ABSTRACT

                Examined is a general model of the socialization
process based on Polak's theory of social change which identifies key
agents of the process which shape perceptions of the possibility of
creative change instead of defensiveness or aggression in situations
where old behaviors are inadequate. Six agents of socialization are
identified: family, primary social environment, extrafamilial role
model, school, secondary social environment, and voluntary
associations. It was suggested that the relative importance of each
agent would shift over time, moving from family primacy in childhood
to secondary social environment and voluntary association. Examined
also is some material on student perceptions of possible futures. A
ranking by students of socializing agents in their own lives
indicated that the family fell from first to second place, but no
further. In general, students felt optimistic about the future in
areas where they felt they could make a personal input and less so
where they felt they could not. Considering the constraints of the
present domestic and world situation, the strong possible feelings
about the future are almost surprising. (Author/CJ)

SOCIALIZATION SEQUENCES AND STUDENT ATTITUDES
TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE

by Elise Boulding

for the

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for Nonviolent Change

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TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE

by Elise Boulding

Non-violent social change may be defined as that restructuring
of institutions, opportunities, behaviors and values in a society which
is accomplished without inflicting constraints on the members of that
society which do them physical or mental harm.[*] The areas of social
change we are most interested in here are those relating to domestic
social injustice and militarism. Non-violent change in these areas may
be studied in a variety of conceptual frameworks, including the
structural-functional framework, the framework of the psycho-social
development of the individual member of society, and the intermediate
framework of the socialization process which prepares people for defined
social roles. The first approach focuses on the capacity of the social
structure to adapt to new requirements, redraw social boundaries, create
new social roles and redistribute opportunities in society. The second
approach focuses on the developmental sequence taking place in the
maturation process for each individual in relation to his capacity to
manage tensions and conflicts.

The third approach, and the one taken here, focuses on the linkage
function between social structure and individual role-taker by looking at

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[*] Both violence and non-violence are exceedingly difficult to
define, and this definition is frankly a "compromise" definition which
begs the question of what "harm" is. Presence or absence of intention
to do harm is treated as irrelevant.

the process by which social institutions shape individuals to carry out
necessary social roles. Socialization is normally thought of in terms
of preparation for the maintenance of the existing social structures (5).
Since change is a constant feature of all human institutions over time,
it is perfectly reasonable to focus on the extent to which society
prepares individuals to act as agents of peaceful adaptation and change.
This is obviously better done in societies which have an "official"
ideology of change than in societies which do not. However, all societies,
change-oriented or not, exhibit ambivalence and inconsistency in their
socialization practices when it comes to dealing with the problem of
preparing their members both for stability and change. It is to a
society's interest to prepare its members for non-destructive change
behaviors, since this enables necessary and inevitable change to take
place with a minimum of hurt to the society and its individual members.
When no provision for the development of innovative role-taking is made,
then the stage is set for a necessary resort to violence to disrupt and
destroy inflexible structures. Since the 1960's and 1970's seem to be an
era in which there is considerable (if vague) value consensus in some
leading sectors of society about the need for far-reaching social changes,
it becomes very important to identify the socialization sequences which
prepare young people to play innovative social roles.

In this paper I will look at a general model of the socialization
process which identifies key agents and aspects of the process which
shape perceptions of the possibility of creative change instead of
definsiveness or aggression in situations where old behaviors are not
adequate. The model includes the three stages of childhood, adolescence

and young adulthood. This model will be set in the framework of Polak's

theory of social change which is based on the concept that man's most

basic human characteristic is the ability to perceive the totally other,

including other forms of social order, alternative futures for man. His

theory postulates that creative minorities in a society generate an array

of images of the future. By an unspecified process of social selection,

certain of these images become powerful dynamic forces which act on the

present to shape behaviors and institutions that move society toward

desired futures. There are four modes of imaging this future, based on

possible combinations of optimism and pessimism concerning the nature of

reality and man. Only one of these modes is conducive to a general social

perception of the possibility of non-violent social change, and the other

three produce varying degrees of frustration and aggression, or apathy.

The four Polakian modes are as follows:

> 1. Essence optimism combined with influence optimism: The
> world is good and man can make it even better.

> 2. Essence optimism combined with influence pessimism: The
> world is good but it goes of itself and man cannot alter the
> course of events.

> 3. Essence pessimism combined with influence optimism: The
> world is bad but man can make it better.

> 4. Essense pessimism combined with influence pessimism: The
> world is bad and there isn't a damn thing man can do about it. (28)

A society in which the first mode prevails is a dynamic, peaceful

but activist society. The Age of Enlightenment in Europe is a good

example of this mode of viewing the future. The second mode produces

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cheerful passivity, the fourth despair or apathy. The third is perhaps
most characteristic of our own age and carries a double potential in it,
depending on the socialization experiences of the young. If they have
had success experiences with activist problem-solving roles from early
childhood, and role models and learning experiences which support this
stance, they may perceive that the world can be made better non-violently.
If they ..ave not had success experiences with activist behavior, and have
lacked other supportive experiences or role models, they may come to feel
that destruction is a necessary precondition of change. It should be
pointed out that the vast majority of people in any society do not look
upon themselves as change agents, but as maintainers of or simply
participants in an existing order. If a high value is set on change,
however, a larger percentage of young people growing up in that society
will respond to possible change roles than if change is not highly valued.
We are in effect looking at the socialization sequence primarily in terms
of that segment of children and young people both in the mainstream
culture and in minority cultures who are at some level aware of social
change values. It is perhaps one of the ironies of our time that while
change per se is highly valued the imaged content of the alternative
future toward which we are to move is vague and contradictory. While
this is an issue which this paper cannot deal with, a process of sociali-
zation for change roles which operates independently of a coherent
conception of a desirable future creates at least as many problems as it
solves.

After examining a socialization model which attempts to identify
factors relating to the production of violent as compared to non-violent

change agents, we will look at some material on perceptions of possible

futures and of the possibility of non-violent social change from a recert

study of university students.

