Changing Adolescent Reference Groups and Drinking Patterns

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Ву

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An investigation of the relationship between the peer groups of senior high school students and their reference groups in general and their drinking behaviour. It is felt that this relationship will be mostly noticeable in the behaviour of individuals belonging to two primarily different groups (both school sponsored and non-school sponsored) the social groups and the academically oriented groups.

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The community of Burlington is situated on the north shore of Lake Ontario, immediately north-east of the city of Hamilton and about twentyfive miles south-west of the provincial capital of Toronto. A visitor travelling about the streets of Burlington for the first time would be sure to notice the generally quiet residential atmosphere of the town. His impression is further enhanced by the large number of palatial homes set on spacious, well-groomed lots, most with two cars in their drive-He is also sure to note the absence of heavy or dirty industry in the town and the relatively modernistic appearance of the buildings and the clean bright settings of what industry there is. On concluding his tour, our visitor might remark, as many have done, that Burlington appears to be essentially a very middle class residential community; and he would be very close to the truth.

The geographical position of Burlington situated as it is between the two large urban areas of Hamilton and Toronto, and especially its proximity to Hamilton, is perhaps the major reason for its existence in its present form. The continued growth of the town might be seen as

a product of the expansion of Hamilton and particularly of the commercial and industrial spheres of the city. For Hamilton, early in its history, began and continues to utilize its large natural harbour and thus developed as a centre of industry of all types and as a hub of trade and commerce, principally for the Niagara penminsula. But although the process of industrialization conferred many benefits upon the people of the area, several serious consequences accompanied it, not the least of which were polluted air, lack of residential space and general congestion and grime. As the industries of Hamilton continued to expand, these problems became ever more noticeable and objectionable.

The cleaner air and the more relaxed and uncrowded surroundings of Burlington, in such sharp contrast and just a few miles and a few minutes away, began to draw residents from Hamilton. Chief among these newcomers were the highly trained and highly paid professionals of commerce and industry and the upper echelon managerial personnel.

Owners and large stockholders also contributed in part to this new population. As a result of this and the more recent migration of some

of the highly skilled and highly paid blue collar workers, Burlington has become primarily a bedroom community, a suburb of Hamilton. The largest single group of townspeople which can be identified from census data are the above mentioned white collar group.

The majority of the residents of the town commute daily to places of employment in other areas. They often travel to these areas for their recreation as well. This does not refer to all types of recreation or entertainment of course, but mainly to that of the non-participant variety. The theatres, clubs and other recreational and entertainment facilities of Toronto are utilized extensively by the people of Burlington as well as the more limited facilities available in Hamilton.

Within the town itself, recreational facilities are somewhat limited in certain respects. There is one movie theatre, several bowling alleys, a few decent dining spots, a curling club (somewhat exclusive) and several golf and country clubs, ranging from the very exclusive to the 'pay as you play' variety. In addition, there is a multitude of service type clubs for both men and women, from sororities

to art and literary clubs and from the JayCee's to the Masonic Lodge.

Even with this assortment of recreational and associational activities within the town, many of Burlington's residents prefer to join similar organizations in either Hamilton or Toronto.

At the time the data for this study were collected, the population of Burlington was approximately 60,000. In 1961, the most recent census year, the population was about 47,000. This vast increase in population in only six years is indicative of the above mentioned migrations to the town. It is clear that Burlington has a relatively youthful population when compared to Hamilton and other urban areas, and there is every reason to believe that the average age of the population is decreasing. The influx of the families of young professionals who are in constant demand in the industry of Hamilton may be one possible or partial explanation for this situation.

The recreation department of the town of Burlington offers an excellent assortment of organized activities throughout the year for the youth of the town and provides the facilities for many unorganized

activities as well. These range from minor league sports such as hockey, baseball, and soccer to various handicrafts and hobby groups. In addition, there are many other sponsored youth organizations operating in the town, both secular and religious, with varying degrees of membership. These range from the Boy Scouts to church youth groups of different orientations and other similar youth groups. The vast majority of these activities are oriented toward those boys who are under sixteen years of age, and have little to offer the older boy because of his different interests, his lack of free time and the difficulty of adequately programming activities for such a wide age range.

Aside from the athletic and other supervised extra-curricular activities offered by the four high schools, which have limited participation from the older boys, there are few organized or semi-organized recreational activities available to the older youth of the community. It is therefore not surprising to find that most of the older boys follow the example set by their parents and travel to Hamilton or Toronto for movies and similar entertainment. During the summer months, weekends

'up north' are a prime source of entertainment and an excursion 'over the river' to the United States can occur any weekend of the year.

These last two activities are distinctly and uniquely engaged in by the youth and there is little adult activity with which to compare it. A notable exception to the under sixteen orientation mentioned above is the relatively recent emergence of active church sponsorship of youth groups oriented solely to the older youths and which have a high degree of autonomy and a fairly non-religious program.

Within the town itself, there are school sponsored dances, pool halfs, swimming pools, and occasional dances outside the schools. But the majority of the entertainment of the older youth is oriented toward peer activities, organized and participated in only by the youths themselves. While the above mentioned facilities are utilized by many, the feeling is that they are second class entertainment. Even when such an activity achieves popularity among the older boys, they usually attend as part of a group and tend to remain together throughout the function.

Peer group activity on the part of the older boys of the town

ranges from fraternities to car clubs as well as the usual unstructured friendship cliques. These unstructured groups often have their own 'hangouts' such as a restaurant close to a school or a particular pool hall and joint activities are planned from these centres of operations. Chief among the other activities of the more socially minded youth are the house parties which occur sporadically, usually whenever the parents of one of the members of a group are absent. Such absences are frequent enough so that the parties occur fairly often. These parties are usually of two types: strictly stag affairs centred around cards, gambling or other such male activity or they may be mixed, in which case the orientation is toward dancing, eating and teen-age romancing.

Central to many of these peer-oriented, peer-guided activities is the consumption of alcoholic beverages, chiefly beer and hard liquor.

Jaunts to the United States where the drinking age is eighteen (New York State), and the weekends 'up north' are for the joint purposes of drinking, and attempting to 'make out' with females. The house parties and the stags are also frequently oriented toward drinking. In many cases,

to that of peers. The alcohol for these parties and other functions is obtained either from the private supplies of parents, usually without their knowledge, or from the legal outlets by older youths who are either twenty-one or who can pass for twenty-one. Because alcohol is relatively easily obtainable, there is seldom any need to resort to purchasing it from the bootleggers.

Drinking, like any other form of social behaviour, is the end product of a long learning process. Tastes, techniques, vocabulary and the norms of the group with which an individual drinks most often must be learned and are taught in various ways by the members of such a group. Just as an individual will adopt one pattern of drinking or another depending on his exposure to the carriers of these patterns, so will be change his drinking patterns as his associations with drinkers change and if he desires to change. Parental, religious or other negative influences toward drinking may always be subverted by strong peer group influence.

The youth of today is exposed to media of various types—radio, and television, newspapers and movies—all of which in various ways and with various degrees of subtelty, portray drinking as a pleasurable pasttime. Through tese diverse media, the youth is besieged by advertising which depicts the person who drinks as young, handsome and sexy—a swinger who has his choice of girls and is always having a good time. For many young men who are unsure of themselves and their future, an ideal is presented, an alter ego with whom they can identify in fact as well as in their minds. The youth also sees his parents and their friends drinking as a part of their social life; he sees the hilarity and the enjoyment and may seek to emulate their behaviour.

