29, 39-49, 50 and over, found virtually no variation by age group over the following issues. Whether morals or honesty in this country are getting better or worse; the blame for the racial situation; the speed of integration; interracial school busing; 18 year old vote; all-volunteer army; importance of religious influences; whether people in this society get ahead mainly by luck or by ability.

There were marked differences by age-group on the subjects of pre-marital sex and availability of the "pill." (BMI01)

Projections into the Future

In early 1972, a survey conducted by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc. for the John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund, was published. It had surveyed 1,244 students of 50 campuses in 1971.

(Yankelovich conducted similar surveys in 1968, 1969 and 1970.) The most widely held traditional moral belief is that children should respect their parents (87%). They reject organized religion (two-thirds). It is morally wrong to steal or collect welfare when one can work (over 75%). There can be only one objective justifying war: countering aggression (1968: 64%; 1971: 50%)

Reaction to authority: they do not mind

Potential Impact

This poll is relatively rare in elucidating even 50% support for the concept of justifiable war in defense against aggression.

There is general appeal to the values of friendship, privacy, freedom of opinion family, and nature.

The values of changing society, combatting hypocrisy, living rigidly by one's beliefs: 1/3 of students.

The mainstream students remain moderate values (political), condemn violence, regard private property as inviolable, believe business should make a profit, achieve social change within the system. Drastic reform is needed by political parties, the military, the penal system, and business.

Of every 10 students, 1 is left-radical, 2 are conservative, 7 are mainstream. A startling 30% would rather live in some other country. (BN313)

Flecks suggests that the New Consciousness has spread to Non-Student Youth, including the military. He says that mood of questioning and restlessness is inherent in a conscription army, but that this mood has also spread to the military elite. (BB115)

Potential Impact

Whether or not the military needs reform, poll after poll shows that many (frequently most) American youth believe it does.

This comment has its own special significance. Among the populations needing reassurance over potentially needed military reforms are a number of members of the military forces themselves.
152. Flacks cites the "Territorialization" of youth Culture, in which the "youth ghetto" now very much resembles black ghettos (i.e., commercially exploited; intense police surveillance, riots, etc.) and is characterized by alienation. The migration to the countryside and communal living represents an alternative to the prevailing patterns of suburban-urban existence of the American middle-class family. (BBII5)

153. Even labor is undergoing Radicalization in virtually every field; self-conscious groups of young practitioners are challenging established leaders and practices. The social ethic of elitism is being rejected. Elitism is being rejected.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Women's Lib. Impetus</th>
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<td>was given to the cause of all &quot;minorities&quot; by the student movement. On the other hand, the student and youth culture movement was dominated by men and served male needs (i.e. draft resistance); and in this respect it developed c new sense of rights and awareness of oppression. The youth revolt became irrelevant to women's needs. Women's Lib consciousness is more penetrating and fundamental than that of the counter-culture, and it also has learned from the tactical and strategic mistakes of the youth movement. (BBII5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The future of youth, and related problems of future manpower needs, have not been discussed here in relation to women. Those aspects are discussed in the subsection on Women.</td>
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154. Flack asserts that radical political alliances will take a strict negative stance toward law and order; will focus at. icks on activities of large corporations, and will demand "professionalism" of candidates and politicians. Not all of these trends will be revolutionary, but all will contribute to a long-term
process of change in society

Yet there are strong currents of youthful despair, affecting the exhilaration of youth. The opportunity to develop a life-style based on creativity and freedom from conventional restraints of adulthood, and the opportunity to sustain such a life beyond studenthood are challenged in two ways: 1. economic (contraction of the job market), and 2. psychological (unadmitted fear of anonymity and failure).

One answer has been to establish a community of a new social order, which transcends youth and shares common interests of all to help each other realize their common dreams. (BB115)

155. Flacks attributes to the youth movement, as "an important advance in the history of social movements in America," the insight that social change cannot be legislated but must begin with change in the culture itself.

Nevertheless, Flacks continues, basic change cannot occur outside the political system. Political authority has enormous resources with which to suppress change or to facilitate change, such as resource allocation, taxes, program organs, and so on. Primarily, enduring change must be expressed in enduring legislation. (BB115)
Young Workers

156. Twenty million members of the labor force are under 25; they find economic and emotional binds in their situation, from gerontocratic unions on one hand and the pressures of "college" education deficiency. Both breed frustration and resentment. (BM23)

In view of the over-recurrent danger of overconcentrating upon college youth, it is necessary to emphasize periodically the equal importance—and on occasion—the transcedent importance of non-college youth to the future of the Navy, the other military, and other essential social institutions. With this group, too, opportunity will grow for expressing Navy interest at younger ages. It may be possible to sponsor a young apprentice program, perhaps during school vacations. Many approaches are possible.

157. Other sources encourage the use of a work-experience program for youth to give them a chance to sample different careers by working in that field—even if not paid—during school vacations. Such a program could be worked out by the service to interest teen-agers. (BP52)

158. John Kenneth Galbraith predicts that students will continue to be contentious into the foreseeable future because of built-in conflict between the universities and the institutions of a highly organized society. (BP186)

159. Attitudes of youth: They tend to see themselves as basically rejecting the Calvinistic Work Ethic, as being more honest with themselves, more open to new ideas and experimentation, more concerned with beauty, more interested in world events, more self-centered, more optimistic about the future, and less impressed with formal authority. (BP237)
160. As young people approach problems on their jobs, they will place much more emphasis on the human side of problems than former generations. From the organizations that employ them, they will expect a genuine sense of social responsibility and the willingness to do something about it. Those who seek careers in business will be especially suspicious about the real intentions of the corporate enterprise. They will seek career paths that give them the greatest degree of mobility and will shy away from jobs that lock them into a particular organization. Most of all, they will expect to be given work to do that utilizes whatever skills abilities, or knowledge they have to offer. Many will not be willing to move up the ladder in the traditional sense. They will want meaningful work now. As a result, turnover, especially among college trained young people, is likely to be painfully high during the next decade. (BP237)

161. Riesman observes that "there seems to be a discrepancy between the America that students make for themselves as students and the America they think they will move into when they leave the campus. Their image of the latter is based to a large extent on legends about America that are preserved in our literature." They see that other Americans are materialistic, while not giving sufficient credence to the social environment that they think they are about to enter. This comment is not to be taken lightly. Our enduring literature does largely portray social environments of the past or that are passing, while contemporary literature contains such a large content of adversary perspectives and destructive analysis of American society as almost to bury the modest content of balanced and constructive portrayals of contemporary life.
to their own materialistic feelings. (BB289)

162. Peter Drucker feels that, during the 1970's, the United States will return to a preoccupation with traditional economic worries, as opposed to the "youth culture" which many feel is the wave of the future. The baby boom of 1948-1953 meant that 17 year-olds were the largest single age group from 1965-1970. Age 17 has always been a period of rebellion, when youths start moving away from family and start to make their first career decisions. (BP103)

163. Michael Lerner suggests:

It is not difficult, in a broader perspective, to see the return to Christianity, whatever its specific value for the young, as furthering some of the trends toward reconciliation. (BP248)

A warning about going overboard on Youth values:

Collectively, we have attempted to provide a formal educational opportunity for our youngsters which is far superior to anything available during our school years. But in the process we have neglected to teach enough about discipline, moral values, and love of country. We thus have failed to prepare them to carry on as we phase out of the picture. Because of our failure to instill a proper sense of values and to insist upon certain standards of conduct, we have entirely too many bright, well-educated young people who know how to destroy, but not how to create...A free society such as ours is subject to constant change. This is a source of our strength, because well-conceived change is the only route to a better life for more of our people. However,
radical change can destroy us. There are certain fundamental precepts — love of God, loyalty to country, and nonviolent politics, to name a few — which helped see the country through the rocks and shoals of the past. It is incumbent upon all of us to demand adherence to these bedrock principles during the trying times ahead. (BP457)

164. Not all visualizations of youth in 2000 are sanguine:

...they could be especially self-indulgent or alienated, as the identity confusion typical of adolescence is exacerbated by the confusion, normlessness, and anomie of the society. Indifference to moral and ethical values and irresponsibility of personal behavior would be combined with feelings of outrage about the vast discrepancies between the wealth of the rich nations and the poor...Recruitment into any of the more difficult or demanding professions would be restricted to those who have adopted Stoic patterns, and to the sons of fathers who are already in those professions and who identify with them. Conformers would work, aspire to comfortable sinecures, and look forward to early retirement. Hip patterns of life could become increasingly common, though not the norm, in all but the lower middle-class. In spite of the prominence of symbols of rebellion and nonconformity, these youths, especially because of their anomie and alienation, would be subject

Potential Impact

These predictions help illuminate the diversity of social orientations which will confront the Navy in its recruitment efforts in the future.
to extreme fads of behavior and political, ethical, and religious ideas. (BP457)

Here, we revive the subject of adversary culture mentioned at the end of the Education subsection. Michael Lerner summarizes Daniel Bell's analysis of the adversary culture as being one which inculcates none of the virtues which the society needs for its survival, and one which proposes no constructive alternative.

Lerner argues that the Old Culture does not inculcate virtues now necessary for survival, and is as much as adversary as the New Culture. Not one protest or reform movement has been generated by the Old Culture in the past ten years.

Lerner suggests a third view, discerning elements in both Old and New Cultures qualities equally essential to survive. He de- plores the expenditure of energy in contempt of one culture for the other. (BP248)

Potential Impact

It is simply nonsense to assert that no reform movement of the past ten years has been launched in the old culture. In fact, the roots (and in many fields, the trunk and branches) of every serious protest and reform movement were and are in the old culture, whether involving economic reform, civil rights, tax reform, peace movements, education, youth, political procedures, consumerism, church reform, or whatever. It may be that what is needed in the future is greater appreciation of the continuity that already exists between the old and the new, with the new reshaping and re-expressing values while stressing their continued durability, relevance, and viability.
Many of the talented, searching, sensitive youth will reject the rationalizations of society and seek expression in the arts, humanities, teaching, social service, and unorganized social protest. They also will turn to emphasize experiences with love, family, sex, religion, drugs, etc. A second group of youth will move into management and politics, manipulating men and events to serve pragmatic goals. Others will move into professions and submerge their value conflicts under professional accomplishments.

The rest of society will be like today's adult. They will not be devoid of values, but their viewpoints will not help them understand the world or their place in it, any more than the majority of the adults do today. The unskilled and poorly educated will have values of their own which will justify their behavior to society.

The U.S. News and World Report predicts that as the teen-agers' share of the American population dwindles, so will their assertiveness. Pieces of the counterculture may survive; e.g., communes may evolve into kibbutzim. However, the entire revolt produced no really new or useful philosophy. (BP121)

Blos discusses "mal-adaptive" behavior among the young:

It is not necessary to belabor here the fragmented, dis-oriented, antiquated, cynical and corrupt state of many contemporary social institutions...

The increase in mal-adaptive behavior among the young cannot be related, solely, to their upbringing, to the laxity, severity of, or neglect by family, school, or church...To call the 'unconforming' adolescent 'sick' is a meaningless attribution; the hope to stem
the tide through individual or group counseling, through confrontations or psychotherapy, must remain...another labor of Sisyphus.

...the strategy for normalization lies, to a large extent, outside individual rehabilitation, and, rather, in the restructuring of the environment... (BP421)
WOMEN

1. As futurists peer a decade ahead, few cultural areas are likely to exceed that related to women in importance as an area for ferment and change. Intermixed with changes in technology, religion, sex, politics, education, family, and other areas, changes in the status of women are likely to be substantial on a number of social levels. All social institutions, including the military, will be affected.

2. To illustrate the depths of female reaction, we cite the report that Representative Shirley Chisholm, of New York, quoted in the Chicago Tribune, Mrs. Chisholm has often said, "she suffered more in her 47 years from being a woman than from being black". (BN622)

Some Historical Aspects

3. Household tasks are, according to Veblen, an occupation of ceremonial futility. Veblen observed that "Woman is endowed with her share—which there is reason to believe is more than an even share—of the instinct of workmanship, to which futility of life or of expenditure is obnoxious"; and such an impulse, when denied expression, leaves them "touched with a sense of grievance too vivid to leave them at rest". But, Bettelheim comments, "If a girl tries to fulfill her instinct for workmanship, she is subject to pressures not directed at boys. A man is considered a failure if he does not support himself, does not achieve in work, but his marital status little affects people's estimate of him. All this is different for the girl. A woman, no matter how gifted or successful in her work life, is judged a failure if she does not marry fairly soon. (BB99)

4. Bettelheim discusses the relationship of generations in terms relevant to the status of women:

The fate of a girl can be harder than a boy's. From childhood it is impressed on her that her main fulfillment will come with marriage and children, but her education has nevertheless been the same as that of boys, who are
expected to realize themselves mainly through work and achievement in society. Years in college and graduate work have further prepared the female elite to seek self-realization in work, while society at large continues to stress that they must find it in motherhood.

The worker's wife is perhaps the worst off, because she lacks even the environment of her suburban counterpart (e.g., PTA, League of Women Voters). Many such women, uprooted too often, no longer try to fill their emptiness with family gossip or church activities, but try to find, if not meaning, at least some escape from emptiness through a job. Unfortunately, it is rarely the kind of work that gives meaning to their lives; but at least it provides associations with equals and is preferred to the drudgery of homemaking. (BB99)

5. In many countries the care of children is the responsibility of the entire society, because the quality of child-rearing determines the future of the society. (BM143)

6. The problem of self-realization for a mother might mean creating something akin to the extended family. This meant entrusting part of infant care to the older children or sharing it with relatives. Another solution would be the care of young children by professional people while the mother pursues her individual interests, at least, part of her time. (BB99)

7. Sheldon Glueck insists that mothers who work should be permitted, every two hours or so, to visit their young children in nurseries or schools located right on the grounds of stores or factories where they work, and that the cost should be borne by business and industry as an accepted part of the overhead.

Society must find a way to use its womanpower without depriving children of the emotional nourishment that comes from close and warm family life. (BP437)
8. Slater discusses these problems at length:

...Lave suburban matrons adopted a desexualized, masculine style because they have been deprived of careers? Many people would object that most women don't want careers. I suspect the women themselves would agree, but I also wonder if deep inside they don't feel the kind of puzzled uneasiness that we always experience when obliged to accept a formulation that makes us lose either way. The problem is that career is in itself a masculine concept (i.e., designed for males in our society). When we say career it connotes a demanding, rigorous, preordained life pattern, to whose goals everything else is ruthlessly subordinated -- everything pleasurable, human, emotional, bodily, frivolous. It is a stern Calvinistic work, which is why it always has a humorous effect when it is applied to occupational patterns of a less puritanical sort. Thus when a man asks a woman if she wants a career, it is intimidating. He is saying, are you willing to suppress half of your being as I am, neglect your family as I do, exploit personal relationships as I do, renounce all personal spontaneity as I do? Naturally, she shudders a bit and shuffles back to the broom closet. She even feels a little sorry for him, and bewails the unkind fate that has forced him against his will to become such a despicable person. The perennial success of this hoax perhaps contributes to the low opinion that men so often have of feminine intelligence (an opinion which, as any teacher knows, is otherwise utterly unfounded). (BB325)

Potential Impact

In the future, all large social organizations will be in tighter competition for quality manpower. The size of the American manpower pool will be directly dependent upon demographic, birth and medical development. The quality will be steadily improved by, for example, education. Many additional efforts will be made by organizations to increase their share of competent young people. The greatest possible expansion of the pool of quality manpower can be achieved by including American women in the national pool. Because there will be no alternative, the most "chauvinistic" of male-dominated institutions will eventually overcome their inhibitions and dismantle any remaining barriers to equal participation by women at all levels. It would be foolhardy to predict, however, that the transition will be easy.
9. A more effective response would be to admit that a "career", thus defined, is indeed undesirable... and saying: "My unwillingness to sacrifice a host of human values to my personal narcissism and self-aggrandizement makes me the superior sex."

This revolutionary response, however, is never made. Women have long been stereotyped as bastions of conservatism -- a stereotype which receives considerable empirical support from attitude surveys. Even war, the most absurd and vicious of all the games that men play, has rarely produced a feminine revolt. Despite their antipathy toward it, despite the fact that they play no part in it and cannot control it, that it is most hurtful to them and destroys what they have created, women seldom resist war, and in some societies are more chauvinistic and blood-thirsty than the men. Lysistrata was, after all, a man's fantasy. (BB325)

10. In the recent past, for example, and in working-class families today, parents sacrificed in order to prepare their children to be economically and socially better off than the parents were, and often hated them for fulfilling this goal and leaving the parents behind. Now middle-class parents sacrifice in order to prepare their children to be emotionally better off -- more loving, expressive, creative, cooperative, honest -- and once again, resent being outdistanced. In both cases the parents feel left out of the triumphs they made possible; and the children feel ashamed of the parents who wanted them to be superior. (BB325)

Potential Impact

Several revolutions had to occur first to make it possible to release women from the social-family roles which biology had been primarily responsible for casting them in so tightly. Economic freedom from scarcity; mechanical freedom from work requiring strength; educational and economic affluence to permit education of women on a mass scale, technological freedom from pregnancy symbolized by the Pill, and religious revolutions which repudiated dogmas requiring the repression of women—these were among some of the necessary preparatory revolutions. Few signs appear of any decline in these revolutionary trends; the resultant of many of these forces will be steady further liberation of women. Eventually, there will hardly remain any activity in which men engage that will not admit women on an equal basis, should women press to enter them. Not all women desire to abandon their traditional roles, and many group practices (e.g.,
with which married men gathered together discuss the conservatism of their wives... It permits the husband to be far more adaptable and amenable to change than he really feels.

Ultimately, of course, this kind of emotional division of labor tends to backfire... he tends to become bored with her and somewhat lonely. She is left behind, outgrown, as William H. Whyte, Jr., puts it. (BB325)

12. Women can be expected more and more to resist induction into such a hopelessly unrewarding life style, as cultural alternatives become increasingly available... (BB325)

13. Warren Bennis on women's rights:

Few businessmen pay women equally, respect their judgments, and promote them equally with men. Very few institutions have done anything at all about setting up day care centers, so that women can really pursue their careers; yet this will be one of the biggest issues of the next few years.

Bennis says that he welcomes the arrival of women in business. He reckons that because of their cultural training they are more capable of absorbing and dealing with conflict than men. He also contends that women are less subject to distortions of power than men. (BN196)

14. A suit was brought against the State of Ohio and Libby-Owens-Ford for discrimination against women by restricting their working hours. The Company said that they were merely adhering to state law, which prohibits women from working more than 9 hours a day or 6 days a week. The discrimination was charged under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Emerging standards for women's rights are likely to affect most jobs where employers can now insist that sex is a bona-fide
qualification or disqualification. (BP396)

15. If one checks the extensive research in almost any field (behavioral or other, distinguishable by sex) it is readily obvious how little is devoted to women (educational, organizational, job requirements, attitudes, etc.) The pay gap between men and women has widened in the past 15 years, despite civil rights legislation banning pay discrimination by sex and the development of the women's liberation movement. The median earnings of women have reached only 59.4% of the median of men's salaries. Women have usually been employed in less-skilled, lower-paying jobs, but have often received unequal pay for equal work. (BN328)

16. Secretary Elliot Richardson, whose Department (Health, Education and Welfare) conducted an extensive study of women's status, made this summary statement:

There is a culturally induced predisposition to think male. We tend to assume there are no

Potential Impact

Some of the old research will be redone with new perspectives and new research will be undertaken. Much behavioral research will concentrate on mixed-sex groups. The Navy and the other Services, for example, will be interested in the dynamics of primary groups containing both sexes, and in leadership situations involving women in command roles involving leadership and command of men. It may be that sex-role stereotypes are more deeply ingrained than racial stereotypes—that, for example, racially-prejudiced men may prefer to serve under a member of a race against which they are biased than serve under women. Much research will involve new assessments of the capabilities of women to perform most, and perhaps all, job assignments now reserved for men.

Potential Impact

There may occur conflict between women filling expanded roles in the Navy, and other Navy members whose origins are in ethnic subcultures which restrict women to even more confined roles than has occurred in general
qualified women available, or we assume that among qualified men and women, men will be better qualified, so we devote little effort to recruiting and considering qualified women. (BMI43)

17. The HEW studies showed that numerous distinctions based on sex still exist in the law. For example:

1. State laws placing special restrictions on women with respect to hours of work and weightlifting on the job;

2. State laws prohibiting women from working in certain occupations;

3. Laws or practices operating to exclude women from State colleges and universities (including higher standards required for women applicants to institutions of higher learning and in the administration of scholarship programs);

4. Discrimination in employment by State and local governments;

5. Dual pay schedules for men and women public school teachers;

6. State laws providing for alimony to be awarded, under certain circumstances, to ex-wives but not to ex-husbands;

7. State laws placing special restrictions on the legal capacity of married women or on their right to establish a legal domicile;

8. State laws that require married women but not married men to go through a formal procedure and obtain court approval before they may engage in an independent business;

9. Social Security and other social benefits legislation which give greater benefits to one sex than to the other;
10. Discriminatory preferences, based on sex, in child custody cases;

11. State laws providing that the father is the natural guardian of the minor children.

12. Different ages for males and females in (a) child labor laws, (b) age for marriage, (c) cutoff of the right to parental support, and (d) juvenile court jurisdiction;

13. Exclusion of women from the requirements of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967;

14. Special sex-based exemptions for women in selection of State juries;

15. Heavier criminal penalties for female offenders than for male offenders committing the same crime.

Although it is possible that these and other discriminations might eventually be corrected by legislation, legislative remedies are not adequate substitutes for fundamental constitutional protection against discrimination. Any class of persons (i.e., women) which cannot successfully invoke the protection of the Constitution against discriminatory treatment is by definition comprised of second class citizens and is inferior in the eyes of the law. (BM143)

18. In at least two areas, jury service and criminal penalties, women appear to have made progress in invoking the protection of the 14th Amendment. Although jury service is important as a practical matter, it is hardly central to the lives of women. Criminal penalties are of real significance to only a few women. (BM26)

19. It is, of course, possible that the 5th and 14th Amendments will in the future be interpreted by the courts as prohibiting all sex distinctions in the law. Nothing in the proposed equal-rights amendment would preclude this from occurring. (BM26)

20. Much of the vocational counseling which girls and women receive is
inadequate and obsolete. It fails to recognize the importance of three major factors: the multiple roles of women in modern society (40% of married women work); the emergence of broader employment horizons for women; and the strategic value to a young girl (as well as to a young boy) of long-range planning and preparation for job futures consistent with individual ability and interests.

The need to control population and the current surplus of elementary and secondary school teachers are among the factors that give added urgency to the need for better counseling now. (BM26)

21. From interviews with employees, HEW identified a number of institutional stereotypes that block opportunity, such as: women can't travel; women don't want responsibility; women aren't emotionally stable; women are fit for detail work, but don't see the larger picture. These myths tend to be perpetrated by men and perpetuated by women. (BM143)

22. The level of awareness in this area (discrimination against women) is substantially lower than is consciousness of racism. (BM143)

23. Among the important difference which exist among women are that of the professional vs. the non-professional, and the black vs. white or vs. national origin. (BM143)

24. There is evidence of discrimination against women in higher education, involving admissions, fellowships, professorships, presidencies, facilities, age limits for continuing education, child care, flexible schedules, time tables for completion of degrees, and relevant curricula loans. Recommendations have been aimed at alienating these general discriminatory practices. It should be noted that most vocational education and job-training programs also perpetuate a

Potential Impact

Many personal value-systems and critical attitudes are in the process of transition, and are still affected by uncertainty. Attitude change is endemic in our society and will continue to occur for a number of years. Hence, on selected issues, regarding which attitudes play roles in decision-making, the status of current opinion must be tested repeatedly, year after year. Such an area is the role—or rather the multiplicity of roles—potentially feasible for women in the
sex-typed role of women in American society. (BMI43)

25. Widowhood: The death of a spouse affects the aging person profoundly. Many more women than men must cope with grief and social realignment on the death of a mate. While married women outnumber widows before age 70, the ratio reverses in the eighth decade of life; and the married woman in her 80's is rare. A widow's prospect of remarrying are slim, because of the decreasing number of older men and the social pressures which face a woman who dates or marries a much younger man. Many women are plunged into poverty when a husband dies, since few pension plans include adequate survivor benefits. Others are likely to lose their survivor benefits if they remarry. Hope for the future and human companionship, which are discouraged by such conditions, are major influences on the mental health of the elderly. (BMI43)

26. Unemployment is higher among mature women than among men of the same age group. Beginning as early as 35, women have special problems in securing employment or entering job training because of their age. Women traditionally have been encouraged or even forced to retire earlier than men, although their life expectancy would suggest the reverse policy. More part-time and flexible
positions would enable mature women to contribute their skills. (BM 143)

27. There is a general lack of attention to women's needs in most programs or even to assuring equal access for women to institutions providing services. This is partly due to the lack of awareness of the special needs of women, partly to precedence given other priorities. Most programs significant for women lack adequate representation of women in policy-making and supervisory positions. Little or no consideration has been given to even collecting or organizing information to develop a composite overview of the special needs of women. (BM 143)

28. The HEW studies explored many aspects of women's status. The creation of a Women's Action Program within the Department lent impetus to the organization's women, because of the feeling that top-level management was committed to change. (BM 143)

29. The women's Action Program recommended that all types of organizations provide a forum for discussion and deeper understanding of the problems of women, which can lead to recommendations that enable management to respond in concrete terms to the issues of sexual discrimination. Such groups also develop women's leadership, increase understanding of skills and institutional frameworks; and clarify the relationships of individual problems to society's attitudes and practices. (BM 143)

30. The Women's Action Program began with higher grades. Afterwards,
HEW created an Office of Upward Mobility, and proposed to use it to assist women stuck in dead-end grades (grade 1-7 jobs). Increased earning power and economic security are the issues which fuel the drives of women in lower grades. The Program recommended inclusion of women in positions within training programs and their staffs; as counselors to other women; and to positions on job-appeals boards. (BMI43)

31. From employee interviews, HEW learned that women in grades above GS-9 are concerned less with income. Though equal pay is important to them, they are concerned more with the status and recognition of women as social, intellectual, and working equals of men, fully competent to hold and perform all any responsible job in the organization. It has involved struggle to have even this Department recognize and utilize education and experiential skills. (BMI43)

32. Black women have reservations about the overall Liberation Movement, and view it to some extent as a white middle-class struggle; they fear women's advancement at expense of minority males. (BMI43)

33. Among its conclusions, the HEW Council felt that absence from employment due to childbirth should be treated as a temporary disability. The Council opposed sex discrimination in retirement and pension plans. The Council stressed the need to improve the quality of occupational counseling of young girls. The need for a slow-down in population growth directly relates to these counseling needs. (BM26)

34. HEW points to certain measures taken by the Government:

Executive Order #11246 prohibits sex discrimination by federal contractors, including universities' hiring practices.