The Socialization Model

The six agents of socialization that shape the individual's view of

possible futures, how change can come about, and what his own role will be,

are identified here as (1) the family, (2) the primary social environment,

(3) extra-familial role models, (4) the school, (5) the secondary (mass-

media-filtered) social environment, and (6) voluntary associations. While

all the segments of socialization are continuously active throughout a

person's lifetime, it is suggested that the primary agents of family and

local neighborhood events are most important in the early years. Secondary

agents and formal education become more important later. A great deal has

been written about family and school as socializers, but not in the

specific context of attitudes toward war, social injustice and non-violence.

What are the special features of family, school and other environmental

agents, which determine the growing child's perception of (1) a future

state of society that is better than the present state, (2) the possibility

that this may come about through peaceful evolutionary change and (3) that

he himself may be an agent of such change? Further, what is the relevance

of timing in the socialization sequence? Do certain types of events have

critical impacts at certain ages? The hypothesis implicit in this model

is that experiences which lead to the perception of alternative futures in

any problem situatio.., alternative role paths to those futures and a sense

of personal competence to choose or construct role paths toward a desired

future, will produce persons who believe that non-violent change toward a

society is possible.

Figure 1 presents the general model with an indication of the

shifting importance of primary and secondary socializers over time.

Figure 2 gives more detail about specific socializing agents. At any

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Insert Figures 1 and 2 here.

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given point in time, each of the specified socializing agents is in

interaction with each of the others. Further, each age-specific set

of socialization experiences acts as a set of perceptual screens through

which successive socialization experiences are filtered. In the

discussion which follows, we will deal with the six agents of socializa-

tion specified above in the three broadly inclusive stages of childhood,

adolescence and young adulthood.

Childhood

The Family. The role model effect of parents in determining both

social and economic roles of children, and of style of role performance,

has now been well documented. Taking specific components of the parental

role model with relation to non-violent behavioral styles of children, we

may point to the child abuse studies as dramatic evidence of the import-

ance for children of parental styles of dealing with their own conflicts

and insecurities as well as with parent-child clashes of will. Here the

evidence is clear that parents who physically abuse children are rigid,

anxious persons who were themselves abused as children in a self-

perpetuating cycle of inability to manage tensions and engage in task-

oriented behavior in problem situations (8, 14).   Schizophrenia

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CHILDHOOD   ADOLESCENCE   YOUNG ADULT

FAMILY   FAMILY   FAMILY

PRIMARY SOCIAL   PRIMARY SOCIAL   PRIMARY SOCIAL
ENVIRONMENT   ENVIRONMENT   ENVIRONMENT

EXTRA-FAMILIAL   EXTRA-FAMILIAL   EXTRA-FAMILIAL
ROLE MODELS   ROLE MODELS   ROLE MODELS

                                          POST-SECONDARY
                                          INSTITUTIONS,
                                          APPRENTICESHIPS

SCHOOL   SCHOOL

SECONDARY   SECONDARY   SECONDARY
SOCIAL ENV.   SOCIAL   SOCIAL
                    ENVIRONMENT   ENVIRONMENT

VOLUNTARY   VOLUNTARY   VOLUNTARY
ASSOCIATIONS   ASSOCIATIONS   ASSOCIATIONS

STYLE
AND
CONTENT
OF
ADULT
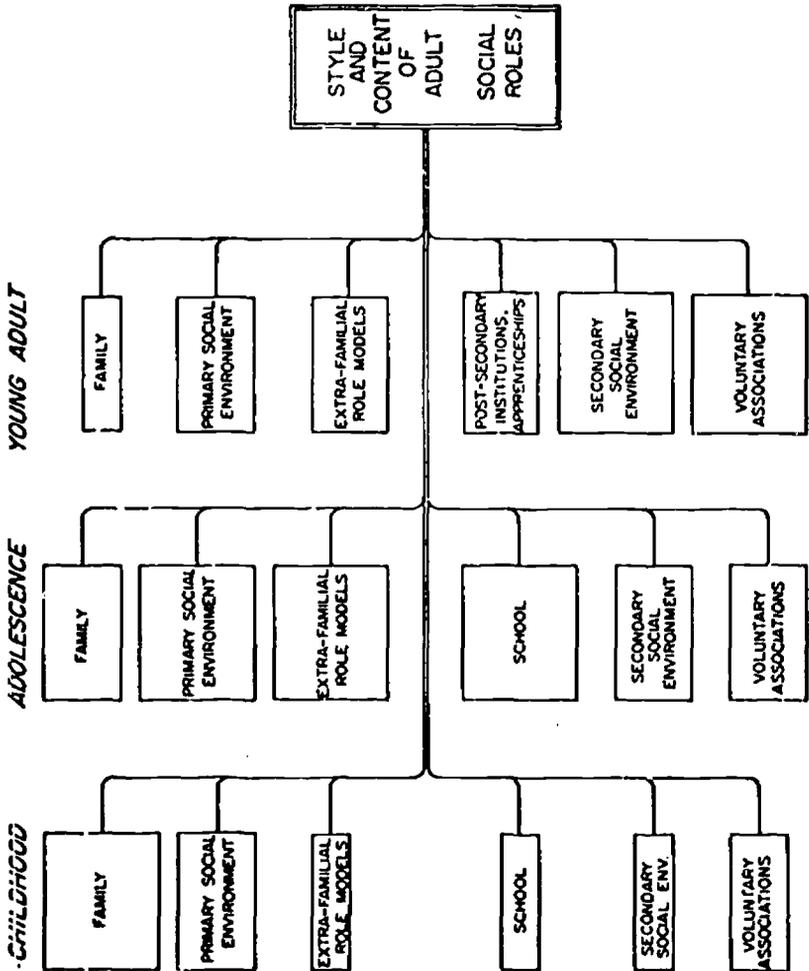SOCIAL
ROLES

Figure 1.   Socialization: Variable Relevant to the Development of Adult
            Social Change Agent Roles.