In this respect, the drinking of alcoholic beverages by older boys seems to be serving a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it is legally an adult activity in our society and is punished when engaged in by persons under the legal age. But a boy can indulge in drinking behaviour because of the relative ease by which liquor is obtainable. This is one way in which the ambivalent dependent—independent status of youths

can be resolved. Through drinking and the activities which are related to it, the youth is able to develop a conception of himself as an adult, often in accord with the image that is portrayed by the advertising media.

On the other hand, drinking is almost exclusively social behaviour, except in certain pathological cases, and as such serves to unite, solidify or provide a rationalization for the activities of a group of boys. It may also serve as part of the recreation patterns of an already solidified group. In some cases the drinking may be the only real reason for the existence of the group and in other cases drinking is merely a sidelight of a group. In the case where drinking is one of the major reasons for the existence of a group, or is the prime source of entertainment, the emphasis is not only on consumption, but on conspicuous consumption.

The language of the older teen peer group contains many catchphrases such as 'he can hold his liquor', 'boy, was I loaded! but I
still drove' and 'I can hold more than him', all of which are rather

the youths are free to note. These phrases indicate a relationship of the drinking patterns of youth, both to their elders whose behaviour they seek, often unconsciously, to emulate, and to their peers, whom they seek to impress and in whose eyes they desire to gain status. The ability to drink well, to avoid showing the effects of too much alcohol, or to be drunk in a socially acceptable fashion each are means by which such status is achieved. Any behaviour, in which a boy engages while under the influence of alcohol which is not condoned by the group will be negatively sanctioned by the group.

Each of these elements of behaviour is noticeable at one time or another, and in varying degrees, among the youth of Burlington. There is no one particular pattern of drinking that can be said to typify all such older boys. Each individual or group of individuals determines their own standards. However, there are trend-setting peer groups which exercise a strong influence on the drinking habits of the other boys, whether or not they happen to be members. A fraternity is one

such group and the drinking exploits of the members are often discussed in glowing terms and sometimes imitated by the boys in the high schools.

These groups vary a great deal with respect to the ease with which a person can become a member of them—the fraternities are by invitation only and other groups are open to anyone who wishes to participate.

But if an individual wishes to be accepted as a member of one of the trend—setting cliques of the high school students, whether formally or informally structured, he must conform to the norms of their behaviour, especially drinking patterns. Only occasionally will someone be accepted by these groups who does not conform in this manner, and he will usually be an exceptional athelete or have some other highly valued talent. In this manner, groups perpetuate themselves and their behaviour patterns.

The three short personal sketches which follow have been included in an attempt to provide a more intimate look at the types of individuals dealt with in this study. Fred, John and Bill, as they are described are non-existent persons. Through the process of interview-discussion described elsewhere, the researcher gained more insight into the character, background and personality of his respondents than he could have obtained from any number of questionnaires.

No one person corresponds to any of these sketches. While segments of one may correspond to one particular person, others do not. In many instances, similar information was substituted, particularly when all concerned were alike, in order to disguise the subjects. Items such as the occupation of the father, present career and so on have all been disguised. None of these respondents could identify themselves with the actual material presented in these sketches although they could identify with the broad description of the type of person being presented.

FRED

Fred is a tall rather lean nineteen year old who brought me into his home, introduced me to his parents and then led me to the recreation room where we talked for an hour over coffee and cookies (home baked).

Fred lives in this moderately priced ranch style house with his father, mother and twenty-one year old brother. Fred's father is stock keeper for a small manufacturing concern and earns, according to Fred, about \$9,000 a year. Fred's mother has worked off and on as a nurse, (she is a graduate of an area hospital).

Fred's family is Baptist and attends church regularly. "My mother goes every week but I go when my father does, about twice a month".

Fred is not too sure about the values of religion and a course which he has taken in his first year at Ryerson has cast further doubts. "I'm not sure what to believe so I keep going, mainly habit I suppose". He is entering his second year at Ryerson where he is taking journalism with the aim of becoming a foreign correspondent for a large newspaper chain. "I think that I'm good at it and I will see a lot more of the world and

people than I would by sitting at an eight hour a day job in some stuffy office". Fred got quite heated on this point and I gathered there had been some family discussion about career choice. "Mother wanted me to be an engineer but I couldn't take the math and science."

Fred had fairly good marks in high school and even better ones at Ryerson where he "was doing what I wanted to do for the first time in school" and an average of 72%, of which he is proud, agreed with him.

In high school, Fred was the editor of a school newspaper (he showed me several copies of it) and played a supporting role in a school drama production. These high school interests have carried over into his career choice and his interests at Ryerson. In high school, he was on the school track team and ran the 440 and 880 but never won anything outstanding. "The newspaper took all my free time so I really couldn't train".

Fred is a regular attender of a youth group sponsored by his church for young adults of his age despite the fact that he has doubts about his religion and attends most of the time. This group is organized as

a "social, religious study and service group" and, as a group, they aid in various public services, help with things around the church building and generally have fun together. They go bowling, skating and picnicing and also have guest speakers and discussion sessions on topics of current interest. Fred's interest in this group is heightened by the fact that his steady girlfriend is also a member. She is graduating from high school this year and will go to McMaster next year. Fred has been "going steady with her for two years now" and indicates a great deal of desire to make the relationship permanent "when we can afford it".

This youth group seems from what Fred said, to contain the remnants of a group that hung around together in high school. Fred does not drink and has "never had a drop in my life", nor do any of his close friends.

To Fred, drinking is wrong, "not because of religious convictions, but because of the consequences of it, especially among young people". Fred has been to several church youth conventions where the notion of drinking was soundly condemned.

Fred however states that "I am not the type to try and force anyone

not to drink if they want to" and has been to several parties and gatherings where there has been a lot of liquor consumed. He also stated that he "knew that I was not invited to some parties last year because I don't drink. This really doesn't bother me because I can make my own fun without needing booze to liven things up." Fred was quite emphatic on this point, although I suspect that he feels his position at Ryerson as being more isolated than he is willing to let on. When I asked him whather he would have gone if he had been invited, he replied, "Yes".

Living in Toronto as Fred does costs a lot of money which he must earn for himself as his parents cannot help very much. Fred lives in a small bed-sitting room near Ryerson and pays all his own fees and other expenses. To do this, he works each summer in a steel mill in Hamilton and last year received a government loan. He came home most weekends, primarily to see his girlfriend, but also to save some money. He would like to buy a car but "there's no way". Most of the money that Fred allows himself for non-essential spending is used for dates

with his girlfriend. "We like to go to live theatre or good shows but most of the movies are junk."

I chatted for a few minutes with Fred and his father (who is a staunch conservative) before I left. His father took a lively interest in the study and deplored "the lack of parental discipline that seems to be prevalent in our society." Obviously quite well read, he was eager to talk about sociology and we discussed some of the potential applications of the discipline to the "problems of fast, modern life". By this time Fred was showing signs of eagerness to go over to his girlfriends house. I thanked him and his parents and left.

"So that's what they were all about!" was John's first reaction when I introduced myself and my purpose in meeting him in the "Casy". a local restaurant used by the teenagers as a hangout. "I guessed that they (the questions) had something to do with drinking and the kinds of groups and figured that I would answer them. I sure hope nothing would get back to my parents though." John is a young twenty year old from Burlington who is working in a Hamilton factory for the summer to help finance his university education. He will enter the second year of an honours economics course at McMaster in the fall because as he put it, "It's close and I can live cheaply at home and have more money to spend on dates and my car." John has some vague ideas about continuing his education at a graduate level but nothing is certain. "I'll wait until I get through here first but if I do go on, I want to go to Western or to the States; Mac's pretty dead."