In 1970 and 1971, the President promoted three women to the rank of brigadier general: the Director, Women's Army Corps; the Chief, Army Nurse Corps;
and the Director, Women in the Air Force. In 1972, the Navy promoted the Chief Nurse to Rear Admiral. 1970 also widened the interest of business and industry in ending sex discrimination. (BM26)

35. HEW declared that more information is needed on the following topics to discover implications for women:

1) biological and social determinants of sex differences
2) children's sex and social role development
3) development and nature of women's self concept
4) achievement and achievement motivation in girls and women
5) social determinants of behavior and stress in women
6) coping mechanisms in women
7) attitudes of both men and women toward women's work, marriage, and family
8) changing roles for women throughout the life cycle
9) stereotyping and attitudes toward women, including minority women
10) drug abuse and alcoholism
11) female sexual deviancy
12) social labelling, different diagnosis in clinical treatment, and different treatment under law. (BM143)

Potential Impact

Among the facets of difference between men and women to be investigated in relation to more extensive utilization of women in the Navy, the Navy will want to examine a range of physiological, biological, and psychological factors, including alleged emotional complications (e.g., effects of menstrual periods, menopause, etc.).
Analyses of Women's Status and Attitudes

36. Despite assertions to the contrary, a Roper Poll concluded that women are not discriminated against. Without discussing the background, classes, or social groups the women came from, the poll evaluated these issues:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sexism is not a problem</td>
<td>20% agree</td>
<td>71% agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The divorced woman should pay alimony if she has money</td>
<td>68% agree</td>
<td>51% agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Men should not judge women on beauty and sex appeal</td>
<td>48% agree</td>
<td>54% disagreed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Here, young women wanted to be judged on the basis of beauty and sex; but women over 40 did not.)

Both sexes favored equal pay and employment opportunities for women and the availability of day care centers for children of working mothers at little or no cost. (BN619)

37. A Harris Poll in early 1972 showed these findings:

The typical American woman:

Is still unsympathetic to women's liberation groups but now favors efforts to improve women's status.

Isn't herself politically active but thinks the country would be better off if women had more say about politics.

If "very satisfied" with her life and thinks that raising children properly "takes as much intelligence and drive as holding a top position in business or government".

Believes that this country's top-priority problems are ending the Vietnam war and curbing drug abuse.
Thinks a woman President would be less likely to take the United States into war but believes the country won't be ready for a woman President for more than a decade.

Believes that women in public office can be as logical and rational as men. (BN591)

Harris predicted: 'Key changes will support the women's rights movements; women have become an independent political force by voting differently and by more active participation; women are more likely to be Democratic; more sympathy for liberation groups is likely among men than among women.

Harris clearly sees a constituency for the women's movement, but foresees no spokeswoman to crystallize the movement. (BN591)

Time Magazine devoted an entire issue to the status and prospects of women in American society. We make extensive use of it here.

The New Woman - sex emphatically remains, but something complex and important has occurred in the relationship between American men and women. A new woman has emerged; very much the creation of her own and not a masculine imagination - an act of intellectual parthenogenesis. The movement cannot be measured by membership lists of NOW; it is a much broader state of mind that has raised serious questions about the way people live, about families, home, child rearing, jobs, government, and the nature of sexes themselves. (BPI2)

The appeal of sex, at least to some, is not freedom but order, represented by a clear definition of roles. Marriage is a remnant of a fixed social order that, in the past, was thought to be a reflection of a fixed natural order. Men and women feel they must prove themselves in sex, but do not feel the bewildering obligation to define themselves. Perhaps for this reason, the notions of sexual equality and interchangeable social roles are troubling for male and female.

In its belief that old traditions can be changed, the feminist movement is characteristically American. Elizabeth Hardwick says the movement rests upon a sense of striving, of working, and it has the profoundly native ethical
reserves of self-reliance, personal responsibility, and equality. Preparation, study, free choice, courage, resolution: these are its images and emblems. It is anti-pathetic to the "youth culture", which is more of a refusal, and is laborless. (BPI2)

41. A Han's Poll indicated that men favor women's rights organizations, 44% to 39%; whereas women narrowly oppose them, 42% to 40%, because of positions on abortion. A Psychology Today poll showed that 51% of men agreed that American society exploits women as much as blacks. (BPI2)

42. This is unmistakable influence from the civil rights movement; the measures to give blacks a full place in society inevitably produced a new preoccupation with other second-class citizens. The Vietnam war also led to far-reaching questions about traditional American assumptions and institutions, leading to a new awareness of injustice. (BPI2)

43. Profile of the American Woman today: 106 million; median age 30; a bit more than 12th-grade education; 61.5% married; makes up 1/3 of work force. Twenty million people live in households depending solely on women for support.

As Clare Luce puts it:

Power, money, and sex are the three great American values today, and women have almost no access to power except through their husbands. They can get money, mostly through sex—either legitimate sex, in the form of marriage, or non-married sex. Sexual freedom is not enough; what leads to money and power is education and the ability to make money apart from sex. (BPI2)

44. Difficulties of the Women's movement: Extreme positions are very damaging. There is the sensitive lesbian issue. Many men and women are hostile over the abortion issue.

Leaders - (the movement has sought to avoid leaders).

Gloria Steinem:

In terms of real power, we are still just beginning.
Susan Brownmiller:

The divisions between us and the Left are going to get wider and wider. There's a lot of talk going around that radicalism is in decline, things have cooled down, gone conservative. But the truth is that all the women have left for Women's Liberation, and they're not there typing and filing and running the mimeograph for Abbie and Jerry. (BPI2)

45. Some characteristics of women's voting are that women prefer safe and sound candidates, and that their response to charisma is overrated. For example over 50% preferred Nixon in 1960, preferred LBJ more than men did, chose HHH in 1968, and fewer voted for Wallace. (BPI2)

46. Employment in Scientific Careers - Women make up nearly 40% of the labor force, but they account for only 10% of the science force. Graduate scholarships to women are rising to 20% in 1970-1971; yet they earn fewer doctorates, are paid less, and have more trouble winning tenured posts.

Male and Female: Difference Between Them - The "cultural universals" are cited by Margaret Mead. Almost everywhere, the mother is the principal caretaker of the child, and male dominance and aggression are the rule. (BPI2)

47. Female "passivity" is misunderstood; it is no more than a kind of openness and warmth; it does not mean "inactivity, emptiness or, immobility".

In all cultures, male infants tend to be more aggressive (at least in play situations). It has been established that the female hormone estrogen inhibits aggression in both animal and human males. (BPI2)

48. Biological differences are totally irrelevant. There is no evidence that men are any more or less qualified by biological sex differences alone to perform tasks generally reserved for them in today's society.

Evidence that women are experiencing more conflict - Increases in suicide in 1960, 35% were women; in 1971, increased to 45%. More women are in psychiatric therapy than men. There is increase in out-of-wedlock birth-rate among girls 15-19; in 1940, 8.3 per 1,000 unmarried teen-agers; increased to 19.8
in 1971. Increase in sexual activity at this level is a relatively minor factor; increased health care is responsible for the difference. A striking number are keeping their babies, in 1960, 10%; in 1970, 45%.

Sex. Marked changes in morality have affected women more than men. A Gallup poll in 1970 found that three out of four students are indifferent to virginity or the lack of it in the person they marry. There is an equalization of sexual activity between men and women. Young people no longer view sex as something men do to women. (BPI2)

49. A University of Minnesota study shows that 40% of women are non-virgins by the age of 20; 70% have had sex by the time they marry. (BPI2)

50. Changes brought by "the Pill": The spiraling rate of unwanted pregnancies indicates some minor impact on conception. Instead of liberating women to enjoy sex, the pill has replaced the fear of pregnancy with a fear of being used. Premarital sex may lead youngsters to expect too much of marriage. The woman will become increasingly demanding and put more pressure on the male's performance. This syndrome may become a route to youthful drug addiction.

Jobs in Journalism - No news network or large publication employs women in a prominent position. Yet last year 44% of American journalism students were women. Pulitzer prize journalism jurors will include women for the first time this year. The National Press Club admitted women last year, but the Gridiron Club has not wavered in excluding them.

Day Care - Although day care centers may be the only practical solution for most working mothers, they are scarce or highly expensive. Most communities depend on private homes. (BPI2)
Corporations are also developing programs. Studies show that in major cities only 10% of children currently needing day care are being provided for. Abuses were prevalent in operation of existing centers.

New Marriage Styles - The rigid forms are changing. The status of "house husbands" and more "business-like" contracts are being developed.

Women as Clergy - Some Protestant denominations have provided equal opportunity to women for the last decade. Rights to clerical appointment have not produced a flood of candidates, however. Roman Catholics are discussing the "women as deacons" concept. Reform Judaism will have its first woman rabbi this year; but Orthodox groups still decree that women sit apart from men in synagogues.

The New Nuns - "new nuns" have streamed into the modern world, one even into the Air Force.

Divorce and Custody - men's favored status does carry responsibility, chiefly in wife and child support; but a Wisconsin study found that fewer than 40% were making full payment a year after divorce. In 42 states there is no longer any specified legal preference between the sex of the parent on child custody.

The same grounds are available for divorces. Twelve states allow award of alimony to either husband or wife. Equalization of income and property rights is also in full trend. (BPI2)

Crime - Crime by females is increasing. 1970 robbery rates are up 188% over 1960; burglary, 134%; auto theft, 133%. In absolute numbers, women still commit far fewer serious crimes than men.

Law - All in all, the United States has 9,000 women lawyers, up a mere 1% since 1948. 8,680 women are studying law in 1971, constituting 9.3% of the total number of law students, an increase from 3.6% in 1960. In the U.S.S.R., 36% of all lawyers are women.

Medicine - A New York city poll showed that 84% of men and 75% of women preferred male doctors, which represents prejudice more against women than against women doctors. In 1960, women account for 6% of 260,000 doctors; today, 7.6% of 345,000. Women represent 1% of general surgeons, 26%
of public health physicians. In 1971, 13.5% of incoming medical classes were women.

**Gains at work** - Women might do well to focus on faster-growing career fields, even though resistance in them is still strong. (e.g., business administration, chemistry, medicine, dentistry, and physics.) (BPI2)

53. **Situation Report**

Primarily because so many women have started working over the past 15 years - and have taken jobs at the lower end of the wage scale - the difference between men's and women's pay has actually widened. In 1955 the average female employee earned 64% of the wages paid to similarly employed men; in 1970, she took home only 59% as much.

The gap is even greater within broad occupational groupings. Women in sales work, for example, in 1970 averaged only $4,188 vs. $9,790 for the typical salesman. The difference in part reflects built-in job discrimination. Retail outlets are far more likely to assign women to sell low-ticket items such as greeting cards and candy, while men are trained to sell high-priced goods like major appliances, often on commission. The pay differential narrows at higher job levels. Women professional and technical workers, including school principals, laboratory workers and computer programmers, earn on the average 67% as much as men in the same field. But only 7% of women at work earn $10,000 or more v. 40% of the men.

The work of housewives is unsalaried and thus not counted in the United States gross national product. Based on the usual wage rates of housekeepers, cooks, dieticians, practical nurses, and other persons who get paid for doing wifely chores (but not those of gainfully employed sexual partners) economists at Chase Manhattan Bank estimate that the U.S. housewife holds the equivalent of a 99.6 hour job paying $13,391.56 a year. Her remuneration for all that work in the form of food, clothing, rent and just plain fun varies widely according to domestic arrangements. (BPI2)
54. Coed - At Yale, a few myths have fallen; men have not dropped off in studies because of the "distraction" of girls. The drop-out rate of women is only 1/2 that of men (2.2-4.4). Women have higher grades, and the same proportion go on to graduate school.

55. College Education: In 1970 about the same number of girls (50.5% of the total) graduated from high schools as boys, but fewer women than men enrolled in college (41% as compared with 59%). Among the reasons may be parental opposition or lack of interest or money, but another factor is college quotas. Stanford, for example, maintains a 60% male majority, while at Princeton the figure is three men to every woman. Such quotas in themselves ensure that women need higher grades than men to gain admission.

Women also get substantially less scholarship and financial aid — $512 annually on the average for women. $760 for men. And although more women than ever received bachelor's degrees in 1970 (344,465), the percentage of recipients who were female (43%) was actually lower than in 1899 (53%).

Graduate School: After college, the gap widens. Women receive almost the same percentage of the M.A.'s that are awarded (40%) as they do of the B.A.'s (43%). But when it comes to doctorates conferred, only 13% go to women.

Teaching: In elementary education 85% of the school-teachers are women, but only 21% of the principals. In high schools, the percentage of female principals drops to 3%. And if a woman wishes to become a college president she is advised to become a nun; almost all of the meager 1% who make it are heads of Catholic institutions. In 1970, women constituted 20% of college and university faculties: 33% of the instructors were women, 20% of the assistant professors, 15% of the associate professors, and 9% of the full professors. At Harvard, where women make up about 22% of the students of arts and sciences, there are only six women among the 421 tenured professors on that faculty. Even predominantly women's colleges like Vassar have more full-time men teachers (122) than women (66).
Salaries: Educational achievement does not lead to equal income. The average annual income of a college-educated woman over 25 is $5,152 less than that of a similarly educated man. If she has a high school education, she will make $3,987 less than a man with the same diploma. Within the education profession itself, pay scales are consistently lower for women. At the University of Minnesota, for example, a study showed that women on the faculty earned an average of 32% less than their male counterparts of the same rank. (BP12)

56. The proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit discrimination based on sex was killed in 1971 by attaching two amendments:

1. Making constitutional certain types of school prayer

2. Permitting certain types of sex discrimination to continue, including the drafting of men, but not women, into the armed forces. Women's groups withdrew their support of the amendment after the latter amendment was added. (BP462)

57. The women's organizations insisted that any wording which exempted women from the draft would be self defeating in that any exception to the principle of complete equality under the law could be used to justify additional but unwelcome exceptions. (BM26)

58. On 22 March 1972, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment (it will be the 27th) to end all discrimination in the United States on the basis of sex. Hawaii promptly became the first state to approve, two hours later.

There were objections. Spokesman for 1000 Orthodox rabbis charged that the proposed constitutional amendment guaranteeing women equal rights would threaten their denomination's practice of separating the roles of men and women, e.g., physical separation in synagogues and in schools. (BN592)

59. The Equal Rights Amendments:

The proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution reads as

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follows:

Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

General Effect on Federal and State Laws and Official Practices:

Practices - The Equal Rights Amendment would not nullify all laws distinguishing on the basis of sex, but would require that the law treat men and women equally. Equal treatment can be accomplished either by extending the law which applies only to one sex to the other sex, or by rendering the law unconstitutional as denying equality of rights to one sex.

The Equal Rights Amendment would not prohibit special maternity benefits.

Employment - The Equal Rights Amendment would restrict only governmental action and would not apply to purely private action. It would not affect private employment; it would prohibit discrimination by Government as an employer - Federal, State, County, and City, including school boards.

Education - The Equal Rights Amendment would prohibit restriction of public schools to one sex and it would prohibit public institutions from requiring higher admission standards for women (or men in case any exist).

Federal Social Security - The Equal Rights Amendment would extend to widowers of covered women workers the benefits now provided only to widows of covered men workers.

A man retiring at age 62 would have his benefit computed under the same formula as a woman retiring at 62. (This particular inequity would be corrected by the Social Security Act Amendments that passed the House of Representatives this session and are now pending in the Senate).

Other Governmental Pension and Retirement Plans - Any preference in treatment given to one sex or to survivors of one sex would be extended to the other sex. The Equal Rights Amendment would have no bearing on private pension and retirement plans.
Military Service and Jury Service - Women would be subject to jury service and military service under the same conditions as men. Women with children in their personal care could be excused from either obligation just as men could be under the same circumstances. Being subject to military service would not necessarily mean they would have to serve in all assignments any more than all men serve in all assignments. Women volunteers would have to be admitted under the same standards as men; they now have to meet higher standards. During World War II many thousands of women served, many of them in dangerous assignments. This Administration is making every effort to move to a volunteer service; the issue of the draft may, therefore, be moot by the time the Amendment is ratified. (BM26)

Miscellaneous Straws in the Wind

60. Girls will be allowed to try out for varsity high school athletic teams throughout the State of New Jersey, under a pilot program approved in March 1972, by the New Jersey State Inter-scholastic Athletic Association.

In September 1970, the Tokyo Tanker Company announced that it will follow the example of the Germans and hire young girls as galley workers and waitresses for shipboard service. Fear were expressed for "morality complications". (BN189) 61. Trucking companies (e.g., Refrigerated Transport, Inc.) are beginning to hire husband-wife teams for long-haul cross-country trips. For couples tired of frequent and long separations, the practice relieves loneliness and vulnerability to strangers. Most of the women are

Potential Impact

Whether or not women achieve full equality in number and status in the Navy and other organizations, some current trends indicate that certain changes in organizational practices may have to be revised to some extent, anyway. For example, many young men have left military life because the frequent and long separations become intolerable to them and their wives. The opening up of shipping lines and trucking companies to couples may signal similar innovations that may eventually become feasible in some
38-58, with children grown or in college; and many do the needed paperwork besides helping with the driving. (BN384)

62. Lewis Sherman, of the University of Missouri and Consultant in St. Louis and Washington, D.C., discussed the increasing use of women in police work. Washington used 100 women on standard patrol in selected precincts. In New York, Morton Bard, of the City of New York, is helping to develop neighborhood police teams, with women included as being perhaps more effective in family-crisis interventions. Women are able to defuse many potentially violent situations just because they are women. (BP161)

63. At the end of April 1972, Oxford University, ending 750 years of exclusive admission of men, announced that, in 1974, five Oxford colleges will admit women as undergraduates. (BN322)

64. All private military colleges in the United States, with the solitary exception of The Virginia Military Institute, have converted to coeducational status, including PMC, Norwich, and the Citadel.

65. It has been pointed out several times that Women's Lib has not reached "Small town, U.S.A." The women there have heard of it but don't understand it, or don't care enough about it to want to know more of the specifics. One townswoman says pointedly of her town: "What you have here are a lot of happy women". (BN364)
66. Some Predictions:

Senator W. Magnuson: "It is the struggle for the human right to individuality that is the lesson and legacy of the suffrage movement today, not only for women, but for all elements of our society."

Elizabeth Koontz: "Women are not asking for control of the world, or of the country. They ask only for the control of their own lives."

Margaret Mead: "We will be asking women to be having fewer children...In return, society will have to find a place for women, as well as for men, in which they will contribute as individuals rather than as producers of the generation."

Gloria Steinem: "The real revolution is humanist, feminist...The total revolution is our only chance for survival."

Shirley Chisholm: "More than one-half the population of the United States is female, but women occupy only 2% of managerial positions. They have not yet even reached the level of tokenism."

John Lindsay: "...the nation's business—in politics, art, and commerce—can only benefit from the full use of the energies and talents of more than one-half of the population." (BN233)

67. Representative Martha Griffiths: "What women have been asking for, for more than half a century, is not special privilege. It is only that they be treated as persons under the law and entitled to full protection of that law."

Senator Edmund Muskie: "The 19th Amendment should have been inherent, and not have had to be legislated. Women should obtain (1) equal pay for equal work, (2) fairer promotion policies, (3) fair treatment in college admissions, (4) abolition of working-hour laws originally intended to protect women, but now penalizing them, (5) more enlightened counseling which stops directing women away from law, medical, and science careers, (6) and finally, a very basic victory: equal respect for their abilities."

Dianne Feinstein: "We are now called not only to share leaders but to be leaders. I feel we are needed, not only at the dinner table, but at the conference table."
Katherine Porter: "What they (women) should work for is to make the relations better between men and women... men are full of doubts and suspicions and don't trust women."

Al Capp: "I think more liberation is needed for everyone... But if women would spare us the violence and rage and nonsense, they might be able to weigh the privileges of being a woman against some of the demands they are making."

Representative Margaret Heckler: "The full potential of woman suffrage has remained unsatisfied for many reasons, one of which has been the apathy of women themselves... The application of women's special powers of human sensitivity in problem-solving efforts is long overdue. As a nation, we can not afford to deprive ourselves of the vast resources of womanpower in conquering our country's problems." (BN233)
MINORITIES

1. Ann Brunswick collected data from seven national surveys, and examined them for age differences in black and white populations regarding three kinds of attitudes: (1) outlook on life; (2) interracial tolerance and hostility; (3) attitudes toward the advocacy of violence.

In each of these attitude areas, the populations showed differences by education as well as by age; but the interaction between education and age was not always the same in the black and white populations.

This analysis indicated that education may be at least as important a determiner of generations as age is; introducing education as a variable interacting with age adds precision to the discussion of generational differences. (BP55)

2. ...on some attitude items that have been used in surveys of blacks only, younger blacks evidenced a different perspective on the amount of progress blacks have achieved in recent years and did not feel that circumstances had changed as much for the black population as older blacks thought they had. On some items concerning general outlook on life that were posed to samples of college and non-college youth -- black as well as white -- and to their parents, young people were more aware than their parents of differences between themselves and their parents. This was true regardless of education and race. Two specific psycho-social variables showed differences by education among the young people but not by race and divided more by education than by age in the particular samples included here.

In summary, among whites, pro-integration sentiment increases with education and decreases with advancing age. Among black people, it appears that education moderates anti-white hostility and increases sentiment for self-determination; unlike the association in the white population, inter-racial hostility is higher among the younger age group. Anti-white sentiment was lowest among the older, best-educated blacks and highest among the youngest, least educated. Thus, young whites show increasing inter-racial sympathy;
this is not always the case among young blacks.

(BP217)

3. Ann Brunswick's summary, of the cross-generational data available about attitudes, shows that the advocacy of violence is associated with the factor of age and is accepted by more younger than older people, regardless of race. It does not show a strong correlation with education. Among the black population, evidence suggested a slight increase with college education, although the difference was not large enough to be statistically reliable. (BP55)

4. ...these data suggest that college-educated white youths are more sympathetic to protest methods than less-educated white youth; but black youth, and black college youth in particular, are readier to embrace protest methods than white college youth. Advocacy of violence is more prevalent among younger than older blacks and whites; education, if anything, is associated with an increased advocacy of violence among the young. A distinction should be made with actual participation in riots, which showed no consistent correlation with education, only with age. (BP55)

5. An important point is that education is at least as important a divider, or determiner, of generations, as age is. Enlarging the black college population might improve perceptions of whites by blacks, but not necessarily lead to more peaceful relations with them. However, correlation does not necessarily indicate cause and effect. More investigation is needed.

The two sections of youth that seem chiefly to be leaving the "older generation" behind are the minority of white college youth who feel that they need a new set of values, attitudes, and standards with which to find their way into society, and black youth, who feel the same way but for different reasons. Introducing education as a variable interacting with or modifying age adds precision in locating differences between generations. (BP55)

6. Adam Yarmolinsky has presented an economic interpretation of the racial situation. Our society, he maintains, is not shaped like the more traditional
pyramid one thinks of, but is more like a pentagon stood on end. Thus, the bottom class, the "underclass", is smaller than the working class above it. The racial situation can be viewed as one in which the ideal of black self-sufficiency is competing actively against the ideal of integration. Results are most ambiguous for members of the black underclass, which is even more deeply divided from the black middle class than the white underclass is from the white middle class. (BMI60)

7. To shift from macro-analyses to micro-analyses, a study of the Indianapolis population indicates, as perhaps would be indicated in many American cities, that there are relatively few persons who qualify as tolerant in their attitudes towards racial out-groups. The findings show that tolerant subjects were significantly less nationalistic than intolerant subjects. This suggests that a negative prejudice towards Negroes may be an expression of a more basic ethnocentric orientation. Evidently the tolerant person is not a "social reductionist"; he does not have a strong penchant for dividing people into rigid inclusive — exclusive reference groups.