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*The boxes are sized on a 3-point scale of large, medium and small reflecting
the relative importance of each variable within the box at each of the 3 stages
of development.

Figure 2. Socialization Model: Variables Relevant to the Development of Adult Social Change Agent Roles.

Childhood	Adolescence	Young Adult
The Family	The Family	The Family
a. Parents as role models for personal conflict management.	Continues, few fresh inputs perceived by teen-ager.	Re-evaluation of family experience and parental role models as student undergoes anticipatory socialization for marriage.
b. Child-rearing patterns: (M-F differential socialization) training for autonomy, problem-solving; personal warmth of training styles.		
c. Cultural selectivity in types of: toys, culture objects and experiences, books, use of mass media.		
d. Level of social and political awareness; family conversations, choice of mass media, friends.		
Primary Social Environment	Primary Social Environment	Primary Social Environment
Primary experience of local current events. Experience of authority figures--policeman, doctor; experience of neighborhood happenings.	Experience of local events, in home, school, peer groups and community settings.	Experience of local events in an increasing variety of social milieux--home town vs. university community, and other communities, depending on extent of travel. This provides basis for comparative judgements concerning current events.

Continued

Figure 2. Continued

Childhood	Adolescence	Young Adult
Extra-Familial Role Models	**Extra-Familial Role Models**	**Extra-Familial Role Models**
a. <u>Primary</u>: family friends, neighbors, teachers, SS teachers, leaders of other children's groups. b. <u>Secondary</u>: characters in children's stories; on TV; presentation of "heroes" for young children from Bible, from history.	a. <u>Primary</u>: conscious evaluation and selection of role models from family, friends, teachers, other significant adults. b. <u>Secondary</u>: major contemporary figures presented in mass media, biographies of famous men and women; presentation of "heroes" in history books; presentation of self and world view of authors chosen in self-directed reading.	a. <u>Primary</u>: conscious evaluation and selection of role models from family friends, teachers, other significant adults from various social milieux. b. <u>Secondary</u>: major. contemporary figures presented in mass media, biographies of famous men and women; presentation of "heroes" in history books; presentation of self and world view of authors chosen in self-directed reading.
School: Formal Cognitive <u>Mapping</u>	**School: Formal Cognitive** <u>Mapping</u>	**School: Formal Cognitive** <u>Mapping</u>
a. teacher presentation of world. b. textbook presentation of world.	Concentrated intake of new information in school setting; cognitive structures become increasingly differentiated, complex. Increasing amounts of self-directed reading.	Increasingly concentrated intake of new information in increasingly diversified fields; further complexification of cognitive structures; further increase in self-directed reading; increasingly critical evaluation of information presented.

Continued

Figure 2. Continued

	Childhood	Adolescence	Young Adult
Secondary Social Environment	Experience of current events through presentation by parents, teachers, and authority figures, mass media, minimal amount through reading.	Experience of significant national and international current events decreasingly mediated through teachers, parents, other significant adults; increasingly mediated through peer groups, mass media, independent reading and search for information.	Experience of significant national and international current events mediated through an increasing variety of sources: mass media, professors, other respected authorities, peer groups, special reference groups and voluntary associations. Increasingly independent search for information about current happenings.
Voluntary Associations	These reference groups provide anticipatory socialization for change agent or social conservation roles: task roles in school and church settings; play roles in home and neighborhood; cub scouts and brownies, etc.	These reference groups provide anticipatory socialization for change agent or social conservation roles: through student government and school associations; other voluntary associations chosen by teen-ager; as member of informal peer groupings.	These reference groups provide anticipatory socialization for change agent or social conservation roles: in university or other voluntary associations; army, VISTA, Peace Corps, national and international student movements.

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studies pursue similar phenomena in another frame of reference (20).
Charny (4) brings out the dynamics of the husband-wife interaction in
dealing with hostility from the therapist's perspective in a way which has
rich implications for the modeling effect. Research on modes of child-
rearing for autonomous problem-solving and on the importance of the
interpersonal warmth dimension of parental guidance points to fairly well-
defined parental behaviors which relate to the child's problem-solving
performance and sense of competence (30). Frustration and aggression
levels (6) are much lower for children who feel competent.

The toys available for children's play in the home contribute to
socialization for more or less aggressive behavior. Research on the
influence of the presence of guns and military artifacts on the incidence
of aggression in play behavior (29) can be taken as representative of a
whole new area of research on the influence of artifacts of violence and
visual presentation of violence on TV in triggering higher levels of
tension and aggression in children's interactions with their peers.

The social and political climate reflected in family conversations
on political and social issues, on choice of media programs viewed by the
parents, periodicals and newspapers subscribed to, and friends who are
invited to the home, shapes the child's view of the world and himself. He
sees the world as either fixed or changeable, authority figures as friendly
or hostile, and himself as an active agent or passive object of social
manipulation by the authority figures. Research on political socializa-
tion is increasingly documenting the dynamics of this process (32).

In short as a socializing agent, the family provides the child
with role models for the management of tension and conflict, with training
for problem-solving, with a self-image reflecting perceived adequacy and

competence, with opportunities for aggressive or creative play, and with an image of the world as set or changeable, friendly or hostile.

Primary Social Environment. While the pre-schooler is socialized primarily through the family, the primary social environment outside the home, i.e., the neighborhood, gradually increases in imporance as a socializing agent for the pre-adolescent. Neighbors, policemen, the family doctor, and other local figures interact with him in neighborhood events and reinforce or contradict the training given in the family setting. Children from ethnic minorities and deviant subcultures usually get contradictory messages from the family and some parts of the primary social environment. Depending on other aspects of the child's socialization experience, this may confuse him or give him a sense of alternative roles open to him.