Whether or not he goes to graduate school, John would like to go into a management field of one sort or another when he gets through,

for they offer "a lot of money after a while and a good life getting there if you can take the pressure." Pressure is familiar to John from watching his father, an electrical design engineer with a large electronics firm, work his way up the ladder to about \$15,000 a year, two cars, a four bedroom \$35,000 home and "one ulcer".

During his last year in high school, John didn't do too much in the line of extra-curricular activities as he "wanted to get out of that hole in five years." He however played hockey in a semi-organized group of boys, about once a week. He tried out for the high school football team but didn't make it. He helped a little on the school yearbook, "It started with a girl I wanted to meet", but otherwise he concentrated on his schoolwork. His best subjects were the maths.

John was "never in too much hot water in high school" but he didn't hang around with the 'rowdy' group. His parents were a little concerned about him owning a car in grade thirteen but eventually gave in. He bought himself a four year old Volkswagon and it still runs fairly well. The car was good for dates but he would have liked a fancier

one. John entered a provincial math contest but "didn't do too well".

John went out a lot during grade thirteen but "almost always on weekends".

His dates were usually "a show, a dance (at school) and sometimes a

party". He "went steady" for two months (I gathered he thought that

this was a long time) and then he spent a lot of tiem at her home.

John looked forward to the parties as there was sometimes drinking and he had his "first beer at a party in grade twelve". He liked the idea of impressing his date with the fact that he would have a beer or two. Now, "that seems kind of silly, doesn't it?" He went "over the river" to Niagara Falls a couple of times that winter and went "to Lakewood looking for girls" once last summer. He had always wanted to go up north to Sauble Beach or Wasaga Beach for a weekend but "if my parents ever found out, boy would I hear about it!" His parents drink infrequently and "I don't think they know for sure that I have been drinking, so I've got to be careful."

While he was at University last year, he went to a hotel for the first time and "didn't get asked for proof so I keep going to the same

place." John now goes once or twice a month for "a few beers with some friends" and usually only has two or three.

He had a heavier work load at Mac so he couldn't do as many different things like "I did in high school". He played intra-mural hockey and "shot pool once in a while when old buddies came back" from other universities. He met some others who worked on the school news-paper and would like to do it also next year " if there is time".

John "went to all the big drinks of the year" on the big school weekends and got "really plastered for the first time" on Maroon and Grey weekend when he "drank a whole bottle during the game" (a 12-ounce mickey—I presume) and was barely able to go to the dance that night.

John is "pinned" to a girl from Ancaster whom he met at Mac just before Christmas. She skiis and he wants to start skiing next winter.

I asked John whether or not he thought he drinks a lot and he said "No, most of the guys drink a lot more than me, down at the hotel every night or in the residences." A few drinks at a party or dance help me to relax and not be so nervous with girls." He doesn't go to church very

often, "except at Christmas and Easter to keep the parents happy."

Because he lives at home and commutes to McMaster (in a car pool that pays for his gas "and a bit over"), he has a fair amount of spending money for taking his girl out to shows and dances. They like to go to Toronto for the movies so they can have "a few drinks after. She always takes proof but they don't check as often in the pubs there."

A few of his buddies went to the University of Toronto so he "went to the big weekends there as well" before he got pinned. I got the definite impression that he considered pinning as merely a convenient way to ensure regular female company.

We talked for a while longer about experiences at high school (we both went to Burlington Central) and changes at McMaster. As it happened, I had contacted him when he was working the afternoon shift and had met him in the afternoon before he went to work. He wasn't very interested in anything besides the comparative aspects of the study so he excused himself and left for work.

Although I had known Bill by sight for several years, the first time that I actually talked to him was in a downtown city hotel shortly after he had finished work for the day. We had several beers together and both bemcaned the lack of draft beer due to the strike and the fact that the bottled would soon run out. Bill is driving a truck for the summer for the same company he has worked for for the last three years. "So my father works there, he's a big wheel, and I can get a job without too much trouble." His father is chief accountant for the company and earns "loads".

Bill's family, his parents, brother and sister, live in the prestige area of town, or as Bill put it, "the snob land", in a large, spacious house on a wooded lot. Last year Bill went to the University of Western Ontario and "had a ball". With the help of his parents, he lived in an apartment near the campus with one other young man and "it was a swinging place". I gathered by this and other references to the apartment that they had a good time all year. "But I'm paying for that now, I've still

got a supplemental exam to write this summer and studying at this time of year is for the birds".

Eill is going to take a degree in business and hopes someday to get "into the management of a large firm on the planning and development side." "If you're good there is great money and quick promotion, and I want an E-type Jaguar (an expensive sports car) before I'm too old." His sister has married and moved to Vancouver, and his brother is practising dentistry in Toronto. Bill has travelled extensively "twice across the continent to Vancouver" and to Mexico with his family where he managed "to escape for a time and really had fun with some other kids I met." He will go to Europe when he graduates from Western and "pop will foot the bill".

Bill was not nearly so reluctant as some to talk about the drinking habits of his family, himself and his friends. His mother drinks regularly, usually before dinner and in the evening but will occasionally drink with friends during the day. Bill says, "These afternoon card-drinking bouts have been going on for as long as I can remember." Bill's

father drinks after he gets home from work "to relax" and both parents drink at parties, dances and other social events, "usually too much".

Bill says that he began to drink when he was fourteen and "more often when I was sixteen and got the nerve to swipe some from his parents liquor cabinet". They never missed it. When he was eighteen, his parents gound out about it but did nothing and several times "bought me a case of beer for a party or something". Bill has been able to pass for twenty-one for a couple of years now and buys all his own liquor.

Bill reminisced about his high school days when I started asking him about them. He was asked to join a fraternity in grade 12 and did so because a "lot of my friends, the guys I went to parties and over the border with were in it." The fraternity parties and the excursions over the border and up north in the summer involved a greater degree of drinking because of the older boys in the fraternity. Bill "began to drink all the time". By this I gathered that he was drinking fairly heavily at least once a week.

He played on his high school football team, skiid every weekend all

winter and was elected to the student government executive. There were several reasons for this choice of activities, "the parties were better, there was more booze and older guys, and the girls came easier".

Owning his own car helped on the female side—Bill has a late model

M.G.B. (a small English sports car).

He crammed a lot to get out of high school but was "not the lowest in the class". At Western, some of the patterns established in high school changed. "I've got to work a little harder now so I'm not out every night of the week." He occasionally goes over the river with his old fraternity buddies when he is home some weekends, but prefers to associate with his friends at Western. Most of the drinking that Bill did last year was in his own apartment, "Boy, was it great to not have to worry about parents and time and everything!" He goes to a hotel fairly often, usually after classes, but prefers parties and dances, especially the big weekend social bashes of the school year. "I must be getting more used to it, I don't get drunk quite as often now." In high school he drank mainly beer, but now beer and liquor in about even amounts.

Bill remembered the "first and last party that I threw at my home when my parents were in Florida. God! What a mess! It took all the next day to clean up." His drinking and entertainment cost him a lot at Western, "You have got to keep up or you don't get the girls", but his father pays all the bills except his entertainment costs, so Bill is not too worried and has a good time. The only thing that he did at Western aside from the parties and his school work was playing on an intermural football team, "because some guys from my high school were there and knew I played good ball". Because so many of his friends are in a fraternity at Western, Bill feels certain that he will be invited to join next year. Apparently, the fraternities are the social high spots of the campus.