Racially intolerant people are also more intolerant of ambiguity. Tolerant people appeared able and willing to perceive gradation, variation, and relativity, whereas the prejudiced persons seemed to have a need for absolute dichotomies. Unambiguous solutions to problems are demanded by the prejudiced, even where no such solutions appear possible. Rigid categorical thinking is functionally necessary for stereotyping, prejudgment, and sharp ingrouping—outgrouping distinctions. The tolerant person seems inclined to recognize that each individual, regardless of group, is unique. (BP276)

8. Tolerants indicate a tendency to reject fundamentalistic, doctrinaire, and conservative outlooks in favor of more humanistic orientations. (BP276)

9. Tolerants were inclined to reject authoritarian child rearing practices which stress strict obedience, harsh discipline, and physical punishment. The strongly prejudiced person, however, endorsed items suggestive of a positive view toward force, retribution, conflict, and distrust. (BP276)
The community and various groups may inculcate, expect, and approve of prejudices. Individual personality factors probably serve primarily to predispose or to intensify or abate normative expectations. In such situations the tolerant person may be considered a deviant. (BP276)

10. It appears that the tolerant person is tolerant because he has no unusual psychological need to be prejudiced. (BP276)

II. Racial problems may not be based upon racism alone. It has often been pointed out that current American racial conflicts involving issues such as housing and education are based as much on issues of poverty and social class as on racism. Although the racism and militancy of the Black Muslims (and the possibility that they may be misused as a group by those who eventually succeed in what seems to be an intermittent power struggle within the movement) may make it difficult for whites to welcome the group, it may be the most active force since the Christian Evangelists in recruiting new black members into the middle class. Thus, perhaps surprisingly, this group may be the means, over one or two generations, for many who might otherwise have remained in the culture of poverty to acquire "father figures,"

Potential Impact

The Navy is well aware of racial problems and energetically addressing them. Thus, it is deep into the fundamental stages required to ameliorate the problems; it admits that the problem exists, and it is doing a great deal to eliminate any form or aspect of racial discrimination from the Navy. Other aspects may contribute to amelioration. For example, the fact that much discrimination is simply the oppression of the weaker by the stronger, of the mass by elites; usually, the difference lies in political power or the lack of it, and in socio-economic status, but not race. Using such levers, white elites have discriminated against white masses, and black elites have discriminated against masses of blacks. Both types of oppression are still occurring in the world, rooted in commonalities of
motivation for striving, and ultimately typical American middle-class attitudes and occupations. When this process has been completed, the racism of the Nation of Islam may disappear or diminish, leaving little more "unmelted" in the "pot" than in the typical "successful" American pattern, in which there ordinarily remains some ethnic self-consciousness (and some intergroup tensions) among mostly assimilated, but still distinct, former immigrant groups. (BBI70)

12. Black extremists attribute the plight of the blacks, whether in the South or in the Northern urban ghetto, to the cruelty and indifference of the white community now alive, without taking account of the complex and stubborn historical roots of this problem. In the case of the South, custom, culture and inheritance are less than dismissed; they are not even noted. In the case of the Northern ghettos, there is no trace of recognition of the fact that cities in question did not invite the enormous influx of Negro residents that has occurred in recent decades; that they were not prepared for it and could scarcely have been expected to be. It is not easy for a community to absorb into its life in a short space of time great masses of people of a cultural background different from that of its regular inhabitants. Such assimilation takes patience and time. (BBI79)

13. It has been observed that black youths appear not to be as idealistic as white youths toward society as a whole. This is probably because their basic needs have not been satisfied. They do manifest, however, a strong desire to do something to help the black community. Their concerns are with equality of job opportunity, housing, schooling, and their place in American society. They wish to maximize their potential and be accepted by people—for themselves...
as blacks, not as whites. (BM28)

14. Yet, even among minority youth consensus is lacking. At a 1970 graduation ceremony in a New York City high school with a student majority of Puerto Ricans, Felipe Luciano, National Chairman of the Young Lords, outlined his course of action saying: "The only solution is revolution—seize the jails, seize the town before it seizes you." In contrast to his angry violence, the class valedictorian said: "Behind the flag is all of us. I think in terms of human beings, not blacks and Puerto Ricans. If you pick up a gun or use any kind of violence, you are destroying beauty and all the things we are fighting for." Each speaker won ovations, leaving the debate as unresolved as the future course of the community. (BN492)

15. The Chinese community in America has been less militant than other observable ethnic groups. A numerous minority, they remain, and want to remain, separate. At present they "demand" only the right to segregated schooling. Their sense of community is deep seated, and their crime rate is extremely low. The family structure is still both extended and strong. (BN203)

16. A subject which is treated at greater length in the Section of this report entitled "Philosophical" is the I.Q. Recently, research has delved into the possible connection between I.Q. and genetic factors. One work, The I.Q. Argument, lists the pros and cons of whether genetic factors causally affects the I.Q. of blacks. (BN507)

17. No segment of American society is free from racial tensions. Even the military, completely integrated for many years, and often viewed as a segment of society where minorities can compete equally with whites, does not exhibit complete racial harmony.

In a rebuttal to a news-
paper article on easing racial tensions in Europe, a Major assigned to the ROTC Instruction Group at Tuskegee Institute maintains that "the entire racial problem in Europe is a result of the white soldier not being able to accept the actuality of black soldiers dating white European women." The Major believes that the problem lies within the racial prejudices of the white soldier and must be solved there. (BN157)

the foreign country in which troops are located. But racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices are facts of life in many areas of the world. The Navy and the other Services are constrained in such circumstances, and they will continue to be, by the exigencies of American foreign policy, which may sometimes conflict with American social values. Policies as to whether such conflicts are to be compromised are not always within the Navy's purview to resolve. In any event, difficulty will continue for the Navy in foreign situations in which certain social values involving foreign customs are offensive or anathema to American society as a whole or to ethnic minorities. It may become increasingly difficult for the Navy to explain its position to certain domestic audiences.

18. A 1966 study concluded that it is probable that military experience actually contributes to an activist posture on the part of some black Servicemen returning to civilian life. The black ex-serviceman may be less willing to re-accommodate himself to second-class citizenship after participation in the racially equalitarian military establishment. Further, especially in situations where Negroes are intimidated by physical threat or force, techniques of violence and organizational skill acquired in military service may be a new factor in the Negro's quest for equality. (BMI06)
A great deal of attention has been devoted to racial problems, and no quarrel would be suggested to the preponderance of this concern. Occasionally, however, militancy on the one hand, or excessive spirits of mollification on the other hand, have led to over-help, over-reaction. A point of significance concerning the possibility of over-reaction is illustrated in the following conversation between sociologists from two different colleges discussing black separation on campus:

ROSSI: Yes, you can see on some campuses the tragedy of success on the part of the black separatist movement in which the student body, the administration and faculty have just capitulated completely to demands for separatism...

WILLIE: That is correct. And nobody is saying come back. I have found that blacks often times prefer black roommates or they may prefer sections within dormitories that are all black, but they do not push for all-black dormitories. Yet as soon as the issue of blacks being together is raised, many administrations stampede quickly to promote separatism and in promoting it actually create a lot of social adjustment problems for the blacks when they might not have even asked for that much separatism. They might have asked for a little and the administration moves all the way.
ROSSI: "Right," and heaving great sighs of relief. "See, that is what they wanted." (BS25)

20. Social statistics give testimony to some disadvantages of black life in the United States. Urban blacks have an infant mortality rate 4/5 greater than that of whites. Maternal mortality is about four times that of whites. Blacks exhibit higher death rates from infectious diseases, and from certain kinds of tumors, such as cancer of the cervix. (BM94)

21. Population statistics are quite revealing. During the 1950's, the non-white population growth rate was 26.7%; the white 17.5%. Continuation of such rates would lead to a non-white population in 1980 approaching 13% of the total population. (BB242)

22. The Census Bureau reported on July 5, 1971, that 14 cities had joined Washington, D.C., and Bessemer, Alabama, in becoming predominantly black in their population during the 1960's. The two largest are Newark, 54.2% of 382,000; and Atlanta, 51.3% of 497,000. Cities with a population of 50,000 or over which were predominantly black were:

- Compton, California - 71.1%
- East St. Louis, Illinois - 69.1%
- Gary, Indiana - 52.8%; and
- East Orange, New Jersey - 53.1%

(BN556)

Those cities with a population of 50,000 or less, and black preponderance, are:

- Bessemer, Alabama - 52.2%
- Willowbrook, California - 80.6%
- East Cleveland - Ohio - 58.6%
- Florence-Graham, California - 56.0%
- Highland Park, Michigan - 55.3%
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<tr>
<th>City</th>
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<tr>
<td>Petersburg, Virginia</td>
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<td>Greenville, Mississippi</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
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<td>Prichard, Alabama</td>
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The overall total number of blacks in some of the nation's largest cities are:

- New York City - 1,666,636 (21.2% of total)
- Chicago - 1,102,620 (32.7% of total)
- Detroit - 660,428 (43.7% of total)
- Philadelphia - 653,791 (33.6% of total)
- Washington, D.C. - 573,712 (71.1% of total)

These predictions indicate that future manpower accessions will have to be carefully studied for patterns of characteristics and orientations associated with urban, suburban, and other types of milieu.

23. There is evidence, although limited, that indicates that blacks are climbing the social and economic ladder as measured by education, occupation, and income. The evidence indicates increased rather than decreased segregation of the Negro within the cities. However, some are moving into suburbs. (BB242)

24. A special Census Bureau report provides economic data that indicates that Northern black couples under age 35 have essentially equalled the average income of white counterparts, primarily because both husband and wife work in these black families. (BN441)

25. The report further forecasted that in black families headed only by a mother, poverty would endure. The comparative data between black and white wives indicated the following: 63% of the black wives worked, compared to 52% of the white wives. Of these working wives, 52% of the black wives worked all year, as compared to 36% of the white wives. (BN441)
26. President Nixon, speaking on gains made by blacks in the area of higher education, pointed out that in America today, there are more blacks in college than there are Englishmen in college in England or Frenchmen in college in France. (BP304)

27. The increasing stress on ethnic consciousness in America has also stimulated the private sector. The Ford Foundation has granted the Detroit Catholic Conference Center for Urban Affairs $500,000 to revitalize ignored ethnic communities, and to sensitize public and private institutions to ethnic needs. Concerted action from both the public and private sector will be necessary to overcome the problem.

The implications of the racial problem are immense, and have stimulated much thought and hypothesizing. Robert C. North visualizes a linkage between our domestic conditions and our response to international events. He perceives that in the future we run the serious risk of being caught in a dreadful crunch between inappropriateness of our domestic responses, and the inappropriateness of our external responses, and the

Potential Impact

It may eventually be possible for the Navy and certain similar social institutions to develop relationships with both "classes" and minority groups in search of alliance and support, but with emphasis wherever possible on "class." For example, it may be more rewarding for the Navy to deal with the entire middle class of whites blacks, and others, rather than with blacks preponderantly separated into all-black groups.
inappropriateness of our external responses. He maintains that we have not learned enough about Watts, or Detroit, and neither do we know how to respond to our foreign environment. (BB363)

28. Ferry foresees a future for racial relations notable only for its polarization. He says that racial integration in the United States is impossible judging from present trends and attitudes. He urges the establishment of separate but equal black communities throughout the nation. Black and white America will be separate cultural and social communities, and will probably become separate political communities. He cites three major propositions in support of his thesis: (1) Major cities are already black, and will become preponderantly black in less than a generation; (2) racial integration in the United States is impossible; and (3) the United States has a few years' grace to think through a political theory which will at once maintain democratic practices and institutions, and provide for an ethnically separate minority community. (BB363)

**Potential Impact**

This program of Ferry's demonstrates that black separatism is not a concept rationalized or advocated only by blacks. Its realization would probably result in disaster for the Navy and most other social institutions. It would be all-black ships (if blacks and whites cannot learn to live together in a community, they probably can't do it on a ship of the Navy, either) then all-black divisions and flotillas, the then black commands. Since a majority of the dimensions of the white majority of America is unlikely to accept being given ultimatums, the result would probably be conflict followed by repression.
29. Looking back on the recent history of racial demonstrations, and the resultant disruption, it is necessary, albeit difficult, to contemplate the future. There will be intermittent violence, probably with more shooting and less burning than in the '66 and '67 riots. The pattern will resemble the labor struggle in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, except that the targets will be communities rather than industrial firms. Out of the struggle will probably emerge a "major Black political bloc" with a role not unlike that of labor unions. This trend will begin to diminish in strength in the 1980's. (BM94)

30. The inevitable result of the struggle is that over the next twenty years efforts at racial integration will be increasingly successful. (BM94)

31. A time can be foreseen when racial conflict will be diminished. An important role in its diminution will be played by education. (BBI6)

32. Farson points out that another means of reducing tension is through celebrating ethnic differences rather than pretending to ignore them. This will do more to achieve full citizenship, full humanity for all of us. Young Negroes are turning away from "white values," discovering in the history of black Africa a source of pride and dignity; wearing their hair "natural," they are proclaiming their autonomy, and that to be different is good. They are demanding the right to full citizenship without being required to assimilate. (BFI3)

33. The thorough realization of civil rights will have a significant effect on American life, with increasing emphasis on equality and civil rights, social justice and human dignity for all. (BBI6)

34. Even in a report which includes a substantial amount of direct quotation, we feel we must apologize for the inordinate length of the following quotation by Professor Orlando Patterson. However, its importance in predicting the future appears to us to warrant quotation at this length.

...The era of the urban riots began. The Negro middle classes, which, until this time, had remained fairly clear of the urban masses,
now found it in their best interests to identify with them....

It is at this point that the third stage in the unfolding of the black community takes place. All remedial action having failed to halt the growing restlessness and anger of the black masses, white capital and its supporters now flee to the suburbs, leaving the empty husk of the inner cities to the turbulent black 'lumpen' and their impotent leaders. This stage has just begun, of course. The mood of violence has shifted from the collective to the individual level, from the socially understandable to the level of private criminality. As the screws of the vicious circle of the ghetto tighten, as hope dies, a new mood emerges. It is every man for himself. Each seeks his salvation where he can find it, when he can get it, and by whatever means...

From the misery, sameness, and atomization of the slave plantation, the Blacks of the ghettos are coming full circle to the misery, sameness, and atomization of the urban slums. There are, however, three critical structural differences in the present situation: First, the society is now a post-industrial one, not an agricultural society; second, the Blacks are economically irrelevant to this new society; and third, there is now a black leadership class.

To further protect their own interests, these black leaders now reinforce the theme of racial pride and dignity which... instead of interpreting the ghetto as a corrupting influence,... they not only idealize this life style but attempt to proletarianize themselves, to think and talk and act "black." Black culture in the United States, then, is rapidly losing its diversity,...

In all this, there is yet another striking irony: A closer examination of the urban lower class reveals that there is no longer anything ethnic about its culture. Its institutions almost all stem from the imperatives of urban poverty. The "black family," "black speech," "black life styles," are in no way distinctively black, but are simply lower-class. To the extent that the middle class and those who are potentially upward-mobile identify with the masses, to that extent they proletarianize themselves. Thus, at the very point where Blacks in the United States approach a kind of cultural identity, they cease to be black in any
cultural sense of that term. The culture of poverty, which is a poverty of culture, is fast becoming the lot of all black Americans, whether through necessity or by choice; black culture increasingly is "black" only in name... There remain vestiges of ethnicity in the black community, but such qualities seem fated to disappear soon. The trend is strong and seemingly irreversible. ...(In Latin America and the Caribbean) there is the same confusion of lower-class culture with black culture. What is more, the diffusion of U.S. black power ideology through the powerful U.S. international media network has created an extraneous cultural reinforcement of this self-proletarianization process on the part of the new counter elite....

To summarize then, the entire black population of the Americas is growing alike in its urban poverty, its "lumpenization," and its ghetto environment; in the decline of its specific cultural heritage and in the emergence of a universal culture of poverty; and in the desperate proletarianization and self-deceptive black power ideology of increasingly reckless and helpless leaders. If this interpretation is correct, we must conclude that the fate of the Blacks in the Americas is, indeed, bleak....

Black American leadership must immediately recognize what is rapidly becoming an accomplished fact that the black masses no longer form an ethnic group but a redundant lumpenproletariat. It must cease to interpret the situation in racial terms and must begin to take account of the underlying class realities. Having made this recognition, black leadership must then take the initiative in bringing about a change in American domestic and foreign policies. The only way it can succeed in doing this is by de-ethnicating and acting in concert with its natural class allies -- those poor White, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and downwardly mobile Latins who not long from now will also face the humiliation of post-industrial redundancy. The de-ethnicization of American society is an awesome, seemingly impossible task; hence our pessimism. But it is the only way out; and it is not just the fate of black Americans that depends upon it, but that of millions of Blacks in the Caribbean and Latin America as well...
Bleak though the situation is, it also presents an awesome opportunity. The Blacks of the Americas now face a historic choice. To survive, they must abandon their search for a past, must indeed recognize that they lack all claims to a distinctive cultural heritage, and that the path ahead lies not in myth making and in historical reconstruction, which are always doomed to failure, but in accepting the epic challenge of their reality. Black Americans can be the first group in the history of mankind who transcend the confines and grip of a cultural heritage, and in so doing, they can become the most truly modern of all peoples—a people who feel no need for a nation, a past, or a particularistic culture, but whose style of life will be a rational and continually changing adaptation to the exigencies of survival, at the highest possible level of existence.

The great irony, of course, is that, should Blacks succeed in doing this, they will indeed make themselves unique. In a world where every group still strives to be unique, to preserve its past, and to hold sacred the principle of continuity, a group which discards uniqueness and spurns tradition will by that very fact become unique in a truly revolutionary way. For it is clear that the next great cultural advance of mankind will involve the rejection of tradition and of particularism....

(BS3)
AUTOMATION

1. An experimental network of computers is in operation under the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency, and has excited interest because the technology involved permits computers of different types, and as far apart as M.I.T. in Boston, and UCLA in Los Angeles, to talk to each other with great flexibility and speed. Beginning in 1969 with four computer facilities in California and Salt Lake City, by April 1972, the network had expanded to include 22 computers from coast to coast and was scheduled to extend beyond 30 in the summer of 1972. (BN450)

2. This bit of information is impressive testimony to the role computers are rapidly assuming in modern life. Computer technology has the capacity to transform human life from dependency upon fellow individuals to dependency upon the machine. While we have already discussed automation and computers to some extent, in the broad international context and as elements in general technological advance, this section undertakes to highlight some impacts of this new technology on American life.

Potential Impact

The Navy will probably be in the forefront of organizations being affected to the maximum degree by the spread of automation and computers. It will receive technological impact along these lines with other military services in some areas, and with civilian organizations in still other areas. Automation of surveillance; intelligence gathering, processing, and retrieval; command and control systems; and fire control will be of prime military interest. Automation of navigation; ship-handling; cargo movement; and stock control will be of interest to a variety of large and complex organizations. These will constitute only some among many automated activities of the Navy.
3. The most spectacular progress in communication for the year 2000 will have been made by computer technology; the computer industry will perhaps be the branch of industry making the largest turnover, leading the automobile and construction industries. There will be hardly any industrial products with which computer technology is not interwoven in much the same way as the nervous system is interwoven with an organism. There will be neither machine tools, nor instruction techniques, nor business techniques, nor scientific research, nor technical development, nor any other branch of productive activity, which does not employ computer techniques. The competitive strength of a society will be determined predominantly by the efficiency of its computer industry. (BF13)

4. In general, the new technology will be able to increase the standard of living for most people in affluent societies. (BM61)

5. However, it will also have significant side-effects, such as increased unemployment of certain types of employees, the necessity for widespread retraining programs, and a host of other counter-measures to combat the disruptive societal effects of these technological advancements.

6. Areas of concern that have arisen over the uses to which this technology is adaptable. Discussion has dealt with the uses and implications of computerized information systems in government decision-making; the possibilities of computer involvement in participatory democracy; and the problem of invasion of privacy. (BM66)
possible contingency and preparing automated equipment to give a performance superior to the performance humans would render in every circumstance.

7. The increased use of this technology has stimulated a dialogue dealing with its potential impact on government. This dialogue is noteworthy, both for the varied interpretations of the impact, as well as its lack of consensus.

Armer feels that further governmental use of computers will add to the existing pressures for consolidation of local government files.

Downs sees short-run narrow-range, rather than comprehensive, urban information systems being set up, because these systems have more easily seen payoffs and offer less political resistance.

Webber predicts the politicization of these systems. Urban information systems will be subjected to political competition as different people attempt to control the system. The information scientist will become a professional in the struggle. (BM66)

8. The relationship between computer technology and the business world has raised questions dealing with its impact on management. A principal issue has been: Does the use of computer result in increased centralization of management?

Whisler believes it does, because computers tie together and integrate areas of decision-making and control that were formerly independent of each other. Some aspects of decision-making moved to higher levels, Potential Impact

The impact on management will probably become even more controversial. It is not only the computer but its alliance with instantaneous global communications capabilities that poses the threat to middle management in some activities. This threat is discussed further below.
where there had been a decline of control at lower levels. He foresees increasing conflict between the centralizing trend and the skills and performance of an increasingly highly trained labor force.

Simon sees greater centralization likely to occur. The motivational problems of middle managers will not be severe. Computers in the future will aid in both programmed and non-programmed decision.

Brady questions the impact of computers. He insists that computers have so far had little effect in the decision-making of top management. (BM66)

9. Computer technology has been used for the creation of information systems and data banks. As noted, controversy has built up around the impact that this vast amount of knowledge will have on individual privacy and freedom.

Boguslaw envisions a new computerized bureaucracy where the designers will have the power to impose their values on governmental decisions. The public will have
little power to react to this group, because of ignorance and inability to understand computers and these applications. (BM69)

10. MacBride is fearful of the amount of power accruing to the Federal Government. Citizens should have access to the Data Bank, and the Data Bank itself should be independent of the Executive branch of the government. Public and private sources should have access to the Bank. Free access to the Bank would mean the federal planner would find his projects under close public scrutiny. (BM69)

11. Michael agrees with MacBride. He urges that citizen groups hire their own experts and watchdogs. Further, he maintains that computer technology will not be the sole cause of future invasions of privacy. Social attitudes are of major importance. The imperatives of a computerized society will win over the protection of freedom and privacy. He reasons that a new definition of privacy may develop, "that part of our life will be defined as unimportant (or especially important) simply because the computers cannot..."

Potential Impact

Clearly, the prospect of a National Data Bank represents great dangers and great benefits for a democratic society. The terms worked out for inputs, access, and outputs would be highly critical to weighting the presence of such a Bank as beneficial or harmful. The Navy's interests and missions also could be either harmed or benefited by such a facility. The Navy is as much interested in protecting the privacy of its members as any other agency. The Navy will also be concerned, along with other agencies of government, in protecting classified data, techniques and equipment.
deal with it." (BM69)

12. Kaysen argues that there are threats to privacy implicit in data banks, but legal and technical safeguards can be established. A National Data Bank is needed because the federal statistical system is too decentralized to function effectively and efficiently. Safeguards within the system can include the prohibiting of the inclusion of dossier information, and technical safeguards, such as illegal access or the cracking of information safes.

Westin examines the various privacy-invading technologies and finds that in their wake there has been a "steadily growing sensitivity to privacy claims". The criteria he cites for weighing privacy against other social areas are:

1. seriousness of the need for surveillance;
2. whether there are other ways to meet the need, with the burden of proof for surveillance resting on the agency requesting the permission;
3. whether the method of surveillance can turn up reliable information.
4. whether the subject consent to the surveillance; and
5. whether the techniques and those who use it can be readily controlled by well-established rules on the scope, duration, and operation of the surveillance. (BM69)

13. What of the positive benefits of this new technology? Will there be any discernible effects on our way of life? Again, the predictions are varied, and consensus is lacking.

Suppes foresees a great impact on the educational system. Computers, he maintains will bring about individualized instruction in the schools. Oettinger disagrees with Suppes. Oettinger argues that education's institutional rigidity, combined with the infant technology's erratic behavior and our own insufficient understanding of the learning process, precludes such a development. (BM66)
14. The computer's impact on education is but one facet of the issue. It is also becoming more and more necessary to train individuals to become fluent in the manipulation of the computer, and the comprehension of its feedback. Michael has made a particularly persuasive argument for the attainment of computer skills. (BM66)

15. The information supplied by computers is of great quantity and sophistication. Decision making is becoming more complex. There is a growing separation between those who work creatively with computers and those who are computer illiterates. (BM66)

16. The applicability of this technology to serve man, rather than confuse man, has led to a number of analyses. Price discusses how computers can aid society. He reminds us that computers emerge from a history of model building. They attempt to understand creation by simulating it. Thus, they can bring about necessary social change, as long as we avoid endless studies and the use of overly-narrow criteria. (BM66)

17. The use of these machines in social research may lead to a new definition of man. Foster sees a definition of man emerging as an emotional being, in contradistinction to a machine. However, Mazlish disagrees with Foster. He maintains that man is continuous with the tools and machines he builds. The abandonment of the discontinuity between man and machine must be achieved if we are to use machines wisely.