Extra-Familial Role Models. These role models fall into two categories: the primary models observed in face-to-face interaction in home and neighborhood, and the secondary models (culture heroes) encountered in reading, and on TV. The range of secondary culture heroes the young child is exposed to tends to be narrow, and the characters stereotyped as good guys or bad guys. One set is based on biblical tradition, often with a passive orientation, another on nationalist traditions, with an activist orientation, and the two are rarely integrated. Concepts of growth and development of character in these role models are usually absent. Special subcultures may provide special dynamic presentations of both primary and secondary role models

to children in the form of movement heroes and heroines.[*]

School. The socializing influence of the school is felt
(a) through the teacher as a personal role model, (b) through the
teacher's ordering of data concerning the structure, organisation and
values of society and (c) through textbook presentation of the world.
The last two, (b) and (c) contribute explicitly to the child's
cognitive mapping of the world, though there is an implicit contribu-
tion to the cognitive mapping from all the sources listed earlier.

There is some evidence that there may be a direct relationship
between the complexity of the cognitive structure of the elementary
school teachers and the degree of acceptance of groups and cultures
different from one's own on the part of elementary school students,
independently of the type of textbook used (21).

Not only does the teacher's own cognitive structure mediate the
learnings of the students, but styles of teaching foster either an
active intellectual search on the part of the students which enables
them to sustain cognitive dissonance and engage in creative problem-
solving, or a passive "receptacle" stance which induces compartmentalized

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[*]The local Black Panther or Chicano leader may be a very direct
role model for black or chicano children, as are media heroes such as
Martin Luther King and Ceasar Chavez. In a somewhat similar vein,.
though in a very different setting, nineteenth century traveling Quakers
exercised a powerful influence on the small children brought into the
family living room to hear the visiting Quaker pray (18).

stereotyped thinking and an inability to confront new situations. The
active stance is associated with creativity in the face of the hostile
or the strange, the passive stance with aggression or immobility in
similar situations (19).

Secondary Social Environment. The secondary social environment
socializes the child to aggressive vs. problem-solving behavior through
the intermediary instruments of parents, teachers, authority figures
and the mass media. The significant events in the larger society such
as war, depression, the assassination of public figures, major ricting,
etc. have an impact on the child somewhat independently of the mediating
figures, however. For the adult, these public events are seen in the
context of previous public events, particularly the ones they experienced
in their childhood. For the child there is a primacy about a current
social catastrophe which may color all his later perceptions of public
events. For example, fear of war and nuclear holocaust seems to be
much stronger in the minds of children and young people than in the
minds of those who had reached adulthood before the Hiroshima and
Nagasaki nuclear bombings (9, 11).

Voluntary Associations. The child has an opportunity to play
out a variety of alternative roles in his play groups, church associa-
tion settings and formal groups such as cub scouts and brownies. The
degree of rigidity and level of aggression with which he plays these
roles, and his openness to alternative solutions to problems, is
largely determined by his socialization experiences in the other
settings mentioned. However, the opportunities for anticipatory

socialization into possible change agent roles in this play behavior
are significant in themselves; Huizinga (16) has pointed out the
importance of play in generating social innovation.

Socialization for possible future creative change agent roles
in childhood is carried out primarily by the family. The family is
the source of role models and training for managing conflict and solving
problems, of images of the world as manageable or not, and of images
of the self as competent or not. The primary social environment
directly experienced by the child outside the home is next in importance,
and extra-familial role models, the school, the secondary social
environment and voluntary associations available for children all make
small but separate inputs into his conception of his present and future
social roles.

Adolescence

The Family. While all the socializing influences of the family
continue into adolescence, their effects are muted by (a) habituation
and (b) by the progressive widening of the experience gap between
adults and teenagers. Habituation acts to block off stimuli which are
so familiar that they convey no new information (12). The experience
gap is created by the fact that adult's reactions to new phenomena
in the social environment are mediated by powerful earlier experiences
which blunt the impact of the current phenomenon, while teenager's
reactions to the same new phenomena are far more direct. This results
in very different mental images of the same external phenomenon in the

adolescent and the adult, and weakens the confidence of each in the
judgement of the other. The further effect is to weaken the influence
of the family as a direct socializing agent. To the extent, however,
that the family becomes the intersection point for the not-yet-
independent teenager between conflicting socializing influences of
his parents and outside influences, it remains an emotionally salient
agent.

Primary Social Environment. Direct experience of neighborhood
and community events begin to shape the teenager's perceptions of how
society works and what the range of available social roles are. These
direct experiences are frequently in peer-group settings, however,
so peer-group mediation of these experiences must be taken into
account. Since the adolescent is now able to engage in sophisticated
causal reasoning, and make high-level moral judgements (24, 25, 26,
27), at the same time that his field of primary experience is widening
rapidly, the effect of perceptions of local events is more powerful
at this age in shaping his own role concepts than it was earlier,
and possibly than it ever will be again. Later local events will
compete with happenings in the larger society to an extent that they
now do not.

Extra-Familial Role Models. Because of the above-mentioned
fact that developing cognitive and evaluative abilities and wider
experience are leading to significant restructurings of perceptions of
social reality, the effect of special adult role models at this age
may be very great. Studies of critical influences in the lives of

young adults who were conscientious objectors in World War II (13)

and of women who became active in the Women's Strike for peace in

1962 (3) reveals the importance of an encounter, often in the early

teens, with a minister, teacher or other community figure who

represented a dynamic role model for social change in contrast with

earlier role model exposure for these individuals. Encounters with

great social innovators through reading were also reported as signifi-

cant experiences.

School. The teacher as role model (except in the case of

unusually powerful personalities) recedes in importance as a socializing

influence, at the same time that the cognitive content of the material

presented in the formal educational setting increases in importance.

While students are still heavily influenced by a teacher's organization

and presentation of cognitive material, they are increasingly drawing

on independent sources of information about what is going on in the

world. The mastery of sophisticated cognition skills and capacities

for ethical evaluation, already mentioned, plus acquisition of an

increasing stock of facts, makes early adolescence the critical period

of integrating a basic world view which will by and large remain

unaffected by later knowledge inputs.