I asked Bill to compare the amount of drinking that he did in high school with what he did now. "In high school, I drank fairly heavily once or twice a week, mainly beer and usually with guys. Now I'm drinking more often but usually not quite so much at any one time.

The big weekends are another thing, everybody gets plastered. More university girls drink so there is more booze at parties. I guess I'm drinking a fair bit more now."

Drinking seemed to be a big topic with Bill and he may have exagerated some of his exploits. His only comment on religion before he changed the topic was "a waste of time". His family is nominally United but I gathered that they don't attend very regularly. We had met at 5:30 p.m. and as he was going to a party that night, he left the hotel shortly after 6:30 p.m.

The period of late adolescence, the years between seventeen and twenty-one, is a particularly trying time for the youth of our society. They have to face problems, adapt to situations and make decision that their parents seldom faced at their age, if at all. Youth is told that these years of early adulthood are the most enjoyable years of their life, that they are the years without responsibility and the years without worry. But how much of this attitude is merely wishful conjecture or even projection of the older generation, their own lost dreams and hopes? How much of this expressed view of these years is fact and how much is fiction?

One of the most notable areas of stress lies in and around the problem of education and the related issues such as career choice, social mobility and status distinctions. It is recognised throughout most of our society that a higher education is the most important and indeed the most necessary step that a young man can take today. Without education, not on the broad comprehensive level of a generation ago, but specific and detailed training, the life chances of an individual

are severely limited. To many, this poses little or no problem as, for one reason or another they have abandoned any goals that they may have had about the values of education. But this in itself is a product of education, or rather of the insufficiency of education.

A youth in the last year of his secondary school education must have given serious thought to his future, particularly with respect to his career and to the steps that he must take to follow this through. It is at this point that he must decide whether or not to proceed to university or some other form of higher education or whether he should begin work immediately. It is Foote's contention that when an individual encounters' alternatives, as he does at this point, he is released from "pre-conscious bondage to any particular conception of himself". His identity thereafter, Foote argues, "accrues from more conscious personal choice and pursuit of the values he has discovered in his experience! (Foote 1951:19).

If he opts in favour of education, he must be willing to prepare himself for it, a course which of necessity involves sacrifices.

For this type of youth, these sacrifices involve arriving at a balance

between the educational or academic sphere and the social, so that the set goals may be met. Inability to adjust to a balance of this sort often results in failure and either abandonment of the goals and substitution of others at a somewhat lower level, or a redefinition which necessitates a return to school with revised values.

Often this inability to adjust results from goals being set by others and imposed on the individual. In this case resentment may be felt not only toward the goals, particularly career goals, but also toward the person or persons who have so interferred. He is placed both by his family and by the school authorities in a position of dependentindependence. He is urged to take responsibility but is not allowed to make decisions. Rather than being allowed to learn, he is forced to memorized He is told that even though he may be physically and mentally prepared to engage in certain adult activities, they are proscribed to him and often punished by law. The contradictions that he sees between the words of his elders and their actions become more and more apparent as he grows older and the reasons become more and more obscure. "Adolescents in our society are a striking example of the 'unplaced'; they find in peer-groups the status and definition that the larger society has not provided! (Hartley & Hartley 1952;462).

Thus a young man whose senses tell him that he is an adult and who must soon take the full responsibilities of adulthood, is told that he is still a child and must be protected from himself and from others. In this context is it any wonder that there is a state of conflict between the generations, often not expressed but nevertheless there? Much of the news of the world today bears witness to this conflict in a most dramatic and violent form. In a word, conflict breeds conflict. Thus to the young adult who cannot receive from the older generation the support he needs, turns to the group "holding greatest promise of status, help or support" and will maintain this group as a reference group (Hartley & Hartley 1952:467).

An interesting fact that may be noted in any form of conflict, but that is expressly noteworthy in the conflict between youth and age, is that much of the discord is in the form of group behaviour. It is rare

that an individual is noted as being in opposition to the status quo. but collectivities in such a state are relatively common. culture of protest may be seen to be emerging which the establishment is having a difficult time in dealing with. But the collective element of this behaviour is most interesting, in that the peer group seems to be substituted for the larger society. It becomes a sub-group or subsociety, present or non-present, complete with its own norms and values; sanctions and rewards (Goffman 1956:50). It is as if such groups provide a society where an individual is equal to the other members or at least competes with them on equal terms. The young adolescent is therefore judged by his peers with respect to behaviour which they regulate. He then is able to define himself in terms of his own choosing or even to change the frame of reference if he desires (Goffman 1956; 156).

In the course of his life an individual belongs to groups of various types and for various lengths of time. His ties to these groups are either strong or weak, depending on his attitudes toward

them, their norms and their values. There appear to be four main types of groups with which an individual may come into contact. The first of these is the group in which he is an involuntary member because of accident of birth, legality or someone else's choice. For example, every person who is born in a country is a citizen of that country—he is a member of a group called a nation or a society. He is also required by law to attend school and remain within the family group until the age of sixteen or some other arbitrary age. In this case, for 'x' number of years, the person is a member of a group called students and as such and in the appropriate contexts, is subject to certain norms and usually a common value structure.

The second type of group is that which an individual voluntarily joins and to which he is tied only so long as he desires to be. Any voluntary organization such as Boy Scouts, a band, a car club or a drama club are examples of this type. This sort of group may even be a sub group of a larger involuntary group such as that found within the school setting.

A third category that is possible to discuss is that which includes groups which an individual does not belong to but desires membership in.

Any person who for instance applies for membership in an exclusive club would place the club in this category. Merton adds in this connection that "non-membership groups are more likely to be adopted as reference groups in those social systems having high rates of social mobility than in those which are relatively closed" (Merton 1966:293).

The fourth type of group which may once have been one of the other three types is one which the individual currently belongs to but which he desires to leave or to which his ties are very weak for one reason or another. The most common reason for such a change is merely changing interests over time. More will be said on this topic later.

A group falling within any of the above categories may be structured in a number of ways. The group may be a highly formalized affair with rigid rules and legally binding and enforcable sanctions. The Bar Association is an example of this type of group, for while anyone qualified may and indeed must be a member of it if he wishes to practise

law, the penalties for offences such as malpractice are enforcable by law. A literary club is at the polar extreme, being extremely flexible in its organization and having no legally enforcable norms. Group sanctions such as dismissal from the group may in both cases be imposed but in the latter, recourse to law is seldom possible or necessary.

But any group has a common element, namely a degree of similar or related involvement by members, a common denominator or meeting ground on which each member of the group is on equal terms and which differentiates the group and its members from outsiders or non-group members.

(Becker 1967:1-3). This element of commonality provides for behaviour of group members which is in accord with general group norms, at least in defined situations. In some cases, the norms which one learns and complies with in group situations have a carry-over effect into other spheres of the person's life. This can be seen particularly with respect to religious beliefs which, depending on their strength, govern individual behaviour to a lesser or greater extent.

For the purpose of this study, the term 'group' will be given

the wide usage that is stated or implied in many studies. 'Group' will therefore refer not only to actual identifiable and concrete conglomerates of individuals that are commonly called groups, but also to individuals and to more nebulous social categories as well (Merton 1966:284). The use of individuals in this context may be justified on the grounds that they may be representative of a group such as those referred to at first. In addition, they may also be as individuals, the personification of an impersonal office or body of people and identification with the individual signifies identification with the group which he represents.

Generally speaking then, any individual is a member of or aspires to membership in, many different groups, all of which are part of the overall social structure. These groups may be actively engaged in supporting the social structure, they may be completely neutral and centered on completely divorced interests or they may be in active opposition to the system.