Miller concurs with Mazlish. Men and machines perform the same function and can be seen as becoming part of a larger theoretical system. We
must analyze the cognitive process of both men and computers to gain insight into how to use computers to perform functions that are difficult for man. (BM66)

Simon is fearful that an information-rich world is an attention-poor world. We must learn to design organizations that can conserve and effectively allocate our scarce attention resources. (BM66)

Potential Impact

Simon's fear seems insightful. Each successful computer accomplishment will probably breed a "need" for a dozen follow-up accomplishments. Information overload from these and other proliferating sources will saturate the human attention span. Devices will be sought to ensure that the attention span of humans in critical assignments is not usurped by unworthy (though loud and insistent) material. Unit commanders will welcome some kind of filter in the future to apply to official correspondence alone.

18. The effective political uses to which the computer can be put have not yet been agreed upon. It is revealing to note, however, that the political implications of its use are widely recognized. Stevens believes that computers can revitalize democracy by allowing for feedback from the citizens to the government.

Eulau rejects the computer's input on projected participatory democracy. It would be a nightmare, he maintains, because the representational process involves reconciliation of conflicting interests. It is essential that representatives ignore or selectively interpret some of the wishes of their constituents. (BM66)

19. Paul Toy foresees a possible negative impact. Future computer-linked media will complicate the process of gathering political support behind an issue or candidate. It will lead to an every more individualized society than we have now. (BM66)
20. Sims discusses the legal problems that might arise over computer usage. It is conceivable that computers could be used to monitor legal activities and act as expert witnesses. (BM66)

21. The legal issues raised by the invasion of privacy can be solved, according to Westin, by the development of a writ of habeas data. (BM66)

22. The question of computer fallibility is raised by Wilensky. He is fearful that the establishment of computerized information systems could lead to information errors permeating the entire organizational structure. As a result the decision-makers may make the wrong decision or even ask the wrong questions.

Schlesinger sees different rationalities underlying the information system and political system. The former is short run, the latter is long run. Oettinger predicts a potential positive impact. The organization of computer and communication companies could lead to improved decision making at the top and minimize information overload, and faltering and delay. This will occur, however, as a result of institutionalized changes.

The use of computer technology in the political and social sphere presupposes firm theoretical foundations. Bauer believes that these are not yet existent. (BM66)

23. He argues that the absence of these adequate social models and measures hinders the effective use of computerized information systems.

Coupled with the needs for good models, is the need for good data. For this technology to have effective political and social applicability, the system must have access to relevant data and information. The political factors that will foster and broaden the development of information systems, according to Westin, include the access to and control over information. It is extremely important, therefore, what information goes into the files and what information does not. (BM66)

The problems of widespread governmental uses of this technology have been forecast by Malik. He fears chaos, inefficiency, and government by electronic caprice. However, he does not believe that computers endanger democracy and privacy. (BM66)
24. The functional implementation of this technology is not yet agreed upon. Its precise operational role is open to a number of interpretations.

The Ontario Law Reform Committee's advice that the control over personal information should be strictly based on a "need to know" basis leads to a consideration of an important point: Where within the system will this technology reside? Miller would like to see the creation of a regulatory agency to act as an information ombudsman. Mindlin, on the other hand, argues for the separation of the data systems from the operating agencies. (BM66)

25. Computer technology will have all-encompassing effects on society. The economic implications of the technology will be as great as any previously discussed. (BM66)

26. Baran's concern is not with a specific utilization of the technology, but its overall utilization. He raises three issues of computer utility to any application:

a. Conflict between the computer and the communications industry;

b. Conflict between large and small computer firms;

c. Definite need for new regulatory measures. (BM66)

27. The new technology's impact on the automation in commerce and industry is quite apparent. There has been an increase by a factor of 10 in capital investment in computers used for automated process control. (BBI6)

28. Investment in these systems will grow. Over the next decade, capital equipment associated with automation or automatic process control may grow by an order of magnitude. These machines, in turn, will permit increasing production. The machines themselves may be used to determine what products are needed, by whom, and the proper price of the product. Although automation will create demand for new types of employment, unemployment may grow. (BBI6)

29. Some countermeasures to the possible social upheavals which may occur as a result of continued automation are:
a. Protection of certain jobs such as household and other services from automation;

b. Lowering retirement age by five years;
c. Massive WPA-type programs;
d. Shortening the work week by 20 percent;
e. Two years compulsory post-high school education;
f. Massive aid to underdeveloped regions (including portions of the United States); and
g. All-out government-sponsored retraining programs.

(BBI6)

The impact of technology in the average American home is foreseen through the impact of household robots. These robots will serve as computer-programmed automatic household labor, and will to a degree replace human services. In the face of increasing unemployment pressures, anti-robot legislation may be enacted to protect certain services from machine take-over. Speculation on the role of robots is intriguing. Robots will create new markets. Will they have built-in obsolescence? Will homemade robots (a status symbol) be more desirable than those produced by other robots? (BBI6)

30. Will the use of computers in the home facilitate conversion to a credit-card economy?

(BBI6)
The trend toward automation may permit system-wide controls (e.g., White House control).

One can envision logistic-support system worldwide controls from CONUS and all overseas bases. Characteristics of persons in such a system may change. Resourceful, independent personalities may be less desired.

The most common personal threat of this technology is in the sphere of privacy. This threat depends on technology and probably on the computer. It turns on the prospect of a great improvement in the process of record-keeping and of collating information about individuals. When, as is likely, this technological efficiency is coupled with the government's ever-increasing demands for special information, the prospect is one of a formidable dossier on every member of the society. Information may initially be collected for relatively innocuous purposes such as income tax, social security, special aid programs, and special support for education. One can also anticipate increased interest in testing competence, aptitude, and per-

Potential Impact

Again, we consider the impact on management. Centralization trends seem inevitable with automation— in some activities, centralization to the maximum extent that the system will allow. An old principle of decentralized management says that when you delegate responsibility for an activity to a subordinate, you must accept the probability that he will execute it in a manner different from yours. But that was always to some extent rationalization to accompany forced delegation. The more critical the function, the less likely delegation is to occur, or acceptance of "deviance" to occur. For example, when bombing targets in Southeast Asia can be elected in the White House, two considerations seem worth pondering:

1. Why expect target selection to be delegated to any echelon below the White House? and

2. Why expect a professional military man to undergo thirty years of training in the management of violence if functions within his sphere of competence are unlikely to be delegated to him in the future?
sonality. At some happy future moment, all this information could be combined with the FBI files so as to produce a devastatingly detailed and accurate profile of each member of the society. The disturbing result could be that everyone will live burdened by an unerasable record of his past and his limitations. In a way, the threat is that because of its record-keeping, the society will have lost its benign capacity to forget. (BP416)

Whole patterns of trained competence may be outmoded. The point being made here will apply at all levels of the Navy, raising serious questions about the kinds of people desired, and available, for highly automated systems.
SEX

1. Substantial effects on social mores are indicated by changing attitudes toward sex. Its impact on society has already manifested itself in many ways: The explicitness of the arts; the woman's lib movement; and a generally more tolerant attitude toward behavior formerly considered sexually deviant.

2. Farson has written that:

   The sexual revolution is already well under way, and it will bring about some changes, particularly in our ideas of sexual roles, and role differentiation. When sex is no longer simply a means to an end—procreation, or economic security for women and egosecurity for men—we will be able to deploy and enjoy the whole range of our sensory and emotional potential. For the generation that comes of age in 1984, sexual fulfillment and erotic experience will not only be a delightful and taken-for-granted aspect of life, as it has been in many cultures other than our own, but I think it will be more than that. We will explore the possibilities of sex to find new ways of experiencing ourselves, new ways of expanding our physical, mental, and emotional potentials, and new ways of relating to others. (BF13)

3. A National Organization of Women leader says that the United States suffers because the sexes have separate roles. She feels it tragic that the reproductive abilities of women share with all other mammals have been more highly valued and developed than the productive intelligence we do not share with any other animal. (BN513)

4. It is her belief that erroneous assumptions underlie discrim-

Potential Impact

   Sex is a powerful force, one not to be trifled with. Yet a good proportion of the new culture seems to feel that sexual inhibitions of centuries can be discarded in this society without expectation to experience a reckoning in the future. But sex involves human intimacy too deeply to be downgraded to the level of taste in food or clothes. It is relevant to note that the appearance of the Pill has shifted the fear of
inatory laws based on the idea of inherent differences in roles. She cites the fact that 60% of American women have no children under 18.

Traditional women's roles such as homemaking and child care are learned social roles, without biological imperatives related to those who perform them. (BN513)

5. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck feel that the United States is moving in the direction of wholesale permissiveness. Nevertheless, there should be legislation and enforcement against the immense scale of pornography; the very existence of federal and state statutes creates a "strong presumption" that the people find such materials harmful. There is also a need for enlightened programs in sex education.

Parents do not have as much control over a child's development as they previously had; yet if they have an emotionally healthy child, his attitude toward sex will be healthy. (BP437)

6. Sexual restraints are looser since the introduction of oral contraceptives, and the amount of venereal disease is rising. Sexuality should be a part of the total relationship within family life. The concept of "family" is not passé. (BP437)

7. Dr. W. Cody Wilson, the executive director of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, explained the findings of the Commission. He stated that the Commission tried to give attention to all viewpoints except that of pornographers, and to include all the literature. The Commission found that pornography may sometimes be a symptom of other problems but there is no reliable evidence that experience with it causes crime, antisocial behavior, or other problems. It was reported that there was no serious evidence that pornography was harmful to children, yet the Commission recommended no lessening of restrictions on
the sale of pornographic materials to youngsters. The Commission felt it was the parents' perogative, not society's, to control access of their children to sexual information, and to control their children's development in sexual values, attitudes, and behavior. (BP437)

8. Dr. van den Haag, believes that pornography does not really heighten sexual enjoyment, but that it does have three possible effects: For some people it may satisfy sadistic impulses vicariously; for others it will have no effect at all; and for some it may be a temptation to imitate the sadism. (BP437)

9. Dr. Philip Slater feels that the changing sexual climate has had an effect on the generation gap. The most striking phenomenon in the current conflict between the generations is that each generation, in different ways, attempts to disallow the sexuality of the other. Today's youth appear strikingly liberated from the repressive sexual norms of their parents by ignoring them behaviorally, and attitudinally, and apparently without guilt. (BB325)

10. The younger generation has rid itself of its parents' sexual guilt by displacing it into other spheres. Although they violate their parents' sexual norms with relatively little discomfort, one of the striking characteristics of contemporary youth is a kind of diffuse moral absolutism. It is as if every act must have not merely a practical or pleasurable but also a moral foundation...

What today's youth seem incapable of is amoral defiance. They cannot assume the responsibility of committing an act that they define as immoral but too pleasurable to forego...

The spend a great deal of time trying not to "cop out" in a society whose corruption generates moral dilemmas... And all of this, of course, makes them extremely vulnerable to moral contamination: when confronted with situations in which they took the easy way out they are unusually de-moralized. The radicalism of contemporary youth thus derives its emotional energy from guilt more than anger. One reason (there are many others, some quite practical) why compromising liberals are so despised and...
extreme conservatives sometimes respected is that the greater moral absolutism of the latter, no matter how antithetical in content, strikes a sympathetic chord.

I have suggested that these characteristics, along with parental desexualization and the intensified child-rearing process, all derive from the emphasis the American middle-class family places on the regulation of emotion— in particular, sexual impulses. (BB325)

II. Pre-marital sex has received a good deal of publicity, as differences are recorded in attitudes of parents and their children to pre-marital sex. At least many parents, although they don't approve of pre-marital sex, are counseling their children to use birth-control methods. (BN476)


In learning to cope with his sexual urge, the French child is helped by his training in recognizing proper limits of behavior. He may be more upset, but he is better equipped than the American child, for he has been taught to control his impulses. The American child, however, is expected to have sudden discipline when he learns that there is a wide gap between expressed standards of sexual behavior and actual practice. (BB99)

Potential Impact
An influx of greater numbers of women into the Navy— and, indeed, the continuation of current sexual trends alone— will probably involve the Navy in careful reconsideration of the legal, sexual, moral, and
13. In France the adolescent boy receives his experience and training from an older woman and then in turn initiates the girl—ideally, his virgin wife.

To an American boy the idea of sexual relations with a woman old enough to be his mother seems monstrous. He learns by venturing out, experimenting, seeking advice from his peers. Most American boys (it appears) receive their sexual initiation in the back seat of a car with girls roughly their own age, after a 6-pack. "This is not a very satisfactory experience for either one of the couple, and it has been suggested that the whole clumsy operation may help account for the feeling of inadequacy shared by many American adults." (BB99)

14. The American reluctance to set limits creates another sexual problem for adolescents that is less troublesome for the French—that of determining a feeling of sexual identity. French children are rather strictly segregated by sex, and treated differently and are expected to behave differently. For Americans it seems wrong to deny a girl or a boy what is accorded to members of the other sex; consequently, boys and girls are treated essentially in the same manner. (BB99)

15. With relatively little support, American youth is expected to achieve the proper feeling of sexual identity. The resentment effect is that, to
prove themselves, the two go to extremes to prove their sex (super-feminine, or super strong masculine). (BB99)

16. There is some indication, however, as evidenced by the unisex clothes, and the long hair, that this is changing in some portions of the population.

Discussing present day sex-life in the United States, Dr. van den Haag sees that sexual desire is viewed with more approval. Factors which have led to this include the introduction of the pill; greater amounts of education; mobile population; greater employment opportunities; and the greater independence of women. (BP437)

17. Dr. van den Haag sees a distinction between the concepts of sex and love. People now have many contacts but few relationships. They are morally isolated and want love, but that requires a certain stability, a cumulative build-up of the relationship, and an inner constancy. He feels that many (not all) of the "hippies" treat sex as a meal, something you need to do and get over with. Sex, he believes, is an effect of major industrialized nations' disorientation. (BP437)

18. Dr. van den Haag is very much against sex-education: Sex education he says, is one of the most stupid rackets. His reasons are as follows: The appreciation system still works well in sex; there is no such thing as "healthy vs. unhealthy" sex; there are emotionally healthy and unhealthy persons. Sex education cannot influence what actions mean in the context of your whole personality. It won't do any damage, but it's a waste of time. Perhaps schools can make sex dull, so the population problem will be solved.

Dr. van den Haag implies that Americans are still not totally comfortable with sex. In the United States there is a feeling of the "right and wrong" way or "normal" way to enjoy sex. Clinics are always around to give advice. (BP437)

19. In a report on homosexual activists, "Gay Liberationists" stated their demands for full legal, social, and economic equality, as well as acceptance.
The "Gay Liberation" movement follows well-established patterns of minority protests; however, what sets homosexuals apart is not a matter of birth, ethnic origins, or philosophical connections. Rather it is a set of attitudes and behavior patterns that some medical authorities believe are "sick." The Gay Liberation movement does share one characteristic with other activists groups; they constitute only a tiny percentage of the minority. Most active Gay Liberationists are young—between 16 and 30 years of age. Their ultimate goal is a federal law legalizing homosexuality between consenting adults. (BP284)

20. Sex researchers, Masters and Johnson, have found that young men who are predominately or exclusively homosexual generally have lower levels of the male sex hormone testosterone in their blood than young heterosexual men. They caution that this is not necessarily a cause of homosexuality; in fact, perhaps the reverse is true. Increased injections of hormones may increase sex activity, but in the same direction as it originally was directed. (BN429)

21. A survey run by the National Institute of Health has found that 3-4 million Americans were predominantly homosexual; and that many more display occasional homosexual tendencies. (BP123)

22. In every state (except Illinois and Connecticut) homosexual acts are still illegal, even if practiced in private by consenting adults. The National Institute of Mental Health has, however, recommended eliminating criminal penalties for all sexual acts between consenting adults. This pressure for reform is evident in the states of New York and California. The statutes in Texas have already been appealed (1970) to the Supreme Court. (BP123)

23. There is an increased awareness of the existence of homosexuality without its cryptic coloration. The myths and preconceptions are exploding. The law courts have recognized societies and clubs for homosexuals; and have required reinstatement of homosexuals in jobs from which they had been discharged. The courts have allowed a homosexual to be "adopted" by his roommate, but balked at actual marriage.
Medically, the homosexual is no longer a puzzle to be solved, but lived with. No strong trends exist to relate parental types and homosexuals. Kinsey has said that "without social factors", many people would carry on both hetero and homosexual activities coincidentally. (BP48)

24. Altman expounds the validity of homosexual love with references to history and philosophy. He says there is anthropological evidence to suggest the homosexual is neither alien nor perverse, and cannot be classified as ill. He charges that homosexuals suffer from persecution, discrimination and intolerance. Various reviewers have disagreed with Altman. They maintain that the insistence that homosexual love is just like (and exactly as desirable as) heterosexual love is self-defeating. It is also biologically inaccurate and socially unsound. (BP22)

25. The changing attitudes toward homosexuality have had significant legal implications in terms of government employment and security clearances. In 1971, a court rules that homosexuality cannot be used as a basis to deny security clearance without showing that it affects the individual's judgement, stability, or vulnerability to blackmail. (BN579)

26. Legal action in support of homosexuals has been taken by the American Civil Liberties Union, which filed suit in a United States District Court to prevent Federal dismissals because of homosexuality. The suit asks the government to stop investigations of sexual activities of Federal employees or of those applying to work for the government. A class action (four plaintiffs was brought on the contention that all four had received satisfactory ratings from the government and

Potential Impact
As more statutes fall and court decisions turn to new standards, numerous punitive attitudes and acts towards homosexuals are being revised. Large, complex organizations like the Navy, especially those which employ masculine behavior in a preponderantly one-sex society, probably cannot escape the effects of this movement. Administrative procedures, military injustice, discharges, security clearances—these are only a few of
were properly carrying out their jobs when dismissed. Detailed investigations had determined that the four were either homosexuals, reputed to be homosexuals, or had associated publicly with persons known to be homosexuals.

27. A primary concern of the military, faced with the prospect of employing homosexuals, is the possible impact that the homosexual's life style will have on his performance, and behavior. An in-depth study looked at the life of a homosexual and the restraints placed upon him by a society unwilling to accept him as a "normal" individual. The harassment he received because of his homosexuality sheds light on our current value system and raises fundamental questions concerning individual productivity and fulfillment in life and their place in the social order with respect to the military. It raises questions concerning homosexuality as a bar to military service. If the main criteria for fulfilling a military obligation is the ability to perform military tasks, then homosexuality cannot be used to deny someone the right to serve the nation. On the other hand, the Service seeks to minimize possible sources of disruption to its normal pattern of living. Perhaps homosexuals could be used in the Service on assignments that require long periods of loneliness, such as stationing at Greenland or Antarctica. (BN583)

28. In the area of inter-personal relationships, the military is faced with the problem of compatibility between the homosexual to the heterosexual. Many "normal" people (men) feel uncomfortable in the presence of known homosexuals; this could hinder their job performance in carrying out their assigned duties. Conversely, if changing social patterns make the homosexual an accepted part of the social scene, then the military will have to reform its thinking on the use of homosexuals for military service. A period may arrive when any one will be eligible for military service based on physical and mental ability and not one some
sex criteria. (BN583)

29. The need to deal with homosexuality on an open basis has been increasingly faced by the nation's colleges and universities.

Colleges are recognizing the need to have sympathetic counseling of homosexuals. A conference has already taken place, sponsored by Dr. Blair, director of the Homosexual Community Counseling Center; the National task force on Student Personnel Services and Homosexuality, and Queens College. The conference was convened specifically for college counselors and student homosexuals. A reported 150 persons attended. (BN410)

30. On many campuses around the country college students are organizing "Gay" groups. The psychological impact of such groups is as yet unknown. There is disagreement among psychiatrists as to whether 18-year-olds who are uncertain about their identities could become caught in an "exploitative situation." The National Student Center Association has opened a division called the National Gay Student Center.

Gay Groups are recognized as official campus organizations on the Boston University, Columbia, Cornell, Illinois, Colorado, Stanford, City College of New York, University of Minnesota, University of California, Amherst, and U.C.L.A. campuses.

However, at some schools, the gay groups have not been allowed entrance. Schools which have barred recognition, due mostly to older administrators and trustees are, the University of Texas at Austin; San Jose; Sacramento State College; University of Kansas; Pennsylvania State University; and the University of Southern California.

At San Jose, a California judge has ordered the college to accept the group, and lawyers are preparing cases in most of the other cases.

Most gay groups in existence are not political, and are predominantly male. However, at Stanford and Colorado, women have now formed separate lesbian groups. (BN422)
31. The probability of eventual public tolerance of homosexuals is apparent in the recent (May 1972) ordination to the ministry of William Johnson, a homosexual, by the United Church of Christ. A total of 62 of the 96 lay and clerical delegates of the Protestant denominations voted for the ordination.

The council for Church and Ministry of the United Church of Christ said in a statement that it could not categorically approve the ordination of homosexuals, but urges that each case be judged individually. Church officials said they believe this was the first time a professed homosexual had been ordained in his own church.
1. The place for sports in American culture is changing.

The relationship of *corporis sano* to *mens sana* need not be explained here, especially as health benefits the ordinary individual and the masses of any society. We need not describe the satisfactions provided by sports in self-development, self-fulfillment, adaptation to group effort, and even aesthetic values, as one among many available forms in a pluralistic society. The role played by sports is a real, if often overlooked, aspect of American social and cultural life. Sports imbue athletes and fans with the dominant values of a goal-oriented society: Achievement, hard work, team play, and even in some respects political socialization.

2. Particularly since World War II, however, BIGNESS has overtaken sports—big performers, big organizations, big stadium, big crowds, big television and radio networks, and especially big money.

3. Recently a crisis has appeared in athletics due to an invasion by the values of the counter-culture. Needed, especially at the high school and even the college level, is a sports program stressing unconditional self-acceptance among participants in athletics, instead of acceptance contingent upon impressive performance. (BP291)

4. Part of the long-standing rationale in American sports lore is the proposition that participation in team athletics builds character. A recent research project, after studying thousands of athletes, repudiates this proposition. The findings held that there is no aspect unique to sports as they are actually played that is character-building. (BN612)

5. The consuming competitiveness of big-time athletic activities, amateur as well as professional, leads to ignoring the well-touted tenets of good sportsmanship and fair play. A brawl between players of the University of Minnesota and Ohio State in February 1972 led a college official to decry what he called the line existing between the fierce competitor and the cheap-shot artist. It was an
example of subliminal violence becoming reality in the game. The roots of the violence that erupted can be traced, said the official, to the coaches' desire to maintain status; to alumni demands and expectations; and to animalism in our society.

An occurrence such as this brawl, although aberrant, points out, said the official, that the element of joy is gone from competitive athletics and that players today are overly obsessed with victory. (BN558)

Potential Impact

The degree of emphasis to put on athletic programs, and the primary level at which to set intra-organization athletic competition is a recurring issue in all military services, particularly because physical fitness is so important. The sports programs in many high schools and colleges now produce a few highly skilled performers and a mass of dabblers and spectators. The Navy will be affected by the level and number of sports participants and by the attitudes of youth in general towards sports, as the role of sports, and attitudes towards them, change in America.

6. Sports play an increasingly dominant role in our changing culture. Professional athletics are more and more associated with big business, which is in turn interrelated with commercial interests of the communications media. This is the age of the superstar, the atypical American—the 300 pound football player, and the 7 1/2 foot basketball player. The dependence of professional athletics on colleges to provide replacement manpower guarantees enormous financial and social pressures to intensify the current system.

7. What are the social implications to be found in athletic competition as it exists today? Is competition valuable or harmful? What social purposes of
society are advanced by BIGTIME monopoly on sports? There may be a relationship between the success motivation in life, which in various manifestations is alienating more youth and success in modern athletics. The performance goals we are renumerating in fame and millions of dollars are perhaps more and more advanced and removed from the capacity of the normal individual, just as athletics-as-spectacle emphasizes the mass spectator rather than the mass participant.

Strong arguments can be adduced to put sports back on an all-amateur, all-participant level. This might diminish the trend towards the cult of bigness, and perhaps reduce another instrument of social alienation.

Summary Potential Impact

In view of the scope and nature of social and cultural changes predicted for the future, it seems reasonable to predict that the Navy will be more involved in social developments than it has been in the past, and that the range of social services provided by the Navy for its people will expand in the future.
PART III
Section 6
ORGANIZATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONAL

GENERAL

1. Among the most important changes taking place in human affairs is the evolution of modern organizations. Such scholars as Amitai Etzioni and Donald Michael have stressed this importance in a socio-cultural context becoming increasingly large, complex, technological, humanistic, sensitive to the individual, and inescapably organized. Michael has insisted that we will need to understand a great deal more than we do about how organizations work.

2. This Section is divided into subsections headed General, Bureaucracy, Leadership and Management, Professions, and the Individual vs. the Organization.

Organizations, Institutions and Systems

3. Whitehead once observed that major advances in civilization are processes which all but wreck the societies in which they occur. Presumably, they concurrently all but wreck the society's institutions and organizations as well.