Secondary Social Environment. The teenager's perceptions of

public phenomena such as war, depression, social injustice, become

increasingly independent of the earlier mediating influences of home

and school. Specific events such as assassinations, riots and military

invasions act directly on young people's minds, as one more set of

inputs into the major integrative effort they are making as they create a
cognitive mapping of the world they know. One may say that these events
act as socializing agents, and young people themselves recognize this.
We will see later what a high degree of consensus there is on public
events which shaped an age cohort's view of the world. Again, future
public events will never make the same impact because the view of the world
will already be set in these years. The role of films and books as a
part of this secondary environment is important. The Guetzkow (13) and
Boulding (3) studies mentioned earlier, in addition to reporting that
specific persons were identified as bringing about crucial changes in
world view and view of the self as an agent at this age, also reported
that particular books and films were mentioned as having this intense
restructuring effect.

Voluntary Associations. Becoming a part of significant new peer
reference groups through joining special interest groups provides a power-
ful medium for peer socialization to future social roles. What Eisenstadt
(7) has written about peer groups generally applies even more to special
interest associations that structure and strengthen commitment on the
part of young people to specific social behaviors. The Guetzkow (13)
study cited above reported frequent reference to high school international
affairs clubs as anticipatory socialization for the conscientious objector
role as a young adult. Church young people's groups with a strong peace
emphasis were also an important agent of this socialization.

During adolescence we are suggesting that the emphasis shifts
away from the family as the chief presenter of social roles and toward
the primary social environment, extra-familial role models and the

school. The development of the capacity for sophisticated causal reasoning and complex moral judgments, combined with the acquisition of a large stock of factual knowledge about the world during these years, make the interaction of these developments with the series of influences represented by school and community personalities and public events a critical juncture in the socialization of the adolescent into the general culture of his time. He will make his own unique mapping of the larger social reality and try out possible future social roles in the microcosm of his own immediate environment. In doing this he will act on the opportunities afforded him by his socialization experiences to engage in active intellectual search based on the perception of social alternatives, and to play out creative problem-solving behavior.

Young Adulthood

The processes at work through the various agents of socialization specified in adolescence continue in young adulthood. The emphasis shifts even further away from the family, and the influence of the primary social environment and formal learning situations lessen. The secondary social environment and voluntary associations increase in importance.

In a sense the young adult undergoes a voluntary resocialization by the family as he re-evaluates his parents as role-models and establishes a new, part-filial, part-collegial relationship with them in anticipation of his (or her) own future parental role. Local events (primary social experience) recede in significance in his daily life as happenings in the larger social world (secondary social experience) begin to impinge more directly on him. If he goes to college, the cognitive restructuring begun in high school continues, but at a slower pace. The

college student gains more information, but changes in world view, while
noticeable, are relatively slow (23, 17). As far as I know, changes in
rate and extent of restructuring of world view in high school as compared
with college has still to be researched, so this hypothesis cannot yet
be supported. At the least, it corresponds with the subjective perception
of some people who have worked with both high school and college students.
On the other hand, recent evidence on new approaches to university
learning through increased emphasis on field work, real-life apprentice-
ship situations and independent study, with formal course work
de-emphasized, gives some indication that there may be a more radical
restructuring of world view in these settings than in the traditional
classroom environment (33). Educational innovation may come to offset
any developmentally based tendencies to slow down the rate of restructuring
perceptions of the world in young adulthood.

Significant extra-familial role models are now more likely to
come out of one's own peer group than from older adults, although the
older-generation-role-model effect sill continues to some extent. The
counter-culture, for example, has generated its own youthful role models.
Books also continue as a rich source of role models.

The role of voluntary associations for young people still in
apprentice roles, whether in institutions of higher learning or elsewhere,
becomes increasingly important as an opportunity to try out new social
roles. This may be in counter-culture settings, mainstream settings, or
in a variety of intermediate non-conforming groups including minority
group associations. Some of these groups are strictly age-graded and
aimed at youth only, others take young people directly into going

older-adult activities. The important thing is that young people who
are aware, because of their previous socialization experiences that a
wide variety of social roles is open to them, may now select optimal
special group environments to try out roles they would like to commit
themselves to in adulthood. Depending on their previous experiences,
they will at this point view the world in one of the Polakian modes of
optimism or pessimism about the nature of the world and the role of man
in it.

Student's Views of Possible Futures and Non-Violent Social Change

With the above socialization model in mind, we will now turn to
the responses of a group of 88 students in a class on the Problems and
Prospects of Peace at the University of Colorado, to a questionnaire on
possible futures and the likelihood of non-violent social changes. It
should be born in mind that these students are pre-selected by virtue of
registration for a "peace" course, for their concern with social problems
and peaceful change. Since the questionnaire was not constructed to
test the model, the data is only suggestive in relation to the variables
hypothesized. A few of the same questions were also asked of about
sixty high school students in the local high schools.

Background Information on the Students

Sixty per cent were female, 40 per cent male, and of the males
14 per cent were C.O.'s or draft resisters, 9 per cent had completed
military service, and the remaining 77 per cent had student deferments
and did not specifically indicate their plans. Fifty-six per cent were

lower division students, 44 per cent upper division, reflecting a variety

of College of Arts and Sciences backgrounds, plus business, education and

nursing. Thirty-six per cent were sociology or psychology majors, and

the remaining 64 per cent were distributed among other fields. Where

the social science majors responded differently from the other students,

they will be reported separately. Seventy-four per cent of the entire

class had participated in the spring student mobilization against the

war in Vietnam the previous spring, but only 27 per cent had participated

in the planning, so the class was by no means made up only of strong

peace activists.

Social Values from Childhood Through Young Adulthood

A recent study of French students after the May 1969 protest

activities, by French investigators (22), asked each student to rank

ten social values as they had felt about them in elementary school, then

in high school and at the present. The same question was used in the

present study. (Comparative data for French and American students

will be reported in a later paper.) Table 1 shows how many students

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Insert Table 1 here.