Within this framework, an individual will be referred to as a formal member of a group if he is an active participating member and is

recognized by other group members as being such. At the same time, individuals may identify themselves with a particular group and govern their behaviour accordingly, without being a formal member of it (Eisenstadt 1954:213). With respect to the individual, the latter type of group will be called a non-membership reference group and the former called a membership reference group.

In recent years, this concept of reference group has been widely used as a base for sociological and social-psychological analysis of behaviour and its origins. Sherif states that the concept of reference groups can be used to relate actual social groups with an individual's relatedness to them and his perception of them. Accordingly, he defines reference groups as "those social units to which the individual relates himself or aspires to relate himself psychologically" (Sherif 1963:801). This definition of Sherif's allows for examination of either membership or non-membership reference groups as it does not distinguish between the two.

Siegel and Siegel define reference groups as "the groups in which

he, (an individual) aspires to gain or maintain membership" (Siegel & Siegel 1957:360). S.N. Eisenstadt, in a discussion of the extent of the influence of group norms on the behaviour of group members, defines reference groups as those groups "with whose norms we identify ourselves" (Eisenstadt 1954:194).

If a group is therefore to be referred to as a reference group for an individual, in the manner in which groups were discussed above, two basic conditions must be met. First, there must be some manner of self:identification of the individual with the group. This identification may be either of a positive or of a negative nature, the group being a positive reference group if there is decided orientation toward it and being a negative reference group if there is decided lack of orientation toward it.

Second, there must be recognition of the norms and values of the group under discussion and behaviour of the individual with respect to them. Once again the ideas of positive and negative reference groups may be used when the behaviour is positively or negatively oriented to

the norms of the group. Strong conformity to the norms of the group by a person will indicate that it is for him, a strong positive reference group or vice versa. Both of these conditions hold equally as well whether or not the person is a member of the particular group. If the person's aspirations for acceptance and group membership are strong, in other words, if his identification with the group is strong, he will exhibit behaviour appropriate for a group member. If he is not a member but desires to become one, he may over-conform to the behavioural norms in order to gain acceptance.

According to Merton (Merton 1966:283), two main types of reference groups may be distinguished by their functions. The first or normative type refers to a "group which sets maintains standards for the individual", and the second or comparison type refers to "a group which produces a frame of comparison relative to which an individual compares himself and others". H.H. Kelly (1952:412-413) has similarly classified reference group with allusion to their two major function—normative and comparative, and attributes characteristics to each type which are

consistent with Merton's.

It may, therefore, be stated that the concept of reference group is used to describe and examine social groups which provide standards of behaviour for an individual through his desire to become or to remain a member of them. The negative reference groups mentioned above are covered in that for each negative reference group there is a positive reference group toward which the individual is oriented. This at times results in a push-pull situation and stress and conflict for the individual. The resolution of this push-pull situation usually depends on the manner in which the individual view each of the groups, and their relative merits, particularly with respect to his own orientations and conceptions. Hartley (1957:46) states that "the acceptance of any group as a reference group is basically a state of feeling: a feeling. of being an integral part of a larger group, if group membership has been consumated; a feeling of wanting to be a part of it, if actual membership has not been achieved".

It has been demonstrated, particularly in the work of M. Sherif

(1963) that social groups can and do function on two interlocking and related levels. The first level is purely social in nature and the second is psychological. The fact that there is this interlocking phenomenon allows for three potential spheres, wherein analysis of individual behaviour may be examined as it refers to social groups as the concept of groups was discussed above.

The first of these is the purely social sphere. By this is meant the overt social relationships and interaction and the systematic patterning and changes in these relationships between individuals. The solely psychological sphere may also be examined as it pertains to the individuals involved. In this particular area, the emphasis of analysis is on the individuals motivations or needs and the way in which they affect his relationship with the group. The psychological motivation or desire to become a member of a group is distinct from the behaviour he will exhibit as a group member. The combination of these two, however, leads to the third and perhaps the most nebulous of the possible areas of analysis.

Depending on the social nature of the group and the motivation of the members or potential members, the area of overlap varies. This third sphere, the area of overlap or interlock contains elements of each of the others but in varying degrees. Groups and their constituent individuals examined in this context are commonly inspected under the classification of reference groups. (Sherif 1963:801). By so defining this analysis, a researcher not only may take into account the social functioning of groups and individuals but also may examine these in the light of underlying individual motivations. Conversely the motivation, needs and identification of the individual may be examined with respect to the social functioning of a given group with which he associates.

However, human behaviour is neither static nor completely predictable. Social groupings are also subject to constant changes over time.

Individuals are constantly changing, not only aging but maturing. Each new encounter with a novel situation is capable of influencing an individual's behaviour patterns to an extent consistent with the strength of the impact of the situation. The aging process alone

promotes change in behaviour such that markedly different reactions to similar situations may be noted. That this is in large part due to emotional as well as chronological maturation is in large part true. But, where the age factor is crucial, as in the case of legal drinking ages, age itself is a factor.

In this process of individual growth and maturation in accordance with new experiences, the motivations and needs of a person are continually being reviewed and revised, often unconsciously. As these needs and motivations change with time and new encounters, so do the reference groups of the individual. A particular group which once provided support or enjoyment may be seen as childish and in a new situation new reference groups may replace the old.

Another factor which must be considered at this point is that of the relative strengths of the ties that an individual has to his reference group. This strength in turn depends on the individual's needs and the degree to which a particular group fulfills them. Cohen (1962:105) views this "choice among reference groups as a function of

the attributes of the groups in the set of available alternatives".

Therefore, the stronger the needs and interests of an individual are with respect to a particular reference group, the stronger will be his ties with it. The individual will keep as his reference group, then, that one which best fulfills his needs or interests. In the case where the relationship is strong in this fashion, the process of change is considerably slower. Until a new group emerges in the sphere of association of a person which better fulfills his needs, the old group will be retained as a primary reference group. Following directly from this argument, the stronger the relationship between an individual and a particular reference group, the greater the conformity that can be expected between the individual's behaviour and the norms and values of the group in question.

Thus, shifts in the needs and interests of an individual, or even in their relative importance to him can create the potential for, and actual changes in, his reference groups. For this reason "not infrequently we find a discrepancy between the individual's membership groups and

his reference groups" (Sherif 1963:802). In this sense, membership may be maintained in a group by an individual, even though his actions are determined by other distinct reference groups. Such a membership is usually retained of necessity, rather than choice and the person involved would limit his associations to a minimum and attempt to leave as soon as possible.

Situations causing an individual to re-evaluate his reference groups and perhaps change them need not always stem from the individual. Social groups change their character and constitution over time and in this process, new norms and values are initiated. When this changed normative structure becomes routinized over a period of time, the individual members are again faced with the decision of whether or not to associate with the group. If an individual member is either unable or unwilling to adopt or revise his behaviour in accordance with the new normative structure, or if the new normative structure no longer fulfills his needs, he may no longer identify with the group. This changing of the character of a reference group while the individual's

needs remain constant creates a situation of weakened ties and necessitates a search for a new reference group to fulfill the old needs. The likli-hood of such a dissatisfied person severing ties with the group is heightened.

In extreme instances, the group to which a person was attached will become a negative reference group and he will actively avoid association with it. In most cases of this sort, some other strong positive reference group is either already within the sphere of activity of the person or is being sought. The lack of ready availability of a new positive reference group will tend to heighten the potential feelings of animosity toward the negative reference group. Generally, however, a new group is already applying pressure in this push-pull situation that the person becomes involved in.