It is conventional to look back on less sophisticated communities with nostalgia (by those who never had to live in them). Sometimes nostalgia is mixed with analysis, as we study the encroachment of complex civilization on social institutions. It has been a long time since large organizations began to replace the family, the neighborhood, the community, and even the church; to be sure, we cannot yet visualize their fully replacing such well-established agencies of society.

One stimulus, however, was that the old community was not as idyllic as usually pictured, whether in reference to Pueblos, Samoans, medieval city, European rural village, or American small town. One paid costs to belong to old community: conformity, hierarchy, lack of privacy, and sheer dreariness. Modern man cannot tolerate the traditional type of community. He has become too liberated, too used to independence, privacy, and variety.
Modern organizations perform a number of non-work-related functions that used to be community functions. For example, in education: one-third of all the education performed in the United States is accomplished by work organizations. Other functions, like alcohol rehabilitation and vocational training, are far more successfully done by large organizations. Most modern organizations do not involve round-the-clock association, which modern man cannot endure. He demands security and serenity, combined with challenge and change. Warren Bennis suggests that the modern work organization seems to be the institution most capable of providing what modern man most desperately needs: shelter without walls. (BB29)

4. Alvin Toffler observes that bureaucracy, the very system that is supposed to crush us under its weight, is itself groaning with change. The kinds of organizations that critics project unthinkingiy into the future are precisely those least likely to dominate tomorrow. We are witnessing not the triumph, but the breakdown, of bureaucracy, and the arrival of a new organizational system that will increasingly challenge, and ultimately supplant, bureaucracy. Toffler calls this organization of the future "ad-hocracy." (BB355)

5. In 1965, Warren Bennis forecast that in the next 25-50 years we would participate in the end of bureaucracy as we know it, and in the

Potential Impact

This section presents a comprehensive array of analyses and predictions of current and future changes in organizations. The great majority of them will impact on the Navy's organization in direct, straightforward ways consistent with the data's predictions of impact on all large, complex social organization. There is no need to repeat in each instance that the cited change will also impact on the Navy. Nevertheless, various specific impacts are singled out for emphasis or special analysis in relation to Navy organization.
rise of new social organizations better suited to 20th century demands of industrialization. The prediction was based on the evolutionary principle that every age develops an organizational form appropriate to its genius, and that the prevailing form today — the pyramidal, centralized, functionally-specialized, impersonal mechanism known as bureaucracy — is out of joint with contemporary realities.

This breakdown of a venerable form of organization so appropriate to the 19th century conditions is caused, he argued, by a number of factors, but chiefly the following four: rapid and unexpected change; growth in size beyond what is necessary for the work being done (for example, inflation caused by bureaucratic overhead and tight controls; impersonality caused by sprawls, outmoded rules, and organizational rigidities); complexity of modern technology, in which integration between activities and persons of very diverse, highly-specialized competence is required; and a change in managerial values toward more humanistic, democratic practice. (BB233)

more so than most social institutions. The general dynamics of social change contains both positive and negative implications for the Navy's future organization. On the one hand, the trend for the individual to expect social institutions to provide more and more services for him will project into the future an overall Navy responsibility towards its people similar to the Navy's traditional role along those lines. On the other hand, the increasing emphasis on the individual's autonomy, his right to participate in decisions which affect him, and the availability of more channels of recourse and alternative choices will loosen up many aspects of Navy organizational style, including previously paternalistic aspects towards its people.
6. Gross asserts that any social-system structure consists of (1) people and (2) non-human resources (3) grouped together into subsystems that (4) interrelate among themselves and (5) with the external environment and are subject to (6) certain values and (7) a central guidance system that may help to provide the capacity for future performance. (BP165)

7. Another approach relevant to the concepts of organization and institution, is the concept of system, which has had pervasive impacts throughout organizational theory. Professor Russel Ackoff has described the concept as one evolving during the 1950's, based on groundwork laid by Ludwig van Bertalanffy. Considering a large organization, such as the Navy or Westinghouse, as a system, one postulates that a system is a set of interrelated elements or entities.

No element of the set has an independent effect on the whole, and every element has some effect on the whole. No subsets can be divided independently of the whole. Parts may be themselves systems, but not independent of the whole. The basis of the concept is synthesis, not analysis. Even though there is achieved the best possible performance of each part of any system, these seldom add up to the best possible performance of a system as a whole. When a whole system is operating as well as it can, its parts seldom are operating at their best, relative to their objectives. The relationships between parts are as critical as the performances of the system parts. (BP2)

8. Definitions of institutions are varied and not in agreement, but there is some agreement on what phenomena constitute institutions:

(1) A culturally-defined pattern of social structure.

(2) A complex of culturally-defined norms which regulate the role behavior of persons holding the various positions in the social structure of the institution.

(3) Cultural definition of physical objects connected with an institution. (BB141)
9. Institutions are distinguished from other types of socio-cultural phenomena by the kind of complexity or organization involved, and by the presence of built-in persistence mechanisms. (BBI41)

10. O'Dea analyzed five paradoxes of institutionalization:

An institutional complex may be viewed as the concrete embodiment of a cultural theme in the ongoing life of a society. To carry out any cultural motif, to give stability to social performance in conformity with any theme, requires that its content become embedded in the stable expectations of human beings. This process of reducing a theme or set of orientations to the expected ongoing activity of men is what is meant by institutionalization. It involves the elaboration of the relatively stable set of reciprocal expectations. These expectations often include definition of statuses and roles, goals and prescribed and permitted means, and articulate with important aspects of the culture and also of the personality structures that the socialization processes of the society have produced.

The great virtue of social institutions is that they provide stability, though at the price of spontaneity and creativity. (BB256)

II. Five paradoxes or dilemmas are involved:

Mixed motivation: The great strength of the institution is that it can ensure stability of performance by its ability to utilize both object-interest and self-interest elements of motivation. Paradoxically, this can be its Achilles' heel, for self-interest often comes to prevail and brings a slow transformation of institutional aims and goals.

Symbolic: Eventually, the "symbolic transformation of experience" may become alienated from the living experience of the living adherents.

Administrative Order: Overelaboration of procedure eventually places procedure in the forefront, making it dysfunctional for the institution's real purpose.

Definition: Rules, however elaborate, cannot make explicit all that is implied in the original insight; yet concretization of the ethic is essential to its operationalization. Eventually, the letter may subsume the spirit for which
the institution was founded.

Power: In early stages, acceptance by tenants or members must be voluntary and must involve interior turning, or conversion. In later stages, coercion takes over from conversion.

All five are varied expressions of the problem of spontaneity vs. stability, creativity vs. continuity. (BB256)

12. One definition of "institution": a "social subsystem in which people interact according to implicit or explicit rules of behavior—sometimes using artifacts or facilities..."

Each institution functions in a larger environment determined by superior and other institutions in its proximity. Thus, there are five major components: people, rules, goals, artifacts, and environmental interfaces. Technology and social changes are affecting all five.

An organization builds group identification in several ways: e.g., rituals, uniforms, songs, mottoes, codes. It attempts to meet the individual financial, professional, and emotional needs of its members. Max Weber pointed out that organizations gain loyalty by controlling the actions and socializing their members into a culture. Anthony Downs says that organizations sometimes create ideologies to strengthen cohesion, fortify positions, and prolong their existence. They achieve success to the extent that they induce members to think of themselves in organizational terms and to shape their attitudes and actions to the needs of the organization.

This creates problems for society: the thicker the wall around an organization, the less aware and responsible is the organization to the society it serves. It may set conflicting goals; it may contest with other organizations and waste resources or it may insist on retaining functions after they become dysfunctional to society. In addition, organizational identification and solidarity may eventually become counterproductive for the organization itself.

Note police, military organizations, and religious orders; each may present a common front but be seething cauldrons of internal conflict. Minority groups may be the same.
When an organization gains a sense of unique distinctiveness, it tends to lose a sense of perspective; an overdose of organizational identification damages self and community.

The Administrative Revolution is opening these up, making the procedures and goals of organizations more consistent with those of the community, more in step with social forces of the times. The Planning-Programming-Budgeting System forces consideration of the total environment. Clientele-involvement is another opening trend; for example, the New York City government at the beginning of 1970 was using over 32,000 non-paid volunteer assistants. Specialization is tearing holes in organizational agendas. MacGregor said that organizational needs will be less predictable in the future, making necessary a heterogeneous supply of human resources on hand for specialized but unpredictable needs. There will also be an ever-increasing use of consultants, not only for their knowledge, but also for their detachment. (BB29)

**Potential Impact**

The Navy, like all important organizations, will find it increasingly difficult to achieve and obtain objectivity in those addressing themselves to Navy problems. Largely in protection of its own interests, the Navy will seek and prize to an ever-greater degree, objectivity and detachment.
13. Many, especially the young, are no longer content to be embedded in a corporation-determined culture and value system. They ask for a role on goal-setting, product lines, and actions affecting the community or the nation. Some consumer groups are asking for representation on boards of directors, in the public interest. In addition, the corporation's view of itself is changing. Formerly, its major goal was its own perpetuation. Profit was important as the measure of growth. Now jobs in private enterprise are appraised for social usefulness, opportunities for individual growth and self-actualization. (BM94)

Potential Impact

This trend exacerbates a basic dilemma that has always challenged public-service organizations; particularly: whether to give greater emphasis to the people who temporarily constitute the membership of the organization, or to the long-term spectrum of interests of a generation or more of persons, of whom only a portion constitute the membership at any one time. Perhaps this dilemma is most sharply felt at a university, where currently membership is relatively short-lived; but it presents itself to the Navy also. In the past, many decisions emphasized the long view of maintaining comparable conditions despite the passage of several successive cohorts through the organization. It appears that in the future, more emphasis will have to be shifted to the interests of current incumbents. This approach will tend to accentuate change as endemic. The 30-year man will probably see several substantial changes during his career, in aspects of the Navy that might in other times have remained stable.

14. Bennis stresses the importance of changes in organizational environment, such as in population, age distribution, and education.

Thirty years ago, about 12% of Americans got to high school, and
4% to college; now 80% get to high school, and 35% to college (50% in the cities). How affected by such change are human organizations? The dominant form, perfected in the industrial revolution was unique and durable: bureaucracy, used by universities, hospitals, voluntary organizations, government organizations. That form was developed in reaction against prior conditions, e.g., against personal subjugation, nepotism, cruelty, and capricious judgements. It answered needs for more predictability, more order and precision. But it has outlived its great usefulness.

Bennis predicts the end of bureaucracy in the next 25-50 years, and its replacement by new shapes, patterns, and models. There are two reasons. The first reason involves changes in population and knowledge; and, on the part of organizations, increases in self-awareness and deliberate, self-conscious examination of own behavior.

The other reason is collaboration between managers and scientists. There have been two historical positions of the academic toward the Establishment: rebellious critic and withdrawn snob. (The former position is illustrated by The Power Elite, Organization Man, Hidden Persuaders, Compulsory Mis-education, The Depleted Society, etc; the latter position was illustrated by Zuleika Dobson, Matthew Arnold, and European universities.) There has occurred a great change. In the United States there are now professors everywhere — in factories, fields, etc. They bring new concepts, of which MacGregor's Theory X and Theory Y were outstanding forerunners. They in-
volve a new concept of man, a new
concept of power (collaboration and
reason, replacing coercion and fear),
and a new concept of organizational
values, based on humanistic, democratic
ideals. (BMI2)

15. Donald Schon (one of these professors) has analyzed a number of
aspects of technology, change, and organization. One expression of new emphasis
which he advocates would encourage the organization to enable its people to
contribute their own potential for innovation; the organization should set a style
for doing this. The style should include the following:

a. identification of the interpersonal problems that stand in the
way of innovation;

b. challenge to the rational myths about work and organization,
and insistence on the relevance of feelings to the work at hand;

c. openness in dealing with the organization's taboos;

d. participation of subordinates in setting targets for accomplish-
ment, and toughness in determining whether targets have been reached.

An ethic of change entails compromise of the objective of stability.
A company, like an individual, has the problem of maintaining its identity during
the process of transition. Children growing up today face a future without a
"Promised Land." If they are to develop a sense of themselves and their own worth,
they will have to develop an ethic of change. (BB361)

16. Schon asks,

What would an ethic of change be like for American
society as a whole? Would it more nearly resemble,
for example, the appeals of John Kennedy or Lyndon
Johnson? In Schon's opinion, the pioneer norms preached
by Kennedy were more nearly norms for crossing the
desert; whereas Johnson's Great Society attempted to be
more nearly a vision of the Promised Land. The priority
of the process of discovery asks us to accept and seek out
change, as against calls to Return or Revolt. This eagerness in seeking out the new, after the change in technology, institutions and objectives of the last fifty years, affects all parts of the American society, such as the following:

- the Labor movement, whose old demands have been met and whose sense of being "against business" is losing vitality as a source of action, particularly because the Labor movement itself takes on more and more of the aspect of business;

- the business community, whose practice has long since outstripped its ideology, leaving that ideology in question;

- the agricultural community, and those who serve it, whose central function and central role in American life as carrier of norms for the society, is changing;

- the scientists whose allegiance to the value system of science as separate from and superior to that of the rest of society has been challenged by the un-get-overable interaction between science and the social system. (BB304)

17. In each important segment of society there are individuals who sense these changes, feel threatened by them, and appeal to the old objectives and norms. On the other hand, in each segment there are individuals who sense the changes under way and respond to the sense of excitement about the discoveries to be made. In American society, myths about the old value centers of rural life the little entrepreneur, the pioneer, the military hero, are gone in the sense in which we used to talk about them and act on them. Starting from where we are means starting without these myths but with the problems of self-worth and self-identity bred by the loss of "home town," "revolution,"
"business," "company" or "class" as a nucleus for identity.

What used to be stable divisions in our community are no longer stable:

- the division between education and work, and with it, the view of the young as learning and the old as established;
- the division between labor and business;
- the old regionalism;
- the old divisions between race and class and class;
- the division between the change-oriented outcasts (inventor, poet, therapist) and the stable society;
- the division between "good" creative private enterprise and "evil" controlling Government.

(BB304)

18. Starting from where we are means starting from the realization that these changes are real, and addressing ourselves instead to the new problems that come from recognizing the divisions as obsolete:

- the mutual problems of business and labor in coping with the significance for the firm of technical innovation;
- the new role for the university implicit in the need for occupational skills to be organized and reorganized several times in the working life of an industrial worker or professional man;
- the new regionalism which looks at economic regions, rather than states, as centers of responsibility for technical-economic development and seeks to build new business based on new technology;
- the development of new forms of partnership between business and Government, in which the climate of Federal policy is designed to encourage innovation. (BB304)
19. Bennis has specified five major human problems confronting contemporary organizations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Integration</th>
<th>New Conditions</th>
<th>Potential Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understanding of human needs and management goals.</td>
<td>Every one of these problem areas will challenge the Navy in its styles of leadership, management methods, handling of specialists and professionals, formation, and dissolution of management task forces, responses to technological and social change, and maintenance of equilibrium despite rapid turnover and change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>Professionalization and increased need for interdependence. Leadership too complex for one-man rule.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adaptation</td>
<td>Environment more turbulent, less predictable. Unprecedented rate of technological change.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Revitalization</td>
<td>Rapid changes in technology, tasks, manpower, raw materials, norms and values of society, good of society and enterprise. Constant attention to processes.</td>
<td>(BM12)</td>
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Management

20. There is increasing insistence on the relevancy and application of the social sciences to management studies. (BM91)
21. In 1965, Simon commented in The Shape of Automation that some management factors change, some not. One principal factor will be the substitution of machines for many human functions in organizations, especially routinized management, clerical, or production functions, but not problem solving or decision making. It is not required that system managers have intimate knowledge of all system details. Organizations will continue to be hierarchical in nature, but each step of automation will raise questions about unprecedented centralization of management authority. The basic structure will continue to be founded on production and distribution. Do science and technology exploit their opportunities and thus produce social change? Or does the reverse occur, i.e., do social needs and economic demands guide technological innovation? Actually, as Ayres responded in 1969, both occur. (BM43,95)

22. Various appraisals have been offered of one concept of comprehensive management planning: the Planning, Programming, and Budgeting System (PPBS).

23. Alain Enthoven feels that the techniques have been misunderstood, despite their high quality as management practices. PPBS assures that the men and material are where they are needed. It translates technical criteria into broader, more general criteria, and makes the factors and assumptions easier to understand. (BM69)
24. Held asserts that PPBS shifts the emphasis in the budget process from items or expenditures to the goals of programs. Problems arise because agencies may not want to make their long-range goals public. Reliance on PPBS is likely to grow, because PPBS is a powerful weapon for persuasion. (BM69)

25. Some appraisals of automation and its relation to management:

Blum insists that office automation reduces the number of clerical jobs at the lower and middle-levels and moves skilled clerical jobs to the managerial and professional level. (BM66)

26. Weddesburn - Convergence between blue and white collar work is likely, especially in the continuous-process industries. (BM66)

27. Blauner - Blue-collar work in continuous-process industries is non-manual. Workers have more responsibility, greater job security, and more freedom of movement; hence, they are less alienated. (BM66)

28. Chadwick-Jones agrees with Blauner, but finds considerable dissatisfaction arising from the boredom and monotony of the work, the need to do work in shifts, and the decline of social relations on the job. (BM66)

29. Klatzky - computers produce a "cascade" effect. They allow more decision-making authority to flow down the hierarchy, so that executives can have more free time for other decision making. (BM66)

30. Meyer - Centralization will not occur if the organization is flexible and allows for horizontal channels of communication and non-rigid chain of command. (BM66)

31. Rhee - Tensions may arise because of the expertise and autonomy of the new computer elite, and from the computer's need for greater worker accuracy. (BM66)

32. Some predictions about the impact of the computer on government:

. The computer may strengthen the top leadership, but weaken the bureaucracy.

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Power may come from possessing a monopoly of information.

The computer may enhance power at the top, and weaken the layers in between; but it may foster a closer direct relationship between leader and led.

Communications and coordination may devolve authority and responsibility to lower levels of government and society. (BM43,95)

Some Aspects of the Current Organizational Environment

33. Emmanuel Mesthene points out that in the future, whether the organization involved is part of government, business, private foundation, or whatever, society will become less tolerant of decisions and actions which have broad effects being taken or imposed unilaterally, whether by an individual tycoon of the old style or an organization of the new style.

Educational evolution has played a role in the decline of Organization Man. Much educational effort in the United States is sometimes cited as excessive; Germany and Japan are cited as having achieved technological growth despite lower educational levels than obtained in the United States. (This is somewhat deceptive, in that American mass education is lax; it is sometimes said that the average American college graduate would have difficulty in passing most European college entrance examinations.)

Potential Impact

Organizations which previously exercised a near-monopoly over certain functions will probably find their monopoly diffused at different levels, as various commissions multiply to represent regions of the public interest, and as "consumerism" rises to voice the citizen's interests in public-service activities, even military.

Potential Impact

This may become a delicate area in the search for quality manpower, when selection procedures for versatile persons clash with prohibitions.
tolerances measured in light waves. Furthermore, organizations want educated people even for jobs that do not require extensive schooling, because organizations need people capable of continually learning new things. (Note the conflict here with a recent court decision that it was discriminatory against minorities to set educational requirements for a job which exceeded the qualifications needed for the job itself.)

Industry appreciates education in general. For example, industry feels that a graduate degree is an indication of motivation and better-roundedness, no matter what field the degree was obtained in. Note that education changes the attitudes, and partly the self-image, of those who acquire it. They have more self-respect and demand more individual responsibility. They are also less tolerant of organizational restraints.

Education increases the degree of nonconformity in the individual, but increases his tolerance of nonconformity in others. This is supported by attitudes in research: More education means more tolerance, and more trust.

Education has furnished the main thrust for the Administrative Revolution, producing more and more individualism, less and less willingness to endure or function in coercive, conformist, and competitive conditions in

against setting qualifications for specific jobs which are discriminatory in their effects.

Potential Impact

Herein is one of the most difficult challenges: to increase education and utilize more educated people in the Navy, and at the same time to adjust personnel and organization methods to become more compatible with the more independent orientations of members who are educated.
organizations. (BB29)

34. Another related activity in which significant change can be foreseen is advertising, which is seen as declining in overall effectiveness. There has been a decline in direct sales personnel as a percentage of the labor force, due to rising costs, reluctance, low work satisfaction, family pressures, and new techniques (such as the computer). In larger enterprises and chain operations, it is more difficult to induce employees to engage in unscrupulous behavior (most, not all, consumer frauds are committed by small organizations); when a firm encourages its employees to "cheat" the public, it encourages them to cheat the firm itself, by endorsing that pattern of conduct.

In 1900, 80-90% of all salesmen were on commission only; now not over 20% are even predominantly on commission. There are new needs to understand products and learn new ones. There are still failures; over 80% of all marketed products fail. Advertising's heyday is declining and will continue to decline, for several reasons: a rising share of total expenditures are expended by government, which uses little advertising; the growth of the private sector's service industry (professions do not advertise); an increasing share of income goes to investment, not consumption; there are more educated, more sophisticated people; let's impact per ad — the more billboards there are, the less success each billboard achieves. It is relevant to note that G.B. Shaw once predicted that we would be cured of materialism, not by abstinence but by surfeit. (BB29)
35. Another significant change is increasing emphasis on the clientele of the organization, including the public organization. Government agencies may be mono-problemal; but people are multi-problemal. At the municipal level, there is more decentralization of local government to neighborhoods. The spirit is rising that a federal career executive should be just as much a representative of the people as a legislator. In the planning profession, "advocacy planning" has come into prominence. Changes are occurring in other countries. German officials are being adjured to handle the public with patience and good humor. Even the French fonctionnaire is being encouraged to build "concertation" and harmony. Clients now want more than a hearing; they want a voice in the running of any agency that serves them. There is a mushrooming "para-professional" movement using clients working part time to help realize the agency's objectives. Pedagogically and psychologically, these often have special effectiveness; e.g., the best way to rehabilitate offender A is to have him help rehabilitate offender B. (R829)

Potential Impact

The Navy and the other military services have always been deeply conscious of their justifications as public-service organizations. Still, many factors (relative isolation, for one) have militated against widespread public realization of Navy attitudes in this relationship. As all public organizations undergo reorientation to increase their demonstrated awareness of being agencies in the service of the citizenry, the Navy will doubtless develop opportunities to participate in the same trend.

Potential Impact

The paraprofessional movement may generate opportunities for the Navy, not only in the development of more apprentices and other less-than-professional assistants for specific specialists, but also for more individuals and groups who are "auxiliary oriented" toward the Navy, especially among the young.
36. Some clients become partial administrators themselves; e.g., residents of housing units do the administration for the sponsoring agency. Even the police are forming special auxiliaries (e.g., black patrols to help maintain order in ghettos in crises).

Barnard, in The Functions of the Executive, emphasizes that the organization's survival depends on contributions, not just from its employees, but also from its clients and constituencies. (BB29)

37. An example of the shift of a public agency to a client orientation was provided in an October 1971 account in the New York Times. Dr. James R. Schlesinger, the new Atomic Energy Commission Chairman, told the nation's nuclear industry tonight that the agency's role had suddenly shifted from promoting atomic energy to protecting the public interest in nuclear affairs. In charting a radically different course for the Commission's civilian activities, Dr. Schlesinger told the nation's two main nuclear groups. 'You should not expect the A.E.C. to fight the industry's political, social, and commercial battles. The A.E.C. exists to serve the public interest.' (BN388)

Potential Impact

The Navy may find it expedient to seek allies among civilian organizations, institutions, and agencies, as one means of refurbishing the image of the Navy in these anti-military atmospheres, but also in maintaining a desirable image for the long haul. It will be particularly important to do so among groups who help influence the young, such as high-school teachers, high-school counsellors, youth group leaders, and the producers of the media which influence the young. Large areas of potential allies include the fields of education (especially secondary education), church, parents groups, publishers, industry, and groups devoted to cultural activities. A pro-Navy orientation need not be sought, only the absence of an anti-Navy orientation. The advantages of involving many to a moderate extent, versus the advantages of involving a few to a deep extent, should be explored.
Another source of comments:

Our age has been moving toward a new pattern, blurring distinctions between public and private bodies and encouraging more cross-participation in both by their employees and members. In Europe co-determination not only has involved profit-sharing but has increasingly led to participation in policymaking; pressures in the same direction are clearly building up in the United States as well. At the same time, the widening social perspectives of the American business community are likely to increase the involvement of business executives in social problems, thereby merging private and public activity on both the local and the national levels. This might in turn make for more effective social application of the new management techniques, which unlike bureaucratized governmental procedures, have proved both efficient and responsive to external stimuli.