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ranked each of these values first or second. Since this is in effect a

ranking by students of some of the socialization agents in our model, for

our purposes it is interesting to note that love of family ranked first

in elementary schoo, second in high school, and stayed second to the

present. Respect for teachers was ranked first by four per cent in

elementary school, by one per cent in high school, and by none in college.

While this supports the hypothesis of declining influence of teachers

Table 1. Ranking of Social Values in Elementary School, High School and College.*

Elementary School			High School			College		
Values	Rank	%	Values	Rank	%	Values	Rank	%
Love of Family	1	42	Sense of Personal Responsibility	1	27	Sense of Personal Responsibility	1	33
Solidarity with Peers	2	31	Love of Family	2	25	Love of Family	2	23
Sense of Personal Responsibility	3.5	7	Solidarity with Peers	3	16	Love of Humanity	3	20
Love of Humanity	3.5	7	Love of Humanity	4	13	Sense of Social Responsibility	4	12
Respect for Teachers	5.5	4	Sense of Social Responsibility	5	11	Solidarity with Peers	5	7
Love of Country	5.5	4	Love of Work	6.33	2	Love of Work	6.5	2
Love of Work	6.5	2	Importance of Money	6.33	2	Involvement in Politics	6.5	2
Importance of Money	6.5	2	Involvement in Politics	6.33	2	Importance of Money	8	1
Sense of Social Responsibility	9	1	Respect for Teachers	9.5	1	Respect for Teachers	9.5	0
Involvement in Politics	10	0	Love of Country	9.5	1	Love of Country	9.5	0

*Ranked #1 or #2 on questionnaire.

from elementary school on; it also suggests that the role of the teacher
is much less important, at any time, least in the eyes of young adults,
than educators would like to think! Solidarity with peer groups was
ranked first by 31 per cent ', elementary school, 16 per cent in high
school, and only 7 per cent in college, since most students when they
think of childhood peers are probably thinking of the play groups of
later elementary years when they were freer to organize their own play;
one might expect peers to rank highest then. The low importance of peers
in college is interesting, probably reflecting the increasing importance
of special purpose peer groups as over against general peer solidarity.
The high ranking of sense of personal and social responsibility throughout
probably reflects a high level of social awareness and training for
autonomy, in the students' family settings. The fact that love of
country as a first choice drops from four per cent in elementary school
to zero in college is an interesting example of young people's independent
perception of the secondary social environment apart from the influence
of authority figures, since all of the major socializing agents in theory
inclucate a strong love of country. Also interesting is that the values
of love of work, money and politics never rise to first choice by more
than two per cent at any age. This was during the pre-election campaigning
for peace candidates, but these students apparently had little experience
of political action as effective.

My hypothesis that each youth cohort has its view of the world
most strongly affected by events coming relatively early in their aware-
ness of the larger social environment, and less affected by later events,
is somewhat supported by the different rankings of events between high

school and college students in response to the request to list five major

events which were critical in shaping their view of the United States.

Table 2 shows that Vietnam and the Kennedy assassinations had a major

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Insert Table 2 here.

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effect on everyone, but Vietnam was a fresh input for each cohort, and

in a way so were the assassinations. The high school students probably

gave primacy in their own minds to the second Kennedy assassination, the

college students to the first one. Race riots and Martin Luther King's

assassination interestingly did not make it into the list of the first

five events for the college students, whereas the older Cuban crisis

and "firsts" in space did. The Cuban crisis must have affected the high

school students very strongly in their early years, because it did

achieve fifth place for them.

Both college and high school students were asked to choose

twenty world heroes who had contributed the most to the betterment of

mankind, in a replication of recent international world heroes contest

run for teachers by the British Parliamentary Group for World Government

(1), This should reflect each group's exposure to secondarly role

models. A listing of the eighteen most chosen heroes by each group

(Table 3) indicates that only seven out of eighteen choices overlap

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Insert Table 3 here.

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between the two groups. The high school group has chosen more political

figures, probably reflecting the input of their high school U.S. history

course, and the college group has chosen a greater diversity of figures,

Table 2. Events Affecting View of United States.

College Students		High School Students	
Events	Rank	Events	Rank
Vietnam.	1	Vietnam.	1
Assassination JFK--RFK	2	Assassination JFK--RFK	2
Cuban Crisis	3	Race Riots	3
Space Program. . . .	4	Assassination King	4
Youth Movement . . .	5	Cuban Crisis	5

Table 3. World Heroes Chosen by College and High School Students.

College Students		High School Students	
Heroes	Rank	Heroes	Rank
Gandhi	1	J. F. Kennedy	1
M. L. King	2	M. L. King	2
Jesus Christ	3	Abraham Lincoln	3
A. Schweitzer	4	Churchill	4.
Einstein	5	R. F. Kennedy	5.5
Marx	6	George Washington	5.5
Churchill	7.5	Thomas Jefferson	7.5
Shakespeare	7.5	Pope John XXIII	7.5
Pasteur	9	Jesus Christ	9
Hammerskjold	10	Benjamin Franklin	10
Benjamin Franklin	11	Einstein	11
Walt Disney	12	Eisenhower	12
Jonas Salk	13.5	Gandhi	13.25
Thoreau	13.5	Pope Paul VI	13.25
Freud	15	F. D. Roosevelt	13.25
Leonardo de Vinci	16.5	Teddy Roosevelt	13.25
J. F. Kennedy	16.5	Thomas Pickney	17.5
Beatles	18.	Socrates	17.5

probably indicating more independent reading on their part. Neither

list is impressive for its breadth, however, reflecting some paucity of

exposure to role models of other major cultural traditions for both

high school and college students. Furthermore, only seven of the eighteen

in the college list can be thought of as major contributors to world

peace, and possibly six of the high school list. This in spite of the

fact that the world heroes list was in the context of a class on peace

problems. This is, of course, a reflection of the fact that very few of

the history books read by high school or college students emphasize heroes

of non-violence and peace.