This study was undertaken with the intention of exploring relationships that could possibly exist between the drinking patterns of high school senior makes and their reference groups. On a longitudinal axis an attempt was made to examine the changes, if any, in these relationships that could possibly exist between the drinking patterns of high school senior makes and their reference groups. On a longitudinal axis

ships over a period of one year. It was hoped that enough respondents would respond to the questionnaires in each year to be able to draw significant contrasts and comparisons. Accordingly, a search of the literature was conducted in order to examine analagous studies and perhaps to find several with which comparisons could be drawn.

In the examination of obtainable studies pertaining to the drinking behaviour of high school students and young adults, several problems became apparent. The first, and perhaps the most limiting problem, was that no similar studies on Canadian youth were located. Therefore it became necessary to turn to studies conducted in the United States which present more complicated problems for analagous comparison. The circumstances under which these studies were conducted were in many respects completely different from those in Burlington. It was found that, aside from differing among themselves, the legal regulations governing drinking, community character differences and even the types and availability of alcoholic beverages prevent all but the most general comparisons. However, several of the more notable studies

and some of their findings are presented briefly below.

Working from two secondary sources; the Purdue Opinion Poll (March 1958) and the Gallup Youth Survey of May 1961 G.L. Maddox attempted to test the four following generalizations about the drinking patterns of youth 1. Established drinking patterns are characteristic of a minority of students. 2. Among those with established drinking patterns, intensive use and personal and social problems were infrequent. 3. Patterns of drinking reflect the placement of the individual in the social structure. 4. A negative orientation to drinking on the part of students tends to decline with age and increased assumption of adult roles and responsibilities. (Maddox 1964:339).

The Purdue study found that 46% of the boys questioned were currently drinking. The Gallup Poll, perhaps due to different sampling techniques, indicated that 30% of this same general group were currently drinking (Maddox 1964:343). Presumably, the gap between eighteen and nineteen years represents the move from secondary school to various post secondary school activities.

Only the Purdue Poll gave data concerning frquency of use of alcoholic beverages. Eleven percent of the respondents reported drinking at least once a week (Maddox 1964:342). However, as this includes both male and female respondents and as there is no age control cited, comparisons that can be drawn are open to question.

In summarizing the detailed analysis of both of these studies,

Maddox arrived at the following conclusions. 1. Although most high
school students have been exposed to drinking, few have established
consumption patterns. 2. Intensive use is infrequent. 3. The patterns
of use depend upon age, socioeconomic status and subcultural differences.

4. The approval of use varies with "social characteristics and group
experiences" (Maddox 1964:346).

In a study conducted among high school students in Utah, A.D.

Slater (1952) reported that of the boys in their senior high school year,

40% were 'occasional drinkers' and only 2% were 'frequent drinkers'.

The population from which he drew his sample, admittedly weighted toward urban areas, did include rural students as well. He defined frequent

drinking as an "average consumption of several drinks a week", and occasional drinking was indicated by "one or two drinks a month". The major reason reported for drinking were social in nature; "because others in the crowd were drinking" (Slater 1952:78-83).

In this report, as in most American studies, beer was by far the most preferred and the most heavily consumed beverage. One possible reason is that beer can be obtained relatively easily, usually in grocery stores etc., where age limits are not so likely to be as rigidly enforced. Student hang-outs which are licensed to serve beer are another convenient and relatively more lenient source of supply.

Many of the variables explored at great length in a study conducted under the auspices of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Kansas (McCluggage, Baur, et al 1956) are not suitable for comparison. However, several areas and items of note were found. 'Users' were defined by the authors as those respondents who "say they have used alcoholic beverages on social or other occasions", (excluding religious occasions) (McCluggage, Baur, et al 1956:11). As

their definition of 'Metropolitan' areas is based on population figures within which the population of Burlington lies, figures cited below will refer to this category.

Within their definition, 72% of the boys sampled who were eighteen years of age or over were 'users' (McCluggage, Baur et al 1956:13). This, when compared to the figures cited from already mentioned studies, seems high. Once again, differences in sampling and the types and . obtainability of alcoholic beverages make meaningful discussion and comparison difficult. However, general findings showed that "as students advance through high school an increasing proportion have experience with alcoholic beverages reaching a maximum of about two-thirds of the seniors in the metropolitan high schools" (McCluggage, Baur et al 1956: 95). This is somewhat qualified by the further analysis which indicates that while most of these 'users' drink 3.2 beer; only one in fifty drinks other beverages (particularly strong beer) regularly and only one in one hundred drinks hard liquor regularly (McCluggage, Baur et al 1956: 96), 3.2 beer or 'near beer' appears to much more readily be available

and its use much more socially tolerated.

Wahl 1956) provides several interesting results in that while the legal age for drinking in the county is twenty-one, it is eighteen in neighbouring counties. Racine is a heavily industrialized area with a population, which although it is mainly second and third generation American, origionally stems largely from northern Europe, particularly Germany and the Scandinavian countries. In addition, and also in marked contrast to Burlington, the population is relatively stable with a low population turnover. Religious attendance is also high among those sampled, nine-tenths stating that they had been to religious services at least once during the last month (Miller & Wahl 1956:12).

A user is defined, in a manner similar to the Kansas study, as "one who uses alcoholic drink on social or other non-religious occasions" (Miller & Wahl 1956:79). The proportion of such 'users' is reported to increase with age until it is about 80% at the age of eighteen (Miller & Wahl 1956:79). The following chart taken from this

study presents data in a form roughly similar to categories used in the present study, although total consumption is not indicated.

	never	less than once a month	1-3 times a month	once a week or more	total
Beer	40%	34%	18%	8%	100%
Wine .	36%	51%	11%	2%	100%
Liquor	56%	34%	8%	1%	100%

(Miller & Wahl 1956:37)

In each of the last two studies cited, the indications are that use of alcoholic beverages increases with age, with parental approval and with the ease of obtainability. In Racine county the legal restrictions do not work due to lower age limits nearby (Miller & Wahl 1956:85).

A somewhat analagous situation is present in Burlington and other communities close to New York State where the age limit is eighteen, not twenty-one as in Ontario.

One of the most important similarities in the findings of these and similar studies is that the drinking patterns of young adults are almost wholey a group phenomenon. Christopher Sower (1959) studied high

school students in an attempt to discover possible relationships existing between drinking patterns and group behaviour. Norman Alexander (1964) also examined the phenomenon of group behaviour among adolescent drinkers. Particularly he attempted to show the effects that various social groups with which the individual has contact have on their drinking patterns.

Sower found that one-third of his respondents drank with some degree of regularity, (although this was not clearly defined). He also found that the highest rates of drinking were found among older males in the highest and lowest social classes. (Again, these were not clearly defined) (Sower 1959:656). Both Sower and Alexander agree on the group nature of the young male drinking patterns. "Teenage drinking is not only culturally patterned and socially controlled behaviour, it is almost entirely a group act" (Sower 1959:656). Alexander expands on the concept of the group nature of drinking by adding that there are usually group standards concerning the drinking; when it is appropriate and how much is appropriate on which occasions. Over a period of time, legiti-

mizing norms usually develop in groups which govern these drinking patterns. When this occurs, members or potential members must either conform or find a group whose norms correspond more closely to their own (Alexander 1964:397).