Such participatory pluralism may prove reasonably effective in subordinating science and technology to social ends. (BB54)

39. To some extent, there is a convergence of public and private organizations. Income inequality is shrinking. In the United States, the proportion of national income allocated to wages has risen steadily for fifty years (70% in 1963); with the work force, there has been a dramatic growth in the proportion of professional employees, which suffer less of an income gap with managers; in addition, there has been a continuing tendency for the managerial salary structure to flatten; finally, public employment is rising faster than private employment. Potential Impact

Convergence will affect many aspects of Navy organization and personnel systems. Comparisons and contrasts will occur with increasing frequency with methods and innovations in civilian organizations concerning pay, benefits, training, classification, evaluation and selection procedures, systems of reward and punishment, elimination of discriminatory provisions affecting minorities and women, and other related aspects of personnel administration, contracting, public relations, etc. In some, the Navy
will welcome innovations. In others, the Navy may have difficulty in explaining why differences must be maintained. In general, however, the overall trend will be toward convergence in such activities.

may earn 50-60 times his secretary's salary. (BB29)

40. Other evidences of public-private convergence include the fact that the proportion of the GNP for public goods has been rising from 7% in 1923 to almost 67% in 1970. The tax structure is becoming more progressive. The United States reach conclusions similar to the Japanese, French and British, relative to administrative convergence. (BB29)

Some Varieties of Organizations

41. The role of independent research institutions, profit making and nonprofit, will be greatly enlarged and their ties with both factory and campus strengthened to furnish three kinds of services: (a) basic research involving full-time work, large teams, or long-term efforts, or requiring substantial engineering support or unique, expensive facilities; (b) the conduct of applied research, technological development, or proprietary work for government and industry; (c) the provision of technical advice, information, and managerial services in connection with discrete, minor problems, as well as massive enterprises requiring the co-ordination of many organizations and disciplines in a 'system' approach to the solution of complicated technical problems. (BP416)

42. Intellectual institutions may be destined to replace older industrial organizations as the primary innovative forces in American society. This is an open-ended question of great import-

If knowledge institutions were to supplant industrial organizations as the most influential institutions in future American society, the Navy will
ance. Such institutions may form part-nerships or mergers with businesses.

There will be more of the population in education, in post-graduate education, and in re-education. State university systems and prestige universities may double in size. Some of the distinction enjoyed by private universities will decrease because of their dependence on public funds. There will probably be lateral movement among government, research centers, and knowledge centers. (BM34)

43. Baldridge envisions two models for the university, the bureaucracy, and the collegium; he asserts that they are both inadequate. What is needed is a political model, for the university is now a composite of interest groups holding divergent values; under certain conditions, these become pressure groups. (BP345)

44. George Kozmetsky distinguishes between "routine" and "non-routine" organizations. The latter grapple most frequently with one-of-a-kind problems. He cites statistics to show that the non-routine sector, in which he brackets government and many of the advanced technology companies, is growing so fast that it will employ 65% of the total U.S. work force by the year 2001. (BB355)
45. Davidson says that the engineering profession, economists, and management specialists have fallen into the trap of consenting to issue pronunciamentos on matters beyond their knowledge and scope. Teams for feasibility studies, for example, should be interdisciplinary and inter-professional and should include not only specialists (that is, people who do not have to live with the impacts of their recommendations) but also the very involved persons whose authorizations are indispensable, if a program is to go forward.

It is time to get away from the exaggerated purity of the "think-tank" and attempt that synergistic mixture of knowledge and power of "thinkers" and "decision makers" which Harold Lasswell calls the "decision-seminar." Socio-technical systems are seen to be heavy on the "socio." (BP89)

46. Once goals are assessed and selected, and their feasibility determined, we confront the strategic problem of properly marshalling resources to accomplish concrete programs and projects — in a word, "macro-engineering."

Our society, which produced the Manhattan Project and the Apollo Program must now learn how to choose and carry out equally vast undertakings on an intersectoral basis (i.e., public, private, semi-private participations). Interdisciplinary, intersectral, international study groups would point us in the desired direction. Hence, we need more institutional assessment. (BP89)

The Future Related to Organizations: Predictions

47. Miller predicts that:

As our problems become greater and more complex, and our individual mental capacities do not, it
seems inevitable that even our most intelligent men will have to work increasingly in teams; no single member of any team would be competent to understand all aspects of the shared problem. This change is already beginning in some industries, especially those where technology has advanced too rapidly for management to exploit it effectively without new forms of co-operation among technically trained personnel. These teams are assembled as needed and dissolved when their work is done; their transitory character threatens something of a revolution in managerial practices. This kind of co-operation — experts collecting around each important new problem and then moving on when the problem is solved — has been slowly developing for many years in scientific laboratories. We can expect to see more of this co-operation in the future, in laboratories, universities, industries, and government. (BP416)

48. Alvin Toffler is cited on another aspect of the same prediction:

A new kind of institution is needed, formed for a specific purpose and enduring only so long as it is needed; punningly, Toffler calls this organization of the future "ad-hocracy." He envisions social and future assemblies within nations, cities, and even neighborhoods that would convene to establish an order of priorities for dealing with present and prospective social problems. These town halls of the future would constitute not only participatory but also anticipatory democracy.

Toffler's ad-hocracies would thus serve a twin purpose: they would permit men to anticipate change and therefore control it, at least in part; and they would restore to an ever more anonymous citizenry a sense of taking part in the shaping of the future. (BP97)

49. Bennis foresees a number of conditions which will influence organizational life for the next 25-50 years:

- Environment: interpenetration of business and government; interdependence and turbulence on a large scale; rapid technological change.

- Population Characteristics: Education: 2/3 of each youth cohort in college; recurrent re-education of professionals; job mobility.
- Work values: More involvement, participation, and autonomy in work. More involvement with colleagues than with relatives.

- Tasks and goals: More technical, complicated, and unprogrammed collaboration of specialists in team or task force. Increasing concern with adaptive or innovative or creative capacity. More conflict and contradictions among diverse standards of organizational effectiveness. More independent individuals loyal to profession rather than to organization.


- Motivation: Organic-adaptive stress should increase motivation and effectiveness by enhancing satisfactions. Reduced commitment to work groups and group cohesiveness. More time spent experimenting with organizational mixes. Bennis considers work, not leisure, more likely to characterize the most desirable environments of the future. He emphasizes that, in view of social strains, psychological tensions, and ambiguity, the future organizational environment will not necessarily be a happier time. (BM12)

50. One area of prediction involves the organization in education: although the Navy is already deeply involved in a number of educational activities, the scope and nature of its educational involvement will probably increase. Programs will probably involve a variety of approaches for different age and status groups in the Navy, for dependents of Navy personnel, and possibly for pre-Navy young people, individually and in groups.

51. In-house advanced degree programs geared to the work of the employees will be offered by many companies.

52. Company-sponsored educational programs will be opened to outsiders. (BM94)
53. Educational leave pay will be available to many employees whenever they choose to take such leave. (BM94)

54. Many companies will take over the job of education for employee family members (company-run private schools for children, particularly in areas where below-average school systems exist). (BM94)

55. Means stresses the value aspect. No organizations exist without a value system.

Some organizations are from the beginning really organizational weapons; their goals do not fit into the traditional value structure of Western ethics. They are organized to change the social order, to manipulate people and things, for the special purposes of the organization. In this context, organizations are not just to be described; they are to be judged. (BB225)

56. Kaysen argues that although this phenomenon has often been ignored, the corporation — through the market system — plays an important role in the process of value-creation. In an affluent society in which the challenge of producing consumer goods has been met, more attention should be paid to the production of such public goods as education and health. Moreover, the corporation should become more concerned with the values it is creating. Thus, pharmaceutical companies should not ask will a new drug sell, but will it add something to medicine. Institutions of public, professional criticism should be developed. The university might be a model here. While universities compete for students, faculty, and funds, and therefore pay attention to what their 'markets' want, they also 'act within the boundaries of a strongly felt code of professional standards.' Some tempering of competition and of the reliance on pure market forces is needed. (BM70)

57. A Delphi survey on effects on American values by 2000 AD concluded that massive automation in commerce and industry (including management) will place increasing emphasis on the American values of physical well-being and comfort, economic equity, and leisure, and decreasing emphasis on economic security. (BBI6)
58. Attacks on Big Business, capitalism, the profit motive, the alleged social irresponsibility of industry, etc., are endemic in American culture (BN377). One such recent work cites a letter from Lammot duPont of E.I. duPont to Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, attesting to business selfishness in putting the profit motive above other considerations, especially social needs. (BN377)

59. Nevertheless, in general, it is expected that public confidence in and increased regard for private enterprise will continue at a high level. (BM94)

60. Many changes are, as noted, taking place in corporations. For example, the Xerox Corporation has set up a program in which its employees will be granted up to 12 months leave of absence at full salary to participate in a social-benefit program of their own choosing. Some examples of the programs chosen so far are drug addiction, civil rights, literacy, penal reform, and electoral reform. Partisan politics are not included, and all activities must be legitimate. Xerox has a past history of being a leader in social-action programs. (BN350)

61. Warren Beznis suggests that, along with the social consciences that American corporations developed to cope with racial and environmental problems, they should institutionalize "social gatekeepers" or "intersitial men" (and women) who would, through their actions, help to establish means for the continuous monitoring of social and cultural change, at least to an extent comparable to which
varied contacts and interests, keep tabs on change. Bennis notes that this "gatekeeping role...is absolutely vital to the evolution of organization goals," that it is "vital for corporations to remain sensitive to social change." (BN196)

62. Lest corporations not develop consciences sufficiently acute themselves, there will be an increasing number of vigilante agencies to check up. Corporate social concern is the focus for a new quarterly Business and Society Review. Besides articles, it contains a "corporate performance roundup," rating specific corporations on social issues. The first issues also included articles identifying roadblocks hampering blacks in business.

The concept of a controlled-circulation magazine supported by recruitment advertising from big business was thought about by three candidates for master's degrees in business administration at Harvard. MBA Enterprises resulted, and MBA Magazine was produced out of weekend energies in 1968, when some companies could not understand why their job offers were not being accepted. Dr. Sonnwald, a founder of MBA, stated, "It had become apparent that this generation looks for something more than a pure job. It has social concern. It is questioning."

The sponsors, who have instigated similar magazines for young lawyers and young engineers, estimate that there is a market of about 1/2 million persons between 22 and 40, who are attending graduate or professional schools, or who graduated within the last 10 years. (BN279)

63. A transformation may develop with respect to business activities in a postindustrial society. A smaller percentage of people may be engaged in business, and the very success of private business may make its further successes seem less exciting and dramatic. While businessmen will probably continue to be deeply occupied with their affairs, the issues of finance, investment, production, sales, and distribution that have so long
been dominant concerns of so many Americans and Europeans will very likely dwindle in interest. American industry has already been concerned about its declining attractiveness for college graduates, especially for the most intellectually gifted segment of the group, and there may eventually be a general lowering of business morale. (BBI70)

Industry will be pressured to give more economic support to a number of social-benefit programs, including programs rectifying problems created by industry itself, such as water pollution, air pollution, etc. (BM94)

64. Reinhold observes that law is a useful tool in controlling and assessing technology; for the courts tend to hold corporations responsible for the social costs of their technology, or total-systems effects.

Professor Tribe (Harvard) suggests four types of legislative interventions: modification of economic incentives, through damage liability and taxation; direct government control of certain technological decision making; changes in the structure of government agencies; and redefinition of personal rights. (BN421)

65. Braybrooke contends that when private needs are met, private "managers" will turn to the production of public items, thus indicating a value shift toward "the public good." These goods would in many cases be novel items; e.g., packaged systems for community-wide air purification, recycling systems for disposing of trash, or versatile neighborhood recreation centers. In this sort of market, private corporations would have to concern themselves with public requirements, representing a shift, in that now, although private corporations do government business, it is the government that conceives and designs the public goods. In the change envisioned, the private sector would take initiative and responsibility; the government would no longer plan and organize everything in the public sector. (BBI6)

66. A number of views:

Bay - We should replace 'Thou Shalt Obey the Law' philosophy with the old concept of citizenship, 'Thou shalt be just to thy fellow man.'
Stone - "On-demand" information will allow instant feedback to government on public opinion; consequently, there will be an increased need "of safeguarding the American public, especially its many minority subgroups from the passions of the popular majority."

Marshall - Calls for establishing an ombudsman to evaluate the quality of federal decision-making, and be concerned with the completeness of the analyses that lie behind decisions and with the competence and integrity with which the new esoteric decision-making techniques are used. Professional societies should also keep closer watch on the quality of government "experts." (BB363)

67. Alshuler - We must formally approach de-bureaucratization, ways of phasing-out obsolescent programs and of reducing the bureaucratic command, and red-tape components of those programs that are still functional. A serious question is: how can the implementation of collective goals in non-bureaucratic ways be structured more effectively? One vital component of the answer may prove to be carefully structured disaggregation of the planning function. Altshuler urges that planning for de-bureaucratization should be the central responsibility of a special

Potential Impact

The Navy can probably expect greater intervention by citizen and watch-dog groups wherever Navy activities impinge on communities or the public domain, especially in conservation, pollution, waste-disposal, water resources, public waterways, and other interfacing activities.

Potential Impact

Navy activities concerned with avoiding duplication, reducing paperwork and similar aspects of bureaucracy, and phasing-out obsolescent activities will probably grow in scope and importance during future periods of unrelenting ferment and change.
planning staff.

Whenever possible, public regulation should be probabilistic rather than strictly deterministic, e.g., it should operate by affecting the structure of incentives, with an eye toward achieving aggregate results. (BBI04)

68. Decentralization should be another focus of attention. Power tends to flow to those institutions which are perceived to be competent to perform the functions that society accords highest priority. Decentralization requires increasing the competence and resources of small units of the system. In this process, individual human abilities, attitudes, and relationships may matter more than formal organization.

Ewald undertakes to summarize a number of recommendations:

(1) Expand programs for gathering data systematically and periodically about the quality of life — say, to a scale of about $70 million per year. These programs should produce information about the distribution of knowledge and skills among the population, the distribution of values and attitudes, and the allocation of time.

(2) Through these information-gathering programs, develop a rich set of measures of the quality of life that can be used for assessing important longitudinal trends in our society.

(3) Set as the main goal in improving our social-information system providing the information that will be most useful for behavioral and social research aimed at broadening our understanding of social structure and process.

(4) To reach this goal, train research personnel at a rate of at least — 5,000 Ph. D.'s per year, and support basic social research at a level of at least $1 billion per year.

(5) Intensify current activities to solve the technical problems of giving effective social science access to the files of operating data that exist in our society, while protecting personal privacy. In particular, privacy can and must be protected without losing the information that would make longitudinal studies possible.
(6) Support research to reduce the dependence of planning efforts on impracticable attempts at predictions by improving techniques for sensitivity analysis and by developing systems models for predicting from key technological factors to their social consequences.

(7) Train 50,000 to 100,000 professional personnel per year with broad competence in applied social science.

(8) Reintroduce research on the theory of design and the teaching of design, as core activities in the professional schools that will be concerned with social policy and social planning as means to this, give high priority to exposing several thousand students and professionals to current knowledge and developments in the theory of design and intelligence.

(9) Intensify the research effort devoted to understanding the processes of information diffusion, including the ways in which new information becomes credible. (BB104)

69. Norman Cousins asks: How do we organize to achieve change? It is distressingly easy to subvert laudable projects with wrong machinery. Until we have a far more precise notion of how we can go about achieving the changes we want, we may only be creating new and more intractable problems.

Clearly, our present institutions are ill-equipped to smooth the process of change. Large-scale, hierarchical organizations matched our needs as we grew into a nation of abundance. As John Kenneth Galbraith pointed out in Countervailing Power, the formulas adopted by successful corporations were transferred to unions and then to government. In their earliest days, many of these corporations were infused with a spirit of innovations and adventure; what got transferred, however, was a deadening system of organizational charts and rigid routines that are incapable of the flexibility and responsiveness now required to effect change. That is why so many individuals today choose to work outside, or around, established institutions — at community-run day care centers, storefront law offices, free schools, and neighborhood clinics. Enough people have taken seriously the phrase 'participatory
democracy' so that a major new category of institution appears to be in the making, a kind of public lobby composed of groups like John Gardner's Common Cause, environmental protection organizations like the Sierra Club, and consumer movements inspired by Ralph Nader. Even within corporations there is growing evidence of a new awareness of social responsibility. This awareness is still embryonic, and it is often pursued more for cosmetic than for genuinely altruistic reasons. But at least these great organizations are beginning to acknowledge that their sole reason for existence is not merely to maximize their profits. (BP384)
BUREAUCRACY

1. In a discussion of bureaucracy, it is helpful to recall that the development of the concept of bureaucracy, as used in sociology, is linked closely with Max Weber. Essentially, the term refers to matters of social structure, which superseded earlier less efficient structures, as Warren Bennis explained in the preceding section. However, the term bureaucracy has come to mean primarily governmental bureaus, with emphasis upon rigid procedures and red tape. (BB34)

2. Max Weber put administrators into three categories: the charismatic leader; the traditional; and the bureaucratic. He claimed that the bureaucratic administration is the best and most efficient; it allows for continuity, discretion, unity, strict but impartial subordinates, the reduction of friction, reduction of material and personnel costs, and a knowledge of the files. (BB29)

3. Means has analyzed Weber's interpretation of bureaucracy.
   In one sense Weber's concept of bureaucracy — what he called a "constructive type" — is an abstract description of a particular form of human organization. For Weber, true bureaucracies have, among other characteristics, the following aspects:
   (I) The actions of individuals making up the organization are conceived as official duties, and each person within the organization is expected to carry out rather

   Potential Impact
   Despite the favorable image enjoyed by the prospect of dynamic social change in the future, the positive characteristics of bureaucracy cited by Weber are not likely to wither away in any large, complex organization that intends to maintain its institutional integrity and effectiveness.

   Potential Impact
   This discussion by Means underwrites one of the most difficult challenges for the Navy to cope with in the future: how to treat each individual in the organization with heightened perception of his individuality, and at the same time, maintain fairness and equal treatment as principles of personnel administration.
circumscribed tasks. In other words, there is a clear-cut division of labor. (2) The offices and duties of individuals follow the outlines of an administrative hierarchy where each person is responsible to someone else; perhaps the prototype of this kind of organizational structure is the chain of command in an army. (3) Authority, or one's control over subordinates, is strictly supervised and circumscribed by rules, generally written.

Anyone who has had experience with tables of organization, manuals of procedure, and the like, even for a small manufacturing company or for a government agency, will recognize how far bureaucratic procedure has gone in modern industrial society. In some cases, even securing a library card or registering in a university forces one, directly and sometimes painfully, to confront the existence of bureaucracy. (4) The emphasis in a bureaucracy is on written, formal, uniform procedures. This may have the virtue that in most cases people are treated alike. It also has the distinct possibility that a person will be treated as a mechanical object and given little personal consideration. (5) Persons within the bureaucracy they carry out their duties become "officials." They see their social position in the organization as a "career," and they become "professionals." This professionalism is not so much an "ethic or service," like the traditional idea of a profession; rather their "professional" devotion is to the organization itself.

Several aspects of Weber's analysis are very important in our context. First, Weber says the bureaucratic
style of organization permeates all aspects of Western social life. It is not confined to the government, it may be just as prevalent in business corporations, churches, labor unions and the military.

Second, the historical tendency is for bureaucracies to continue to grow, wax strong, and prevail as the chief form of social organization in a technological society. The reason is that they are highly efficient, at least in one sense. (BB225)

4. The problem will, however, always remain paradoxical, because bureaucracy by definition has the potential of smothering human differences, destroying resistance, and masking the objective value of the human beneath rules, regulations, and procedures. Still there is a vast difference between accepting the mechanical, extrinsic view of man and continually calling attention to the struggle between competing views of man as a machine or man as complicated mind. In short, we can always resist the dehumanizing tendency of bureaucracy. Machines do not have minds. Men do, and their minds can grasp in a rational and meaningful way the commitment to values, and the consequence of that commitment. (BB225)

5. One approach to bureaucracy used the "role" concept of bureaucrats to study how people accommodate themselves to the bureaucratic organization. The study divided people in organizations into four types: the functional bureaucrat - one who seeks recognition outside the bureaucracy, usually from his professional colleagues; the specialist bureaucrat - who is professionally oriented but also at least partially identified with his bureaucracy; the service bureaucrat -
who is oriented to his job and organization but preponderantly to the clients of his bureaucratic agency; and the job bureaucrat — who is identified completely with his agency — the company man — the organization man. (BP339)

6. Although the orientation of each is different from the other, their orientations may stem from underlying similarities in values, such as profit to the businessman, and prestige to the professional. (BB341)

7. The development of the American bureaucracy lagged, due to the chafing of Americans under formalized and systematized procedures. Some said that this showed the American democratic spirit; others said that it reflected the American disrespect for standards of equal treatment and a relentless quest for favoritism and preference. (BB29)

8. The tide began to turn against bureaucracy, first in the United States during the 1950's. This was partially sparked by the growing tendency of corporations to check into the employee's political and social life. (BB29)

9. Over the years, questions about bureaucratic life have appeared, and their criticism published. Boulding's work of 1953, The Organizational Revolution, claimed that human and ethical values such as freedom, justice, etc., ran counter to impersonal organizational power. This same theme found expression in W.H. Whyte's work, The Organization Man. Whyte stressed the belief that business organizations undermine freedom and the personality. Some of the critics of bureaucracy and organization overstate their cases. For example, instances occur in which the individual receives more justice inside an organization than outside it. In certain aspects of personal growth, organizations provide opportunities that do not exist outside them. In the future, the Navy and other organizations will need to refute certain criticisms and to be more explicit concerning the
of employees. In 1957, Chris Argyris’s book *Personality and Organization* raised the issue that there was a basic conflict between the needs of the individual, and the needs of the organization. He accused the bureaucracy of routinization. Bureaucratic neutrality retarded minority group advances. Further, he equated de-personalization with dehumanization. (BB29)

10. There is evidence of an ambivalent attitude toward bureaucracy. On the one hand there is a call for more efficiency within organizations, but on the other there is a fear of complete effectiveness. Barry Goldwater once said that "a government which is powerful enough to do all the things you want done would also be powerful enough to take it all away."

Richelieu is supposed to have insisted to his administrators:

"Above all, not too much zeal." (BB29)

II. As bureaucracy has grown, so have efforts to restrain its power. This is not a new phenomenon. In the 1920’s there were recurrent warnings of extensive bureaucratic power. In Britain, a book called *The New Despots* appeared: in the United States, a business journal urged that the United States civil service be kept ineffective, else it would become dangerous.

As the power of the administrative state has grown, so have grown restraints upon that power. The PPBS is one example of such restraints. The device of the ombudsman, originally a Scandinavian idea, is now being used in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and Germany, and in the United States itself, in the States of Hawaii, New York and New Jersey. Even in France, an administrative revolution is occurring, affecting even the *Conseil d'État*, in which the weight of procedure has shifted from favoring the government to favoring the
private citizen. (BB29)

12. In almost every field, there has been a growth of administrative law, almost entirely aimed at broadening the rights of clients, especially the right to a hearing. Interpretation of criminal law also has shifted to give greater protection to the accused and the suspect. Police and prosecution power has been curtailed. Sentences meted out as punishment to the guilty have tended to decrease in severity and corporal and capital punishment are disappearing. Police are attempting to change their image, placing emphasis on community relations. It is evident, then, that, as administrative power has grown, the rights of the citizen have kept pace. (BB29)

13. A real issue of these times, and one raised by John F. Kennedy, is how to manage an industrial society? It appears that the problem of capitalism vs. labor is fading; while the problem of the organization vs. the individual is rising.

At a conference at Syracuse University in 1968, Dwight Waldo, the "grand old man" of American public administration, spoke on bureaucracy. He stated that there was a growing consensus that old bureaucratic ideals had outlived their usefulness. (BB29)

14. The trend toward a re-examination of bureaucracy is not limited to the United States alone. During the mid-1960's the Fulton Commission in the United Kingdom criticized the British civil service along the same lines as those appearing in the United States. There is also evidence that this same sort of re-evaluation of bureaucracy is going on in Germany, France, and Italy. (BB29)

15. There is mounting evidence that the duration of man's organizational relationships is shrinking, that these relationships are turning over at a faster and faster rate as a result of the increased rate of reorganization and the increased use of project or task force management and temporary organization. The organizational geography of super-industrial society can be expected to become increasingly kinetic, filled with turbulence and change. The more rapidly the environment changes
the shorter the life span of organization forms. In administrative structure, just as in architectural structure, we are moving from long-enduring to temporary forms, and from permanence to transience. We are moving from bureaucracy to Ad-hocracy. (BB355)

16. As machines take over routine tasks, and the accelerative thrust increases the amount of novelty in the environment, more and more of the energy of society and its organizations must turn toward the solution of non-routine problems. This requires a degree of imagination and creativity that bureaucracy, with its man-in-a-slot organization, its permanent structures, and its hierarchies, is not well equipped to provide. Thus it is not surprising to find that wherever organizations today are caught up in the stream of technological or social change, wherever men must cope with first-time problems, the decline of bureaucratic forms is most pronounced. In these frontier organizations a new system of human relations is springing up. To live, organizations must cast off the bureaucratic practices that immobilize them, making them less sensitive and less rapidly responsive to change. Joseph A. Raffaele, Professor of Economics at Drexel, finds the result is that we are moving toward a "working society of technical co-equals" in which the "line of demarcation between the leader and the led has become fuzzy." (BB355)

17. There are certain evident trends in the study of bureaucracy:

(1) Spread and diffusion of the bureaucratic mode of organization of modern life.

(2) Growth of bureaucracy in government, business, education, unions and philanthropy, even research and religious organizations.

(3) Bureaucratic effects upon local community action.

(4) Another area of interest is communications, which are studied as means of making bureaucracy more efficient.

(5) The problem of leadership succession highlights problems of communication and consensus.