Images of the Future

I suggested earlier that the predominant mode of viewing the

world in our society was that the world was bad, but man could make it

better. The following data on images of the future reflects the views

of the college student only, and I regret I cannot make the comparison

with the younger age group.

Table 4 which shows the percentage of respondents agreeing with

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Insert Table 4 here.

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a series of statements pertaining to a general philosophy of the future,

reproduced from a UNESCO Images of the World (10) study the earlier

suggestion that essence-pessimism and influence optimism is a character-

istic world view today (comparative data to be discussed in another

paper). It will be seen that there is an almost unanimous conviction

of the necessity for fundamental social change. The next most agreed

with items concern an activist role for man in making that change, and

Table 4. General Future Philosophy.

Rank	Items	% R's agreeing with item
1	A really fundamental change is necessary if this world shall be a good world to live in.	93
2	If a man is to accomplish his mission in life it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all."	65
3	However much the external conditions are changed it is the moral qualities of man that really count.	57
4	The future is so uncertain that the best thing one can do is to take one day after the other.	43
5	Everything is changing so rapidly these days that one hardly knows what is right and what is wrong any longer.	26
6	To achieve the happiness of mankind in the future it is sometimes necessary to put up with injustices in the present.	19
7	The most important thing is not one's own success but the success of one's children.	11
8	It is by returning to our glorious and forgotten past that real social progress can be achieved.	7
9.5	The most important thing is not to be successful in this world, but what happens in the afterlife.	6
9.5	The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.	6

an affirmation of man's moral qualities. After that the ambivalerce
and uncertainty of the times begins to show up.

Another question from the UNESCO study asked young people to
list the differences they thought would obtain between the year 2000
and today, and also to list the best that could happen and the worst
that could happen. Table 5 shows a real pessimism about the future when
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Insert Table 5 here.
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when the general differences are listed, particularly with reference to
loss of humanistic values. Concern with poverty, population and pollution
shows up in all three columns, and fear of war, desire for peace, take
primacy over other concerns. There is an interesting note of
millenialist optimism in Table 6, which shows the percentage of
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Insert Table 6 here.
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respondents who feel peace is likely in five years, twenty years and by
the year 2000. The year 2000 is only thirty years away, but the number
expecting peace by then shoots from 34 per cent expecting peace in
twenty years to 56 per cent expecting peace by the year 2000. This
millenialist tendency characterizes a great deal of current writing
about the year 2000, and raises interesting speculations about the
possible impetus for creative peace-making and problem-solving in the
next thirty years to be derived from this millenialist enthusiasm.
(Asked elsewhere in the questionnaire how far away they felt the year
2000 was, 74 per cent responded "very near" or "somewhat near," so there
is a certain quality of immediacy in this millenialism!)

Table 5. Differences Between the Year 2000 and Today.

General		The Best That Could Happen		The Worst That Could Happen	
Item	% R's Naming Item	Item	% R's Naming Item	Item	% R's Naming Item
More Automation and Technology—Less Human Density	24	Peace, World Community	22	Nuclear Wars, All Types of Wars	23
Population Crisis and Attendant Phenomena (Hunger, Poverty)	14	No Population Problems, No Poverty	15	Pollution, Over-Population, Deteriorating Environment	22
Increasing World Militarization	12	Love, Humanism and Harmony	12	Dictatorship, Authoritarianism, "1984"	9
Changes in Governments, and Societies	:0	Disarmament, Nuclear Test Ban	11	Armageddon	9
World Problems Will Be Handled at World Community Level	9	Equality	10	World Revolution, Militarism	7.5

Table 6.   The Likelihood of Peace and Disarmament between Now
          and the Year ?000.

Time Span in Which Peace Will Be Achieved	% of R's Who Feel Peace Is Likely
In 5 years	9
In 20 years	34
In Year 2000	56

Likelihood of Peace and Non-Violent Social Change

It was suggested earlier that experiences of autonomy and success
in problem-solving would be a necessary part of earlier socialization
experierces if individuals are to perceive non-violent change as
possible, and themselves as change agents. How autonomous, competent
and optimistic to the students in the self-selected sample of this peace
class feel? Table 7 shows that they feel very autonomous indeed--"the

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Insert Table 7 here.
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future is mine to make"--but considerably less optimistic about their
influence on public affairs. Most interesting here is the notable
increase in pessimism for the social science majors compared to all other
students. Does this reflect greater sophistication and more knowledge
of the complexity of social issues and their intractability, i.e., a
greater complexity of congitive structures, or reflect a self-selection
into social science of more pessimistic people? Table 8 on perceptions

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Insert Table 8.here.
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of the likelihood of non-violent social change in the areas of ethnic,
class and sex discrimination, income inequalities, differential access
to poltical power and university campus problems shows the same
distinctive tendency towards pessimism for social science majors. In
general, there is a fair optimism about non-violent change in the areas
of sex, class and ethnic discrimination and income inequality, in that
order, tut far less optimism about non-violent redistribution of
political power either in the outside world or on the campus. There is

Table 7. Autonomy and Influence.

Future Yours To Make	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Mine to Make.	91%	91%	91%
Very Little or No Control	9%	9%	9%

Influence on Public Affairs	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Lots, Some.	56%	41%	64%
Very Little, None . . .	44%	59%	36%

Table 8. Likelihood of Non-Violent Social Change.

Type of Social Injustice	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Ethnic Discrimination	66%	59%	70%
Class Discrimination	72%	66%	75%
Sex Discrimination	83%	81%	84%
Income Inequality	60%	53%	64%
Differential Access to Political Power	32%	25%	36%
University Campus Problems	44%	34%	50%

a further drop in optimism when the scene shifts to the interna'ional

situation, as in Table 9. Students do not think ron-violent solutions

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Insert Table 9 here.