Sower also supports the earlier contention that late adolescence is a period of great stress, lacking in clear definitions of roles and responsibilities. He states that "another reason for teenage drinking might be that young people want to build a social platform, a sense of belonging to their group. They are in a transitional period from an awkward age to being recognized as adults" (Sower 1959:658). He also states that "for at least some young men, drinking shows a distinct relationship to the passage from youth into young adult male roles in our society" (Sower 1959:656).

Alexander argues that a drinker who is a friend of a non-drinker has two alternatives open to him. He can either associate with other drinkers and abandon the friend or he can attempt to persuade the friend to drink (Alexander 1964:397). However, the emphasis of pressure

toward conformity is not placed solely on the peer group. "Given the character of the larger society's normative milieu with regard to alcohol usage, it would seem likely that strong social pressures to drink exist within the adolescent society" (Alexander 1964:397). These pressures may be even greater on the adolescent because of the very transitional nature of his position.

The 'rites de passage', the increasing awareness of imminent adulthood and the social, commercial and other pressures exerted from the larger society, create the situation where many individuals have little free choice. The young man must, almost of necessity conform to peer standards or change his terms of reference and find groups more amenable to his personal preferences. Alexander sums up much of this discussion of pressures on the individual when he states that "it would certainly be of concern to the individual if he were left out of important group activities because of his non-conforming behaviour" (Alexander 1964:403).

The purpose of this study is to examine the drinking patterns and related behaviour of young adult males and to attempt to relate these observed patterns to some aspects of reference group theory. Particularly important to this study is the fact that it is intended to compare these relationships over a period of time. For the senior high school student, the most significant event of his school years and the most difficult decision to make is whether or not to continue at a higher level.

The decision and the choice are not the only significant crises that face the young man at the end of his high school years, but the almost totally different world of the university, the college or the place of employment into which he enters each creates new and different possibilities for action. Restraints that had been felt throughout high school are suddenly removed, new avenues of intellectual and social endeavour open to him and his adaptation becomes even more difficult.

It was felt that this period of transition, of marked changes in

many other aspects of life and patterns of behaviour and association would be an ideal time to examine the effects of these changes on drinking patterns. Therefore the population that was selected for this study consisted of the total male population of the grade thirteen classes in the four high schools in the town of Burlington. It was hoped that the majority of those in grade thirteen during the first phase of the study would advance to some type of post-secondary education the following year when they would again be questioned.

Burlington was selected as a site for this study because of the
degree to which the researcher is familiar with the town and the youth
of the town. His contacts within the school system also facilitated
the program of research in an attempt to obtain as homogeneous a sample
as possible with respect to the socio-economic backgrounds of the
students. It was felt that in working with limited time, such a
restricted population would enable the researcher to partially control
several important variables beforehand. Males only were questioned
due to the much more pronounced nature of their drinking patterns.

In addition it was felt that the transition to a post-secondary level of education and the approaching entrance into adult responsibilities would cause the greatest strain on the already established or on the emerging patterns.

After several sessions with the principals of two of the four high schools in Burlington, who were personally known by the researcher in which the proposed project was thoroughly discussed, a research proposal was submitted to the Burlington Board of Education. The proposal and the study itself were discussed by the principals council and the chairman of the Board of Education. Thanks largely to the support of the two principals mentioned earlier, Mr. McCollum and Mr. Lavender, the board and the principals agreed to cooperate in the study and to provide the requested information. In this manner, lists of the male students them enrolled in grade thirteen and their addresses were obtained from the individual high schools.

In all, 211 names were so obtained, but because of the movements of families, incomplete addresses etc., only 200 were potential

respondents. Each student was assigned an identification number which was plainly printed on the first page of each questionnaire and the purpose of which will become clear later. Accordingly, late in the summer of 1967 the first questionnaire was mailed to these 200 students. Ten days after this initial mailing, a reminder card was sent to each student who to that point had not responded to the questionnaire. The identification number was used to identify questionnaires for the purpose of follow-ups, both to the first questionnaire and to identify the same people the next year and to follow groups of respondents over the one year period.

Eventually, 120 of the 200 questionnaires were returned in the envelopes provided, completed with varying degrees of thoroughness.

Only two of the 120 returned questionnaires had had the identification numbers obliterated. Thus 118 of these 200 questionnaires were usable in that it would be possible to trace the respondents in the second phase of the study the following year. In addition to the trust that the students had in not erasing the identification numbers, many,

feeling that the postage on the return envelope was insufficient, went to the trouble of adding extra postage. A few even signed their completed questionnaires and added return addresses. These factors, along with the researchers knowledge of actual conditions, informal discussions with respondents and the nature of responses to questions other than those dealing with drinking, indicated that in general, the responses were quite honest and frank.

The information contained in these 118 usable questionnaires was transferred to IEM key punch cards. As the majority of questions were pre-coded, only several required coding by the researcher and this was done strictly in accordance with established rules to ensure uniformity in all the responses. Marginal programs were run on these cards in order to get a broad over-view of the material obtained and to enable the researcher to formulate some opinions about the format of the second questionnaire.

During the summer of 1968, a second questionnaire similar to the first and with a format which would allow easy comparison of the drinking

patterns and behaviour over the one year period, was mailed to the 118 students who had responded to the initial questionnaire the year before. It was decided to include only the initial respondents in the second phase in order to allow for more accurate comparisons. After a period of seven days, a reminder card was mailed to those who had not already returned questionnaires. A week later, in order to obtain as complete a returness possible, a second complete questionnaire was mailed to the non-respondents. All told, 97 completed questionnaires were returned in this second phase and six were returned by the post office because their families had moved and no forwarding addresses were available. The following chart indicates the patterns of returns that the questionnaires took in each of the two phases and the percentages received of the potential respondents.

	Ist Questionnaire	IInd Questionnaire
Potential sample	211	118
Incomplete addresses, etc.	11	6
Potential respondents	200	112
Returned completed	120	97
Returned usable	118	97
Percentage of usable return of potential respondents		86.6%

Once again, where necessary using coding consistent with that used for the first questionnaire, the information from the second questionnaire was punched onto IEM cards. In both cases, there were several questions where the responses were later combined into a much smaller number of categories due to the extremely small number of respondents in many of the original categories.

In addition to the data obtained from the questionnaires, supplementary information was acquired by means of completely informal and unstructured interviews, or rather discussions, with selected subjects.

Three respondents from each of three categories were interviewed in

this way. The three categories were the non-drinkers, the moderate drinkiers and the heavy drinkers. Names for these discussions were obtained by first sorting all responses into these categories and then selecting suitable subjects from each group. The subjects so selected were located if possible. If they were unavailable, substitute subjects were utilized. After contact by phone or via the grapevine which this researcher has access to in Burlington, places for discussion were decided upon. In all cases, where a subject was finally located and contacted, he willingly agreed to the meeting, mainly, I believe, out of curiosity.

In few respects did these discussions bear any resemblance to formal interviews. We usually sat and chatted for an hour or so about the study, their own background, their drinking, their high school career, what they were doing this year and other items of common interest. They seemed to relax quickly and talked freely although I seldom tried to overtly lead the discussion. In order to achieve maximum informality, no notes were taken during the actual talks, although I recorded as

much as possible once I was alone.

The object of these interviews was twofold; one was to attempt to find in some measure the degree to which the questionnaires had been answered truthfully and, secondly, to obtain sufficient information about several from each category to write the short personal sketches that are to be found elsewhere in this study. Later checking of the interview information and that obtained on the questionnaires revealed no discrepancies of any significance.

The data from each questionnaire was punched onto two IEM cards with only the preliminary coding mentioned above. Subsequent recoding and grouping of responses that was undertaken when the actual analysis began still required two cards for each questionnaire. This later reclassifying was intended to make the raw information, particularly the responses to the drinking questions, more amenable to computer analysis.