(6) Informal organization and its relationship to bureaucracy.

(7) There is a continuing interest in bureaucracy and its effects on personality. (BB341)
18. Perhaps the most important trend in research in bureaucracy is the emphasis upon dysfunctions, such as the "curse of bigness"; the relationship of government bureaucracy to democratic control; and the rigidity of bureaucratic structures.

There is also a trend in research toward case studies. Research has been done on the relationship between bureaucracy and professions. (BB341)

19. One aspect of bureaucracy may become sensitive in approaching years, particularly in bureaucracies in which key incumbents serve tours of limited duration — say, as in the military, 3 or 4 years. It is natural that many incumbents desire to show results and accomplishments effected under their aegis, during their terms. For several reasons, including personal career reasons, it is important to them that packages of notable work be completed while they are still in position to share in the credit.

One activity, among others, may be artificially constrained by this perspective: research and study extending into the future. All bureaucracies are torn between the heavy pressures to resolve immediate problems and alternative pressures, less urgent, to address (possibly more important) problems looming some years ahead. Increasing care must be given to the judicious selection of persons who share in decision-making about what problems will be studied and how an agency's research resources will be allocated among short-range and long-range problems. As time is compressed, and as the need increases to extend research efforts farther into the future, the selection of projects to be studied may be better accomplished by persons whose perspectives (if not their careers) are not constrained by the parameters of limited tours.

20. In discussing the 

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<td>Zalesnik's distinction seems non-viable. If &quot;minimum man&quot; is the one who wins, &quot;maximum man&quot; is evidently the one who loses. No organ-</td>
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"Minimum Man" seeks consensus. He is the bland bureaucrat, the coalition man, the one who realizes that in bureaucratic contests the least contentious win. President Nixon, Johnson and Eisenhower are classic examples.

"Maximum Man" holds strongly to principles, finds bureaucracy anathema, knows the keenness of joy and sorrow. De Gaulle is an example. (BN463)

21. George Berkeley sees the crumbling of hierarchy in organizations. He envisions the decline of the pyramid structure as represented by the staff and line divisions in the military. Berkeley bases this prediction on the growth of the professional. Part of the professional's value is the capacity to determine the necessary steps to achieve the objective; as professionalization goes up, bureaucratization goes down. There is a shrinkage of rules and regulations.

Berkeley projects that the new organizational form will not be a pyramid, but more like a sprawling loose circle, with loose clusters at the center. Those clusters will be uneven and of changing shape. The interconnecting lines will not be taut; and they will be constantly changing. (BB29)

22. Another source predicts that the bureaucratic organizational form will be replaced by an organic-adaptive structure, involving arrangement of groups on an organic rather than mechanical model. The evolution of organizational structures will thus be in response to specific problems rather than to programmed role expectations. (BM94)
LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

1. The authority structure within organizations is usually conceptualized as resembling a pyramid, with decision-making emanating from the apex and then being transmitted downward and outward throughout the various subordinate structures. Any organization, government, business, or military, relies upon some version of this hierarchial division of labor. This Section considers the nature of leadership and management as one factor within the total makeup of future organizations.

2. Today's administration must reflect the necessities imposed by size and complexity. In fact, there has been a general tendency to move tacitly away from a "presidential" form of power to a "cabinet" or team concept, with some exceptions (like Union Carbide) where team management has been conceptualized and made explicit. There is still a long-standing pseudomasculine tendency to disparage such plural executive arrangements, but they are on the increase. (BB233)

3. The studies of authoritarian leadership by Kurt L. Lewin and Ronald Lippit showed that authoritarian group leadership had a disintegrating effect on group structure. Authoritarian leaders took the initiative in starting new paths of action for their subordinates, gave commands without explanations, introduced changes in the pattern of work without consultation with their subordinates, criticized subordinates negatively without adding proposals for alternative actions, etc. This type of group leadership led to a higher degree of aggressiveness of the members toward one another and greater diversion of attention and

Potential Impact

The Navy and its sister Services yield to none concerning interest in, and never-ending study of, leadership. Emphasis has always concentrated, naturally, on leadership in the special circumstances of ships at sea and men in battle. Increasingly, a number of other leadership environments have and will become of intense interest to the Navy. Greater distinctions will be made, for example, between battle environments, and other Navy environments, including those involved in preparing for battle environments. The findings of modern psychologists, sociologists, and others

-309-
interest to objects and persons outside the group. A group under authoritarian leadership showed a greater tendency to pick "scapegoats" as objects of hostility, a lower level of interest in the work being undertaken by the group, less appreciation of the group's product, and a greater inclination to work individually and in isolation rather than to form a spontaneously and harmoniously working team with a generally accepted and approved division of labor. (BB316)

4. Shils says that the Lewin study also demonstrated that a group decision seemed to have established a sufficiently strong group goal to be accepted by the members in a way that overruled to a considerable degree personal tastes. (BB316)

5. In a search through the literature on leadership, power, and influence processes, Jacobs pays particular attention to the social-exchange theory of Homans and Blau, and the growing awareness in the Navy of the need for a re-interpretation, a better theoretical understanding, of the sociological and psychological bases of leadership in small groups and organizations. Jacobs focused on formal organizations and in the process reviewed over 1000 studies, experiments, and analyses. (BB340) Concerning business, industrial, educational, administrative, staff, and other environments will be of increasing relevance and interest to the Navy in seeking appropriate future styles of leadership.

Potential Impact

The review by Jacobs is seminal in this field. It is relevant that only limited linkage is validated between dynamics of leadership and lists of traits such as are found in military fitness reports (in this connection, also see the volume, "The Institutional Values of the Navy," produced as part of this project). The changing social context indicates the desirability of reaching new perspectives on leadership, even for the Navy and the other military institutions. Social exchange theory and
contract theory appear to provide two bases for new perspectives.

6. In 1910, Thomas Carlyle postulated the "great-man" theory, in opposition to the sociological theory of "cultural determinism," i.e., that the primary force for social change in history is the dynamic of society, which individuals merely articulate and organize. (BB161)

7. Over the next 40 years there were several independent developments. Prior to WW II there was great interest in identifying the personality traits of leaders. In 1933, Mayo studied the productivity of industrial work groups, and focused attention not only on the leader, but also on the group. (BB161)

8. Bird, in 1940, compared twenty studies, and isolated a total of 79 alleged leadership traits. In 1948, Stogdill surveyed 124 studies and found a great variety of traits involving a great deal of semantic confusion; he grouped personal factors around five headings: capacity, achievement, responsibility, participation, and status. (BB161)

9. Stogdill said that personal factors can indicate special competence in producing group movement toward group goals; but Stogdill identified one other critical factor: the situation. Stogdill maintained that leadership "traits" differed from situation to situation, and came to perceive leadership as the relationship between persons in a social situation, rather than as a combination of singular qualities. (BB161)

10. The importance of the "situation" in relationship to leadership was supported in a number of experimental studies. In 1949 Carter and Nixon gave a group of subjects three types of tasks: intellectual, mechanical and clerical. They found that the individual
who took over leadership in the mechanical situation differed from the leader in the intellectual and clerical situations. Hamblin's study of 1958 subjected a group to a crisis it could not handle. The group was firm in retaining their original leader until it was satisfied that he could not solve the problem; then the group replaced him. In almost every instance, the leader must make a definite, constructive contribution toward the group's goal.

II. In 1950 Sanford concluded that there are few general leadership traits, if any at all. Any analysis must include characteristics of the leader, the follower, and the situation.

Thus, relatively intensive study of leadership over forty years has failed to reveal any unique leadership qualities that are invariant from situation to situation. The traits that make a leader effective with one group in one situation may be irrelevant or counterproductive with another group or in a different situation. The success of an individual in a leadership role depends on him, the group, and the situation, and the group's perception that he contributes uniquely towards goal attainment important to the group.

Many of the past and current analyses of leadership are wide of the mark. At least in modern circumstances, most superordinates fail to lead because they are not open to counterinfluence attempts by subordinates. In present terms, they do not have adquate skills in social exchange. (BB161)

12. Douglas MacGregor was one of the most eminent innovators in leadership theory; perhaps his most famous innovation involved theory X and theory Y. MacGregor held that management by direction and control fails, that it is a useless method of motivating people whose physiological and safety needs are
satisfied, and whose social, egoistic, and self-fulfillment needs are pre-dominant.

(BB29)

13. The be-tough method fails, and the paternalistic "be good" method fails, also. What works, it is suggested, is self-direction. Self-direction is the core of MacGregor's Theory Y. Theory X is the old theory, which holds that people don't really want to work; they have to be pushed (and since this is believed, to a large extent, they have to be). Theory Y, on the other hand, holds that people really do want to work, and that it is by eliciting their innovative power, by "unleashing" them, they do more and better work, with less direction. (BB29)

Nevertheless, as something of a caution against assumptions that organizations may be almost able to do without leadership in the future, we cite here the account given by the same eminent organization theorist, Douglas MacGregor, in describing his personal struggle with the role of college president:

Before coming to Antioch, I had observed and worked with top executives as an adviser in a number of organizations. I thought I knew how they felt about their responsibilities and what led them to behave as they did. I even thought that I could create a role for myself which would enable me to avoid some of the difficulties they encountered.

I was wrong! It took the direct experience of becoming a line executive and meeting personally the problems involved to teach me what no amount of observation of other people could have taught.

I believed, for example, that a leader could operate successfully as a kind of adviser to his organization. I thought I could avoid being a "boss." Unconsciously, I suspect, I hoped to duck the unpleasant necessity of making difficult decisions, of taking the responsibility for one course of action among many uncertain alternatives, of making mistakes and taking the consequences. I thought that maybe I could operate so that everyone would like me — that "good human relations" would eliminate all discord and disagreement.

I couldn't have been more wrong. It took a couple of years, but I finally began to realize the a leader cannot avoid the exercise of authority any more than
he can avoid responsibility for what happens to his organization. (BS31)

14. A recent discussion of leadership by Army Brigadier General Hoefling was based on research by Dr. Frank Friedlander and Dr. Thomas E. Bier. Briefly, three basic behavior patterns challenge the military's capacity to weld them into a cohesive force: 1. the Establishment-oriented group who prefer a clear, disciplined organization and meaningful objectives and who work well with traditional forms of leadership; 2. a socially (popularity)-oriented group, who respond best to consultative, "democratic" styles of leadership; and 3. a rapidly growing personal-oriented group, who are self-centered and work well only under permissive leadership. These orientations cannot be expected to change, no matter how training or reasoning are applied. The overall leader will have to operate generally in the middle of the leadership range, with adaptations for the extremes.

The crux of General Hoefling's discussion is whether or not the third group can be useful to the military. He would not assign such persons to combat units, but to assignments in logistics, research and development, and similar areas. Since they are Americans who should have the opportunity to serve as well as anyone else, and since many of them possess highly-desired talents, he would prefer that the military find methods of using their services profitably for the organization and the individual. (BP190)

15. England applied his methodology to study of union leadership in the United States, and compared the results to the orientations of managers. These comparisons demonstrate differences in leadership traits when groups and situations are included in consideration.

The results of his study show that the primary orientation of union leaders appears to be moralistic. With respect to organizational goals, employee welfare and social welfare were the operative values of union leaders, and would be expected to influence their behavior. (BM46)
16. While union leaders are moralistically oriented, managers appear to be pragmatically oriented.

Several other distinctive contrasts between union leaders and managers were found. Blue collar workers and laborers represent operative values for union leaders, but weak values for managers. Owners and stockholders represent operative values for managers, but only weak values for union leaders.

For union leaders employee welfare represents the most important and profit maximization the least important among the organizational goals. For managers, however, profit maximization is most important and employee welfare least important. (BM46)

17. The results of this study show that union leaders and managers also differ significantly from each other in their personal value systems, but the two groups seemed to move through the concepts in a similar fashion. Nevertheless, differences are so large and varied that any similarities are likely to be overshadowed. England suggests that the fact personal value systems of union leaders and managers are different indicates that the two groups may approach various issues from conflicting directions. This does not necessarily mean that conflicts are irresolvable, because mutual dependence is a fundamental aspect of modern industrial relations. It was also found that pragmatic union leaders tend to occupy higher-level positions than moralists, suggesting that they may be

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Potential Impact

Study of the value systems should prove to be increasingly important to the Navy, not only in relation to differences in value systems among important subpopulations of the Navy (old and young, senior and junior, the Fleet and the Shore Establishment, etc.), but also in relation to continued monitoring of youth cohorts approaching periods of entry into the Navy.
18. The modern organization is placing increased emphasis on the task-force approach among small groups to achieve goals. This is disturbing to some, who regard it as downgrading to individualism and individual creativity, and who use terms like "committee solution," and "group-think." (BB29)

19. Berkeley extols group decision-making as stimulating and as releasing creativity. He says studies show that individuals in groups take greater risks and make better decisions than as individuals. Groups reduce responsibility and guilt if there is failure. (BB29)

20. Further, organizational leaders are turning their backs on administrative work. Administrators are not near the top of organizations, but have lower status.

Leaders are operating more as teachers than as directors, thus ruling out the need for manipulation, since there is less need to motivate people to work. New leaders are more tolerant of non-conformities. One study showed that the most successful leaders in organizations had "feminine" interests — interpersonal relations, while the least successful had "masculine" interests — aggressive and power-seeking.

New humanistically-oriented leaders are emerging in organizations. They are better educated (by 1963, half of the top managers in business had masters degrees, one-fifth had doctorates). They appear more ethically oriented; one 1965 study indicated that four-fifths had passed up some chance along the line for money and advancement. (BB29)

21. Many aspects of leadership have been explored. Several attempts have been made to find correlations, if any, between leadership
and birth order. There appears to be a positive correlation. It was found, for example, that birth order is related to men who achieve the presidency. To a remarkable degree, in periods of crisis (before or during wars), American voters elect first-born sons: 8 out of 9 first-born sons were elected president during crisis periods, William McKinley being the sole exception (his election in 1896 did not foresee the Spanish-American War, which erupted suddenly in 1898). (BPI61)

22. At the time the study was done, 52% of all Presidents had been first born sons, and 32% third-born sons (45% of all presidents have been from families with 4 or more sons). The single 4th-born son was Franklin Pierce, who was such an outsider at the 1852 Democratic Convention, that he did not receive a single vote until the 35th ballot. (BPI61)

23. This same pattern is evident in defeated Presidential candidates, successful and defeated Vice-President candidates, and in British prime ministers. Sixty-four British prime ministers were studied. In every instance in which a war crisis erupted while the government was being led by a younger son, he was promptly replaced for the duration of the crisis by a first-born son. (BPI61)

24. Erich Fromm and Robert Lane feel that greater individual independence means greater individual isolation; however, most men cannot bear isolation, or "complete" freedom. In the past, masses have not sought individual independence to an advanced degree, preferring to respond to the father image of the leader for protection, security, and guidance. In view of modern-day independence and autonomy, Fromm and Lane raise questions about how much response there is today to the father image.
The Great Man of business or politics is passing. The current example is now on solid management teams or specialist teams, as opposed to the charismatic leader who spurred his followers. Old-style followers were willing to lose their own identities and live vicariously through the leader. When the leader departed, the followers felt empty and bereft. (BB29)

25. One of the influential characteristics of the leader was thought to be intellect. Some recent findings are relevant. Jennings has found that the learning curve for managerial skills is such that 80% of virtually any job can be learned in 20% of the time it would take to learn the job perfectly. (BP216)

26. Academic scholarship may not have a bearing on performance in leadership and managerial roles; the Air Force has ended its Distinguished ROTC Graduate Appointment Program, stating: "Intensive studies have shown that there is no correlation whatsoever between scholarship rating and subsequent officer performance."

Hans Morgenthau implies that there is a distinction to be drawn between the intellectual's perspective and the reality of facts:

In the world of the intellectual ideas meet with ideas, and anything goes that is presented cleverly and with assurance. In the political world, ideas meet with facts which make mincemeat of the wrong ideas and throw the ideas into the ashcan of history. (BN539)

27. Yarmolinsky sees a distinction between the speculative inquiring world of the intellectual, and the actual reality of day-to-day problem solving. The demands imposed by decision-making make them less effective as intellectuals; and their intellectual backgrounds have not prepared many of them for the bureaucratic structures within which they may work.
"Once you become involved in action," Yarmolinsky states, "you are a less good question asker." He cites the case of Vietnam in particular. Even consultants found it difficult to ask basic questions challenging the premises on which policy was based. (BN539)

28. There are also a myriad of considerations in policy formulation which may never enter the calculations of advisers from academia: problems of implementation (bureaucracy), political realities, domestic problems, service rivalries, and upcoming elections. (BN539)

29. Leadership positions have been discussed by David Riesman. Many executives are at the top (or would like to be there) because they have the capacity to invent purposes for their organizations and only at the top can they employ this capacity. Others, however, have been forced by the success of their organizations to move faster into complexity of choice than they can psychologically endure. The pressure to discover a single goal, a single purpose, whether that of an institution or that of a nation, would seem partly to arise as the cumulative pressure of those men who are looking for a way to simplify their lives and to subordinate themselves to an apparently single destiny.

...what I have been arguing here is that as people rise in an organization or country, they come into positions where the quantity saved lower down, whether of time or of money or other resources, turns into quality and presents a problem in the making of more complex choices. The closer one nears the top, the greater the necessity appears for reconciling conflicting purposes. One of these purposes must inevitably be the purpose of each individual to sustain himself so that he can perform his main or principal purpose effectively and uninterruptedly. Obviously, when a leader or a group do not survive, they cannot perform other functions or discover other purposes — this is one of the inescapable dilemmas of existence. (BB286)
30. Advanced technology will have an impact on the nature of leadership. Routine activities, especially in such information-processing fields as accounting, inventory control, personnel records, etc., will be substantially automated, resulting in some technological displacement of personnel, especially at the junior and some middle-management levels. The design and operation of advanced business information systems will demand a new group of specialists not present today. (BMI44)

31. Donald N. Michael predicts:

There is every reason to believe that within the next two decades machines will be available outside the laboratory that will do a credible job of original thinking, certainly as good thinking as that expected of most middle-level people who are supposed to use their minds. Where does that leave the man in the middle management job? We assume he will go up because at any lower stage of economic activity, his efforts no longer have any value.

There's a growing awareness that the advent of the computer means more work for the manager, not less. It should expand the manager's responsibility, rather than shrink it. The quality of judgment, which the computer can't supply, will be even more urgently needed.

It will create the need for a new position for which the training will be strict and highly technical. It will require a new synthesis of studies. (BMI723)
32. The changing nature of leadership is indicated by the comparative ages of men in leadership positions, and by the channels by which they reached their positions. From 1964 to 1968 the average ages of men in the positions of board chairman, corporation president, and new officers was 59, 50, and 41; whereas from 1948 to 1953, they had been 63, 59, and 50 respectively.

More men who become corporation presidents do so after joining the corporation at a high level, rather than after working their way up through the ranks at one company. Fewer men who follow an inside route to the presidency do so by plodding along the straight upward path of the traditional insider. Instead they go around the edges. The largest number of officers are in the middle of middle management.

Most presidents of large corporations during the last 20 years spent no more than 3 years as salesmen, engineers, etc. or whatever they were when they joined the company. They remained managers for 10-15 years, changing jobs at least once every 2 years. The average future president moved laterally once for every 2 moves up; moved outside his own technical area once for every 2 moves within it, and moved geographically once for every 3 moves within the corporation.

The mobile manager never expects to complete a job, and he is prepared to depart soon after he arrives. He "maps" or assesses the demands of his new position, assigns priorities to them, and studies the differences between the skills he already has and the one that will get the new job done most efficiently. (BP216)

33. Finally a modern theory of leadership derives from social-exchange theories, and, in the form of a "contract theory," has proved of considerable interest to organizations, including military organizations. It holds that there is a
contract, partly explicit, partly implicit, between an organization and its members. The organization has numerous ways to articulate its understanding of the contract, whereas each individual has only limited means to express his understanding. At the sensitive interface stands the leader, with obligations to both sides, judged on his performance according to his success in simultaneously seeing to it that the organization's objectives are met and that the objectives of his people are satisfied. (BG62)

34. In this connection, the conclusion of Dr. Rensis Libert is pertinent and important: "people-oriented" supervisors get the job done far better than "mission-oriented" supervisors. (BPI90)
PROFESSIONS

1. All organizations have increasingly come to rely on the special skills and talents of the professional. Given the specialized training of these workers, they have come to be viewed as an important component group within any organization. However, just as their backgrounds have prepared them to deal with unique problems, it has also given them a distinctive self-image. This "aura" surrounding the professional has been the subject of many studies, which identify several factors apparently common to all professions:
   a. A potential conflict of interest between the professional and his client. The stress and strains of the relationship serve as a focal point for the analysis of the social process.
   b. Social control by members of a professional group exerted against inroads by outsiders (licensing, ideology, etc.).
   c. Defining the amount and kind of work to be done.
   d. Prestige. (BB341)

2. Parsons has said that the difference between business and professions is to be found in the institutionalization of reasons why bureaucracy and professions are usually linked together for discussion:
   (1) These two organizational aspects of the division of labor are becoming more and more important in American society;
   (2) The common and differential values that these two elements express toward their understanding of American society, as well as of modern societies in general;
   (3) Actual interconnections between the two organizational modes, as they are found operating jointly within the same organization or social structure. An example: Doctors (profession) operating in a hospital (bureaucracy). (BB341)

3. Tension arises in this relationship. Professionalization is rising, and professionals are vital to professional vs. the Organization have

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organizations. However, as Slater, Bennis, and others observe, professionals do not make good organization men. Professionals derive their rewards from inward standards of excellence, their professional societies, and the intrinsic satisfaction of their tasks. They are committed to the task, not the job; to their own standards, not to the standards of the boss. A study of various aspects of the brain-drain done in the United Kingdom substantiates these findings; the nature of the work is more important than money.

Bennis and Slater feel that it is futile and counter-productive to try to break this primary commitment to the profession rather than to the organization. (BB29)

4. Professions are as characteristic of the modern world as the crafts were of the ancient. Alfred N. Whitehead defines a profession as "an avocation whose activities are subject to theoretical analysis, and are modified by theoretical conclusions derived from that analysis." (BPS90)

5. All scales rating prestige of occupations rate professions near the top. (BP357) A cross-national study was done on prestige rankings:

The prestige accorded by popular opinion to comparable occupations is compared in six industrialized countries: United States, Great Britain, New Zealand, Japan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Germany. High correlations are found, indicating that the occupations are ranked in a relatively standard hierarchy, despite the cultural differences among the six nations. An interpretation is offered in terms of the universal features of the industrial occupational system and the centralized national state to be found in each nation. Variations
in prestige as between one country and another
center mainly about the agricultural and service
occupations. (BP205)

6. Many non-professional occupations are endeavoring to change
their manner of work, their relations to clients and public, and the image which
they have of themselves and others have of them, so that they will merit and be granted professional standing. Achievement of such status requires
orientation towards detachment (having no personal interest in a particular case while being deeply interested in all cases of the same kind); equilibrium between the universal and the particular (theoretical and practical).

An occupation which seeks professionalization will seek more independence, recognition, a higher place, a clearer distinction between those in the profession and those outside, and a larger measure of autonomy in choosing colleagues and successors.

Competition for status is accompanied by a trend toward prolonging professional training at both ends, at the beginning, by multiplying prerequisites for entry to professional school; at the end, by prolonging course work or apprenticeships. This trend is held in check because many of the would-be professions cannot offer enough future income and prestige to attract people early and retain them longer in school. Also, parents with less income and education press their children to accept security in middle-level occupations.

Potential Impact

The emergence of more and more staff and operational assistants as specialists will reduce the span of control by the line commander at each level. This trend may eventually en-croach on the sense of responsibility of commanders. The problem may become particularly frustrating in the situation unique to the Navy: the fighting ship at sea. Command situations may involve more negotiation-type relationship with subordinates or assistants who, as specialists, become more identified with roles as consultants or advisers. Possibly a professional specialty of the commander will emerge more sharply, but how that role would interact with a proliferating number of semi-autonomous professional specialists is difficult to foresee.
Once a recruit is chosen, however, he is cherished and becomes a professional man. (BP357)

7. The professional trend is a phenomenon of all highly industrial and urban societies. It is characteristic of modern times that work is done in institutional settings, often with capital goods which are not privately owned and with a great variety of people.

A profession delivers esoteric services — advice, action, or both — to individuals, organizations or governments. The nature of the knowledge involved is often a mixture of practical and theoretical, gained both by long study and by apprenticeship under masters already members of the profession (so it is claimed).

Professionals "profess" to know better than others the nature of specific matters and to know better than their clients what ails them or their affairs. From this flows many consequences: the claim to the exclusive right to practice the arts which they profess to know, and to give the kind of advice derived from their special knowledge. This is the basis of the license.

The professional asks that he be trusted, that the client tell him all secrets which bear upon the affairs in hand. He also asks protection from any unfortunate consequences of his professional actions.

Professionals not only learn their specialties, they help to develop them; for example, lawyers also develop the philosophy of law; social workers are concerned with social legislation.