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to the problems of rich and poor nations, nationalism, militarism and

colonialism are likely, and again social science majors are the most

pessimistic of all. At the same time, as Table 10 indicates, students

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Insert Table 10 here.

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have strong feelings that there are policy alternatives: 91 per cent

on the domestic scene, but also a high 84 per cent on the international

scene. Here there is no difference between social science major and

others.

Students whose personal socialization experiences have led them

to develop a strong sense of personal autonomy and competence concerning

social problems, are faced with conflicting feelings of pessimism about

events going from bad to worse over which they have had no personal

control, particularly on the international scene, but also with the

feeling that there are still alternatives, that the future is still

open.

An interesting perspective on this dilemma cf today's student who

feels competent, sees alternatives, and yet sees many events over which

he has no control, is gained from Table 11 which lists the thirteen most

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Insert Table 11 here.

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frequently chosen peace proposals from a longer list of twenty-five

Table 9. Non-Violent Social Change: International.

Percentage of Likely	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Rich-Poor	30%	28%	32%
Nationalism	23%	19%	25%
Militarism	25%	22%	27%
Colonialism	25%	22%	27%

Table 10. Alternatives in Policy Planning.

Percentage of Likely	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Domestic	91%	91%	91%
International	84%	91%	80%

Table 11. Peace Proposals Chosen by Students As Being Among the Five Most Important Proposals.

Proposals	Rank Order of Choice	% R's Naming Item	% R's Feeling Effective	Rank Order of Feeling Effective
We should have general and complete disarmament as soon as possible.	1	17	49	6
Hunger and poverty should be abolished all over the world.	2	9	71	4
We should improve the United Nations so as to make it more efficient than it is today.	3	9	41	9
It should be possible for people to choose their governments freely all over the world.	4	8	44	7
We should have a world state with disappearance of national borders and an efficient world government.	5	7.5	38	10.5
All countries should stop completely from intervening into the internal affairs of other countries.	6	7	20	13
We should have a strong international peace keeping force that can stop aggression from any country or group of countries.	7	6	35	12
We should have increased trade, exchange and cooperation between countries that are not on friendly terms.	8.5	5	52	5
One should start with the single individual everywhere and make him less aggressive.	8.5	5	96	1

Continued

Table 11. Continued

Proposals	Rank Order of Choice	% R's Naming Item	% R's Feeling Effective	Rank Order of Feeling Effective
One should create more peaceful relations in the family, at school and at work.	10	5	95	2
The colonial system should be abolished all over the world.	11	5	43	8
The gap between poor and rich countries should disappear.	12	4	38	10.5
A world language that can be understood in all countries should be adopted all over the world.	13	3	75	3

(also from the UNESCO Image of the Year 2000 (10) study) in rark order.
Table 11 also gives the rank order of feelings of personal effectiveness
in regard to the proposal chosen, and there is a certain tendency to
reverse the rank order, i.e., students feel that the most important
peace proposals are the ones in which they can be least effective, and
that some of the less important ones are those in which they can be most
effective. The reversal is by no means complete, however, and lots of
students for example feel they can help abolish hunger and poverty all
over the world.

To review the hypothesis implicit in the socialization model
presented earlier: Experiences which lead to the perception of
ternative futures in any problem situation and alternative role paths
to those futures, and a sense of personal competence to choose or
construct role paths toward a desired future, will produce persons who
believe non-violent change toward a better society is possible. Six
agents of socialization were identified in the model: the family, the
primary social environment, extra-familial role models, the school, the
secondary social environment and voluntary associations. It was suggested
that the relative importance of each agent would shift over time,
moving from family primacy in childhood to secondary social environment,
and voluntary associations. It was suggested that the relative importance
of each agent would shift over time, moving from family primacy in
childhood to secondary social environment and voluntary associations
primacy in young adulthood. It was also suggested that key public
events in late childhood and early adolescence would contribute

critically to the shaping of the world view during a period when basic
cognitive integration of social facts was going on, and would persist
over time without allowing the same primacy to later public events.
Degree of cognitive complexity was also related to perception of
alternatives and lack of rigidity and hostility in the face of the
unknown.

While the data on college and high school students did not
explicitly test the model, it threw light on the following facets of
the model:

(1) The college students were self-selected enrollees in a
Problems and Prospects of Peace class who had also for the most part
participated in the Student Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam
the previous spring, so presumably they had all been through a sociali-
zation process which led to some degree of perception of alternative
futures and the possibility of non-violent social change. They all
ranked high on feelings of personal autonomy and influence on public
affairs, and on their own future.

(2) A ranking by students of socializing agents from their own
childhood to college years indicated that the family fell from first to
second place but no further; teachers were never high and dropped
rapidly as highly valued socializers, and so did peer groups, though
to a lesser extent.

(3) Perception of critical events affecting their view of the
U.S. on the part of high school and college students reflected at least
in part different key critical events in these cohort experience during
early adolescence.

(4) Noticeably lower levels of optimism about the possibility of non-violent social change in areas of both domestic and international social injustice on the part of social science majors compared to non-social science majors may point to greater cognitive complexity in the mental structures of the social science students in relation to these problems. This works against the hypothesis, except that there was no difference in perception of alternatives and feelings of autonomy in the two groups, so the pessimism may reflect a more realistic appraisal of possibilities for social action, rather than a simple denial of the potential for non-violent change.

(5) In general the students felt optimism about the future and more possibilities of personal effectivenss in areas where they realistically felt they could make a personal input, i.e. the domestic level, and less optimistic where they felt they could be less effective, on the international level. Again, this appears to reflect a realistic appraisal of their own limitations.

Considering the realistic constraints of the present domestic and international situation, and the cultural limitation on the variety of secondary role models available to these students, their strong feelings about the openness of the future, and the possibility of alternative policies and alternative roles for themselves, is almost surprising.

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    Similar experiments are going on in a number of universities, but
    published reports are not yet available.

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