The collective claims of a profession are dependent upon a close solidarity which, in turn, implies deep and lifelong commitment. A man who leaves a profession, once he is fully trained, licensed, and initiated, is considered something of a renegade. (BP357)

8. Professionals form an increasingly large segment of the work force. From 1945 to 1965 their numbers practically doubled, increasing from 6.7% of the work force to 17.3%; and the proportion is climbing. Increasing professionalism is reflected in the decreasing proportion of membership in labor unions. For example, in 1941, unions at North American Aviation covered 85% of the employees; in the
9. Interest in the study of professions appears to have been sporadic until the 1950's. Emphasis in the study of professions has centered around social-psychological elements in professionalization, the self-conceptions of the professional, and conflicts and stress emerging from changing status and from the development of a specialized group of persons wielding highly developed occupational skills. The notion of process — ceaseless change and adaptation — has been basic to developments in this field. (BB341)

10. Two modes of study have been used in examining professions. (1) The Natural History Approach studies the sequence of changes applied to any group undergoing professionalization. (2) The Functional Approach — This mode of study emphasizes the social structure of the professions. (BB341)

11. The familiar American concepts of the "organization man" and conformity within organizations noted by such diverse observers as Alexis de Tocqueville and Sinclair Lewis, are declining in American life. Several explanations have emerged:

(1) The emergence of the welfare state, which provides cushions; the individual is less dependent on a single organization for livelihood. In turn this curtails the power of organizations to control their members.
(2) The growth of unionism.
(3) Growth of public corporations versus private corporations; public service is, in general, more responsive to the public.
(4) Growth of the knowledge industries, which accounted for one-quarter of GNP in 1955, and one-half of GNP in 1970. For example, teaching is now our largest single occupation. (BB29)

12. Several other trends are related to the decline of the organization man: the growth of the importance of innovation in organizations, for example, with the resulting premium on people who think for themselves; a greater tolerance
for the eccentric personality; the increasing emphasis within organizations for internal co-operation; and the discouragement of competitiveness.

With the advent of specialization, authority rests more on expertise, which is more widely distributed than hierarchical authority. This situation by its nature, requires circulation of leadership roles in different situations which stress different expertise.

Both of the above trends render conventional classification more ambiguous. As duties shift in accord with changing leadership-expertise roles, classification is starting to disappear in some organizations. (BB29) Various functional enclaves within the Navy — such as educational, training, or research environments.

13. One effect on organizations has been erosion of organizational insularity. As professionalization increases, a greater part of the work force tends to be more loyal to the goals and standards of the various professions, and less committed to the goals and standards of the organizations in which the professionals work. Berkeley cites a General Electric "Report on Our Future Business Environment": "...it will become progressively easier for an individual to consolidate his prime commitment to his professional and/or his self-development, not to a single organization."

Another possible trend is an impulse toward wanderlust in certain types of professional individualists — people who, according to Peter Drucker, tend to get bored with their own knowledge in twenty years or so, and who set out for new work challenges, or even new careers. (BB29)

14. Organizations will feel the impact of many other trends in society related to professionalization. The strong emphasis on education tends to take members outside the organization for contacts. The former policy of many organizations to recruit from particular social, ethnic, or religious groups (e.g. focused diplomatic corps recruiting from the upper class) will be replaced by trends toward representative-
ness; the modern organization will be less likely to become the "captive" of any one group. The federal bureaucracy, for example, is already more representative of the American population than is Congress. Included in the trend of increasing representativeness will be the dropping of sex barriers in all organizations and professions. (BB29)

15. There is a growing interdependence of skills and knowledge. Problems today are multi-dimensional; areas of knowledge are less demarcated from each other; for example, organic and inorganic chemistry; psychological, physiological, and social sciences are using more of the same data. More organizations are opening up (e.g., public school, police, mental hospitals). One of the tightest still remaining, says Berkeley, is the military, although even glimmers of opening up are appearing in the military; e.g., partly civilian faculty at Annapolis; the Israeli armed forces, one-third of which are women, but which have no military hospitals (they use civilian hospitals exclusively). (BB29)

16. A Canadian has said that with invasion of public services by the intellectual, and the professional, and in view of the increased number of commissions, task forces, advisory boards, and councils, all mean "twilight for the civil servants." In an increasing variety of organizations, the employee today is better educated, more mobile, and less committed to the parent organization. (BB29)

17. In the fall of 1963 the professions were becoming triumphant, with 60-80% of college graduates planning to do graduate work, at a time when double the number of high-school teachers and triple the number of college professors were needed. Yet, up to this time, relatively little study had been devoted to professional organizations and the social, economic, and ethical problems involved. Despite what has been...
said above, there is a sense in which each professional usually moves in a narrow groove.

A number of aspects of professionalism require better analysis. For example, when the demand was larger than the supply, many colleges had difficulty enforcing their teaching standards. Whenever the practitioner is burdened with too much work, as frequently occurs today, existing professional standards are jeopardized. However, professionals have been no more willing than the general public to face up to such predicaments and have clung to rigid standards of professional training and have guarded exclusive rights of performance as if there were time to fulfill all responsibilities. Then, too, in the professions, prejudice against women remains "shockingly high."

While professional groups are stabilizing factors within society (for example, they have provided alternative channels of stable international communications), they also need to "liberate themselves...from monopolistic notions of who should do what job, and from narrow-minded conceptions of their obligations to the community at large." (BP390)

18. The possibility of the unionization of professionals is already quite real, as evidenced by the unionization movement of teachers. Unionized teachers in a particular New York City school have gone from 8 of 60 to 56 of 60 in eight years. Minority representation in this particular school was limited; two of the school's three black teachers were not union members. (BN379)

19. The National Federation of Teachers has asked all locals to seek, through collective bargaining, formulas

Potential Impact
The possibility of unionization of military forces is discussed elsewhere in this report, though not in connection with professional specialists. Whatever practices expand in professional societies in general will eventually confront the Navy.
which would require teachers to teach no more than 20 hours a week. Although teachers would be on the job 35-40 hours, the remainder of time would be spent in planning and preparation. It was hoped that this workload could be accomplished through increased use of paraprofessionals. (BN304)

20: In the field of medicine, Lesse and Wolfe maintain that:

In a group-oriented, automated society, it would appear that two general types of professionally trained individuals will be needed to care for medical needs:

1) Medical academicians — those trained primarily in the comprehension, expansion, and pragmatic application of the dynamic interrelationships between physioynamics, psychodynamics, and sociodynamics.

2) Medical technical experts — those highly trained for very specific, very limited jobs. (BFI3)

21. Among rapidly expanding professions are futurism and sociology. Large numbers of sociologists are now advising government and other institutions on social problems. It is significant to note that membership in the predominantly academic American Sociological Association has tripled to more than 13,000 members since 1955. At Princeton, undergraduates majoring in sociology have increased 7 times; throughout the country enrollments have doubled and tripled in sociology departments in the last 5 years. (BN469)

22. Sociology is changing, perhaps more rapidly than any other discipline. The field is generating a highly visible, adventurous and activist new type of scholar who respects no scientific boundaries, least of all his own, and who rejects the traditionalist's antiseptic analyses of how society works in favor of passionate prescriptions for its betterment. In an age of mass democracy and vast, impersonal institutions, it promises the individual a way to
regain self-determination. (BP300).

23. Many professionals are now following scientific and technical careers. With increased prestige, however, they are occasionally permitted to pass judgement in broad professional issues for which their technical training has not equipped them. (BM82)

24. According to Hughes, the ideology of the professional prefers a 2-party arrangement (professional and client); but this is not the prevailing arrangement, nor is it likely to be. For the employer, more professional (staff) people mean that orders will be questioned and rationales will have to be explained.

Hughes believes that between the extremes of private practice and a strictly organizational man will be the professional, who while working in an organization, has achieved a working relationship with colleagues and with "clients."

These developments will have significant international implications. Trans-nationally, organization structures will tend to resemble each other, no matter what the prevailing political ideologies of countries, as long as there is the same degree of internal industrialization. Underdeveloped countries, although lacking money and sophistication for balanced supply and demand, can take advantage of existing models. Thus, the newer countries will not have to pass through all the same stages of professional practice, organization, and distribution of service as America did.

However, cultural differences can mean that "universals" will have to be clothed differently if the local populaces involved will accept them (e.g., birth control).

25. A future projection predicts that by 1990 men will not be content to work in organizations they cannot affect. There will be greater diversity in the future. People who can afford non-subsistence activities will have greater personal loyalties to avocations and professions than to organizations. (BP383)
Dennis summarizes the potential impact of a professional's role in organizations:

Most organizations regard economic rewards as the primary incentive to peak performance. These are not unimportant to the professional, but, if economic rewards are equitable, other incentives become far more potent. Professionals tend to seek such rewards as full utilization of their talent and training; professional status (not necessarily within the organization, but externally with respect to their profession); and opportunities for development and further learning. The main difference between the professional and the more conventional, hourly employee is that the former will not yield 'career authority' to the organization. (BB233)
THE INDIVIDUAL VS. THE ORGANIZATION

1. The relationship between the individual and the organization goes beyond simple economic considerations. Involved are broader issues of personal freedom, dignity, responsibility, and life-style. To what extent, then, must the individual submerge his own attitudes and values to conform with those of the organization? Further, what is the nature of the relationship in terms of responsibility — the individual's responsibility toward the organization, and the organization's responsibility toward the individual? Is tension endemic in this relationship? These issues are as much philosophical as functional or economic in nature.

2. Robert Neville, in his review of B.F. Skinner's *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, argues that the fact that Skinner does not take freedom seriously means that his arguments against it are beside the point. The concepts of "freedom and dignity" are, for Skinner, consequences of environment. Neville argues that there is an interiority to man, that internal factors are just as compelling as environment. (BN, 79)

3. William F. Whyte, on the other hand, accepts Skinner's basic formulation: behavior is shaped by its learned consequences, positive and negative. Positive consequences (reinforcers) are generally more effective in influencing behavior. But, Whyte argues, Skinner's is a laboratory formulation. In the complexities of real-life situations, Whyte maintains that any adequate formulation must deal with the following:

   (1) The cost-benefit ratio and the social-comparison process;
   (2) The problem of conflicting stimuli, both of which are part of the environment;
   (3) The problem of lag and trust (it may be a long interval before effects occur);
   (4) The one-body problem (single-individual aspects may not govern; interactions among many individuals may be more important).

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4. Argyris, in "Personality and Organization," maintains that job satisfaction may be said to have a potential for occurring when a state of congruency exists between a need or motive of an individual and a demand or provision by his organization relevant to this need.

Propositions "proven" by the Farris Study are:

1. There is a lack of congruency between the needs of healthy individuals and the demand of the formal organization;

2. The resultant of this disturbance are frustration, failure, short time perspective, and conflict.

(BMS0)

5. These propositions from the Farris study are supported by a study done on scientists:

1. More than 60% of the scientists involved reported that their motives for self-actualization and status were greater than their organizations' provisions for satisfying them, and more than 30% reported incongruency affecting their social motives.

2. A pronounced tendency was found for scientists having high congruency to report a greater intensity of motivation (less "disturbance"). The scientists with high congruency tended to be willing to take risks and not to have a short time perspective.

3. With increasing status in their organizations, the scientists tended to report higher congruency, more intense motivation, more willingness to take risks, and decreased feelings of failure.
Scientists having high congruency were rated high by their superiors and colleagues in scientific contribution and usefulness to their organizations. In some instances, positive correlations were obtained between congruency and output of patents and published papers. (BM50)

Undoubtedly some well established Navy practices, if carefully selected, will prove compatible with new emerging techniques and nuances. Some of the old bromides will retain validity, e.g., "Give people work they are good at and like to do, then get out of their way"; and "busy people are happy people."

The interaction between individual personal traits and organizations goals was examined by England. He found that the actual goals of business may be related more closely to personal characteristics of its managers than to broad characteristics of business. This finding is in direct contradiction to Dent's conclusion and questions the extent to which organizational goals can be understood without reference to personal goals, personal values, or motives of individuals. To paraphrase Simon, organizational goals (rather than personal motives) may enter the decision process as fixed constraints (only courses of action that satisfy the constraints are considered, but the constraints have no influence on the choice of action within the set). (BP122)

"Work" is defined by Whitsett as a meaningful task (i.e., meaningful to the worker) that provides him an opportunity to achieve psychological growth, to become more competent.

Gurin, Veroff, and Feld, based on the condition that much of a man's life is spent at his job, concluded that, potentially, a man's work may be the focus of his identity, his social status and prestige, his feelings of masculinity, worth, and competence. Thus, a man's work is very often the vehicle for achieving independence, competence, growth. Work comes to mean having a purpose, gaining a sense of accomplishment, and expressing oneself. The widespread degeneration of the self-concept of the American Negro male due to extremely limited job opportunities
attests the operation of this principle in reverse.

Many individuals spend a sizable portion of their lives in educating themselves that the concept work is an important consideration in relationship to their growth. If an individual is not given an opportunity to utilize his potential to develop independence and autonomy, the absence of work will have a harmful effect. (BP440)

7. Friedlander has offered a thesis that maintains the social and technological environment are creating changes in the tasks of organizations and in the life orientations and values of the people who perform the tasks. These changes are: task characteristics are changing from routine to complex, and life orientations from formal to social to personal. Structures that link people and tasks are changing in nature from bureaucratic to organic. (BM53)

8. Ohlin feels that, through sheer size and complexity, organizations often require their members to become increasingly dependent on one another for the achievement of personal and organizational success. Such dependency is inherent in large organizations because of the principles by which they are constructed. Some of the basic principles of formal organization (as illustrated, for example, in the Air Force) are:

   (1) Chain of command: a direct hierarchy;
   (2) Task specialization: organizational and administrative efficiency is increased by the breaking down of tasks into well-defined, repetitive elements;
   (3) Unity of direction: each element assigned a single activity, planned and directed by the leader;
   (4) Span of control: no more than 5 or 6 members report to a supervisor, for maximum administrative efficiency. This leads to a "tall" organization, having many kinds of authority. (BP440)

9. Thus, employees work in situations in which they tend to be dependent, subordinate, and passive toward the leader. "Independence" in such an
organization means freedom from close supervision, and freedom to express opinions concerning the work.

One of the most damaging results of the use of these efficiency principles of organization is that the roles which people are required to fill are very clearly but closely defined in terms of the behavior called for. This process of standardization of behavior is called "psychomation" by Richard Willis. While perfect interchangeability among individuals is not expected, it is noted that the "conforming, dependent 'Yesman' is the preferred type in such situations." (BP440)

10. Argyris expresses concern that such organizations tend to allow employees to use very few of their abilities. Most human problems in organizations arise because of this division of labor and specialization of tasks. At all levels, particularly the lower ones, "healthy individuals will tend to have their self-actualization blocked or inhibited because of the demands of the formal organization." The final act of the resultant individual behavior is that many people leave the organization. (BP440)

II. Other results of such an organizational structure may be these:

(1) a person can continue to aspire and actively seek the objectives of independence and growth; if so, he will probably not make a good "adjustment" on the job; or

Potential Impact

More vigorous and more complex efforts will be required in the future to fit each individual to a meaningful job and to "enlarge" the job to permit personal growth. Nevertheless, there are limits to which this trend can be carried by the Navy, or other organizations, which must give important emphasis to its own organization needs, and can only develop such talents as the personnel available possess.

Potential Impact

Unrelenting emphasis on fulfilling every individual to the maximum of his potential will, at least as a by-product, lead to expectations that cannot be realized. The maximum potential of many people will still be a modest level.
(2) a person can resign himself and turn to other, more modest aspirations. He may, for example, take an increased interest in monetary return or heighten appreciation of the work environment to the exclusion of satisfaction derived from the performance of the task itself.

The implications of long-term work blockages, seen in some older generations of employees, is that they get tired of fighting the system and look elsewhere for satisfactions. Thus, many are not very productive workers and not happy, fulfilled individuals. (BP440)

12. In some situations, the healthy human seems to be characterized by an approach behavior, as opposed to avoidance, in which he seeks to increase the amount of tension (stimulation or challenge) to increase his sense of "movement in the direction of the fulfillment of his potential and adjustment." Chris Argyris lists seven criteria or developmental trends, of which the major theme is that man desires growth in the direction of increased independence and autonomy. (BP440)

13. "Growth" then is completely contradictory to "adjustment," as it is thought of in formal organizations. The tendency of organizations to require people to adjust to conditions as they find them runs counter to their healthy development toward independence and growth. Argyris feels that since organ-

In addition, the effort to have one's potential developed to the maximum will depend principally on self-effort; when this is realized, how many will expend the sustained effort required? Even if everyone were to be developed to his fullest potential, great differences in capabilities and status will remain — perhaps similar to differences at the undeveloped level. The organization is liable to be blamed for shortcomings, either way.
organizations require that a man be dependent and that his natural tendency is toward independence, a conflict results. 

(BP440)

Persons, the connotations of "adjustment" will be preferable to those of "growth."

Nor do reasonable requirements and standards of discipline necessarily run counter to healthy development, but are, in fact, frequently indispensable to healthy growth.

The point here is that some of the advice of the experts will be counterproductive for the interests of the Navy and the people in it.

14. It has been asserted that nobody can provide meaningful work for another. Most tasks do not have an absolute significance. Bettelheim believes that the discussions on what industry should do to make factory work more meaningful are useless. He claims that only a person can first, find out what kind of work may be meaningful to him, and then go out and seek it, or at least a reasonable compromise.

Bettelheim thinks that those who complain that work is not more meaningful are confused. "What is wrong," he claims, "is that more people do not strive to find meaning in their own lives; if they did, they would radically alter our economy and with it our working conditions." (BB99)

15. It has been claimed that in the future job enlargement will be necessary to hold the interest and motivate the performance of college or high school graduates. (BM94)

16. "Job enrichment" is in direct response to poor work performance and poor job attitude resulting from overstructured situations. This has been cited
an increasingly serious problem in many organizations, related to the expanding "generation and value gap." The ability of organizations to provide meaningful, challenging assignments for incoming young people, particularly, will have much to do in the future with success or failure of organizations. (BP440)

17. Looking back on the modern organization, Jennings observes:

The typical insider joined a corporation during the Depression and expected to start at the bottom and usually did. He was prepared to work hard, to overearn his rewards, to be grateful for advances, and to respect and defer to his corporate benefactors. Advancement was more a reward than an incentive. In that context, changing companies was interpreted as being a quitter and a failure. The cardinal motto of the organization man is 'Be loyal to the Company and the company will be loyal to you.'

The Protestant ethic of the "inside man" had been replaced with the social ethic which required the sacrifices of individual excellence for the sake of the general good. A distinction was drawn between knowledge and skills, with the latter favored. A typical motto was "A good manager can manage anything." (BP216)

18. The heyday of this type of man was the pre-1950's. Then, the sudden growth of business demanded managers at all levels. Corporations discovered that the men who had moved around made better executives. They were more flexible, more expert at managerial skills, and more broadly (even if less deeply) knowledgeable. (BP216)

19. In more recent times a new American phenomenon has appeared, "the mobile-centric man." Movement for this individual is not so much a way to get somewhere, or a means to an end, as it is an end in itself. Motion and action are valued not because they lead to change, but because they are change.

It takes about twenty years on the average to go from 1st- Potential Impact The impact of this level manager to president, during which mobility will not be as marked on the
time there are, on the average, seven geographical moves, eleven positional ones, and countless numbers of special and project assignments. The mobility pattern is so reliable that Jennings has been able to write a computer program that predicts, at any point in an executive's career, the approximate level of management he is likely to reach at his peak. (BP216)

Navy as on other organizations, because the Navy has been involved with mobile careers (mobile physically and organizationally) for many decades.

Potential Impact

One aspect should be focused on here: the 20-year average span from first manager's post to president (not merely to "company officer"). In almost every profession but the military, outstanding men begin to reach very high posts by the age of 35. This feature of the Navy and the rest of the military establishment may operate negatively on able young men in the social context of the future. The opening up of the Navy from precious "isolation" will make comparisons with civil life ubiquitous. The problem may be more critically involved with position than with rank, though rank is bound to have some influence. Especially if American society adopts meritocratic criteria more pervasively, more flexible executive (officer) systems will be looked for in the Navy.

20. One manifestation of the emphasis on self-achievement, combined with mobicentricity has been the quest by some organization professionals for a simpler life; some opt out of organizations altogether.

One report cites several "dedicated" businessmen leaving their jobs
for quieter lives. One author gave up commuting on a Madison Avenue agency job, and now writes from his home in the country. A friend of his bought a house in Ireland and lives there well, on a retainer from his former think-tank job at about half his former salary. (BP283)

21. Mobicentricity is seen in commune-dwellers, street people, and various other social and political radicals, as well as among academics who move around. These people are post-affluents, knowledge workers who do not want the shelter of one institution for a large portion of their lives. (BP216)

22. Some people who are mobicentric are not that way in all phases of their lives. Quite often people are mobicentric in one area (e.g., friendship), highly mobile in another (e.g., careers), and fairly immobile in a third area (e.g., marriage); this would be the man who regards his wife as an island of stability in a sea of flux. When out of town, he calls home every night and rarely plays around. Trouble comes when his wife aspires to mobicentricity and an arrangement cannot be worked out.

The new Philadelphian, or semi-mobicentric, is distinguished by the fact that he is determined not to let the company invade his private life because it reduces his mobility in his private world. He has a strong interest in what he does when he is not working, and may have separate friends for each activity. Sometimes his home phone is not known to his office friends. (BP216)

23. In another approach to modern life, clinical psychologist David Guttman first identified patterns of adult male personality development. In 1956, he analyzed the results of tests of men aged 40-70 in Kansas City; and he has since replicated the study cross-culturally, using the Navajos, Mayas, and the Druze in Israel. He found that man in early adulthood is autonomous, aggressive and self-reliant. At about the age of 55, he stops seeing the world as something he can conquer because of necessary accommodations and the feeling of being restrained. By 65, he regards his troubles as beyond his, or anyone's control. These stages parallel, in reverse, the sequence of childhood ego development. (BP228)
24. In a somewhat parallel analysis related partially to organizations, a psychological mid-career crisis has been noticed in professionals, businessmen, and artists. The effects of this mid-career "crisis" seem to stem from the fulfillment of goals selected in early mature life; the departure of children; and a new generation of colleagues. Levinson says that those who resolve the crisis successfully adopt new value systems, and a new surge of vitality; the others succumb to complacency. These findings have interest in relation to the executives of organizations.

Straws in the Wind

25. One flat prediction: Organizations will come to be operated less by the dictates of administrative convenience and more by the wants and aspirations of their membership. (BM94)

26. A study by Schein and Ott examined attitudes toward the legitimacy of influencing various kinds of behavior in an organizational context. An attitude survey revealed that samples from business managers, local union leaders, and college students were highly consistent in their ranking of behavior areas; the more job-related the area, the more it was considered legitimate to influence. In contrast, the samples differed significantly in the number of areas considered to be legitimate to influence, and in their responses to given behavior areas, for example, "attitudes toward unions." (BP359)
27. These are regarded as high-legitimacy items. Potential Impact

All concern behavior at the work place or attitudes toward work and the company. Only the labor group shows any degree of disagreement with the others. "The low-legitimacy items" concern family relationships, matters of taste in non-job-related areas, place of residence, and political and religious viewpoints.

The study notes that 55% of the managers tested stated that it was legitimate to influence a subordinate's participation in non-company public activities, while only 10% of the labor group agreed that it was legitimate. (BP359)

28. Recent occurrences in the State Department illustrate the tensions accompanying trends toward individualism within organizations. For one thing, the State Department has issued new guidelines related to expression of dissent within the Department. This recalls a question reported to be asked frequently by applicants for the Foreign Service: "Would I be expected to support and carry out policies I disagree with?" (BN470)

29. The State Department case of Foreign Service officers opposing the nomination of Howard P. Mace as an Ambassador furnished an interesting example of individualism -professionalism within a government organization. The critics said that former personnel-system-director Mace had been a coldly ruthless administrator, while supporters of Mace blamed "the system." (BN502)

30. This case was related to a detailed account of the Department's inner workings with respect to personnel, promotions, and the grievance system. The article charged that inertia in the bureaucratic structure of the State Department frustrated the efforts of several former members of the Foreign Service to reform the
Department in hopes of getting a more equitable system. (BN560)

31. Another State Department incident illustrated the lingering linkages between the organization man himself and other elements, in this instance his wife. The Department sent an order to all foreign missions, stating that the wife of a Foreign Service employee is a "private person" and "not a Government employee."

Potential Impact

The State Department instances are quite likely to develop counterparts in the military. The clarification of the status of wives, for example, will be forthcoming sooner or later from the Department of Defense.

32. Anthony Downs emphasizes the role and value of the "outsider" within an organization; such a person can be typified as being an "individual" rather than a "yes-man." Downs refers to him as a "zealot." Organizations with rapidly changing social functions must encourage "zealots." They are, 

Potential Impact

There seems to be little room for doubt that organizations of the future will be doing themselves harm by not retaining zealots, heretics, independent thinkers, idea men, and proposers of radical methods. Even with very good will on the part of the organization, it
according to Downs, the idea men dissatisfied with the status quo, willing to propose new or radical methods. Organizations will be depending more and more on those with the least amount of obedience to normal organizational restraints. (BB29) will not be easy to absorb such members smoothly. One challenging problem to put to such indispensable members will be the problem of developing procedures to maximize their constructive impacts and minimize their destructive impacts on organizations.