Thus, 118 sets of two cards were obtained from the first questionnaire and 97 sets of two cards from the second questionnaire. For final analysis, the cards of the 97 respondents who had returned both questionnaires were grouped together. In this manner, the actual respondents for whom a longitudinal analysis could be attempted were soparated. The twenty-one students who had replied to the first questionnaire but for one reason or another, had not replied to the second, were analysed separately. It was felt that this would enable comparisons to be drawn not only among those who had replied each time, but also between these double respondents and those who only replied the first time. The manner in chich the actual analysis was conducted will be described later.

The data that is presented below will refer only to those respondents who completed both questionnaires, except where otherwise noted. It is felt that only in this manner can a truly representative picture of the findings be presented. The following 11 tables present basic demographic type data concerning the respondents. These should be taken into account when considering the actual analysis of drinking behavior.

TABLE I
Respondents by High School Attended.

Burlington Central High School	29
Nelson High School	39
Aldershot High School	19
M. M. Robinson High School	10
	97 Total

TABLE II
Respondents by Religious Affiliation.

Anglican	21
Christian Reformed	1
· Presbyterian	11
Roman Catholic	9
United	36
None	11
Other	8
	97 Total

TABLE III
Respondents by Fathers Ethnic Background.

British Isles	74
Dutch	3
French	2
German	5
Polish	1
Ukrainian	. 4
Scandinavian	1
Other	. 7
	97 Total

TABLE IV

Respondents by Father's Occupation (Blishen Ranking)

1	1	
2	44	
3	18	۵
4	. 10	
5	20	
6	1	
7	0	
N.R.	,3	
	97	Total

TABLE V
Respondents by Age (Second Year)

18	9
19	45
20	34
21	- 9
	97 Total

TABLE VI
Respondents by Perceived Social Class

Upper Class	5
Upper Middle Class	36
Middle Middle Class	36
Lower Middle Class	10
Working Class	. 9
N.R.	1
Totals .	97

Upper Class	5
Middle Class	82
Working Class	9
N.R.	1
	and the state of t
	97

Thus, by comparing the data, especially from tables 2, 3, 4, it can be noted that the respondents are generally from middle class, protestant families of British origin. The respondents own perception of their social class compares favorably with a more objective analysis which might be made of their fathers occupation ranking and corresponding social class position, (tables 6 & 4). It should also be noted, (table 5), that in the first year of this study, none of the respondents were of legal age and only 9 were of age the second year.

The information presented in table 7 below furthers this impression of middle class orientation. When the figures in table 7 are compared to those of table 4, they clearly reflect the emphasis on success and upward mobility which, as has been mentioned previously, characterize the school system. Table 8 will present some further information as to where this pressure toward mobility comes from by examining the most influential sources of pressure for career preference.

TABLE VII
Respondents by Preferred Occupation (Blishen Ranking).

	First Year		Second Year	
	First Choice	Second Choice	First Choice	Second Choice
1	23	14	20	16
2	60	62	66	51
3	11	13	9 .	20
4	0 .	1	1	0
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0 '
7	Ö	0	0	0
N.R.	3	7	1	10
Tota	ls 97	97	97	97

TABLE VIII
Respondents by Career Choice Influence.

·	First Choice	Second Choice
Family & Relatives	12	23
Friends	1	7 .
Religion or Clergyman	1	1
School - Guidance Programs, etc.	13	18
School - Personal Teacher Contact	8	20
Own Knowledge - Hobbies, etc.	62	19
N.R.	0	, 9
Totals	97	97

While personal knowledge and hobbies are very important as the most influential, the second most influential areas seem to be very evenly split. Only friends and religion are relatively unimportant in career choice, probably because of the above mentioned desire for upward mobility and the picture presented in the following table which reflects, insofar as church attendance can, religious influence.

TABLE IX

Respondents by Religious Attendance.

	First Year	Second Year
Once a Week or More	28	15
Once or Twice a Month	23	20
3 or 4 Times a Year	16	17
Never	28	45
N.R.	2	0
Totals	97	97

As can be seen, there is a marked drop in church attendance. The most noticeable is the increase, from 28 to 45, in the number of respondents who answered that they had not attended a religious service in the last year. This is possibly accounted for by the fact that the majority in the second year are in some form of higher education and thereby freed to a much greater extent from parental influence. The presentation of new ideas and the development of more individual thought at the post-secondary level might also be a joint influencing factor.

Table 10, following presents a comparison between the post-high

school plans of the respondents and their actual post-high school activity. Few of the respondents failed to achieve the goal which they had set for themselves. Of those that did, several returned to high school for a second attempt at grade 13.

TABLE X

Post-high School Plans (Year 1) and Actual Post-high School Activity

(Year 2) of Respondents.

	Year 1	Year 2
University	78	71
Job	2	10
Technical School	10	9
Other Higher Education	4	4
.Don t Know	0	0
Other	2	3
N.R.	1	0
Totals	97	97

In close harmony with table 10, table 11 below indicates the degree to which the respondents choice of university, etc. at high school actually corresponds with the institution which he attended.

TABLE XI
University Preference (Year 1) and Actual Institution Attended.

	Year 1	Year 2
Guelph	9	5
McMaster	35	32
Queens	2	2
Toronto .	10	4
University of Waterloo	8	7
Waterloo Lutheran	1	0
Western	11	8,
Other, (including Mohawk College, Ryerson, Teachers College, and other Universities)	9	24,
Return to High School	0	3
N.R.	12	12
Totals	97	97

These two preceding tables symbolize not only the achievement orientation of the students of Burlington, which may be in no way special, but also the "weeding out" process which occurs during the previous four years of high school. Potential non-succeeders are channelled into other fields, such as technical courses or are deterred by failure. However, with respect to Burlington, all of the

preceeding material points to the fact that for whatever reasons, a relatively homogeneous group of students complete grade 13. Motivated by school and family and supported by their socio-economic position, they enter the freeer areas of post-secondary life. Referring primarily here to those who entered some form of post-secondary education, controls and restrictions to which they had been subjected are, to a great degree relaxed. New contacts are also established in this post-secondary year, personal intellectual and social. These students are no longer members of a relatively small and homogeneous community. The possible adjustments in ways of thinking and ways of acting are many and it is the intention of this paper to explore, as has been stated before, one such area.

In each questionnaire, the respondent was asked to rank preferentially all the activities, organizations or other groups with which he participated in the previous year. For purposes of analysis, the respondents first and second preferences were recorded. Each respondent was also asked on each questionnaire to rank preferentially

any groups, organizations or other activities with which he would have liked to have participated with during the preceding year. Once again, the first and second preferences were recorded, coded to correspond with the first list.

A ranking scheme on a 1 to 5 basis was constructed for these activities or organizations. A panel consisting of a number of university students and a number of high-school students was asked to rank each major activity or organization on this 1 to 5 scale. An activity was to be given a ranking of "one" if it was felt that it was almost purely social in nature and if academic or career involvement was minimal. An activity was to be ranked "five" if the opposite was true, that is, if it was considered to be almost solely career or academically oriented.

Activities which did not correspond to either extreme were ranked somewhere inbetween, depending on the milieu of their social or career-academic constitution. The means of the ranked scores of each activity were then recorded and the activities classified accordingly.

TABLE XII

Social - Non-social Scores of all Activities - (Actual)

	First :	Year .	Second Year		
	First Choice	Second Choice	First Choice	Second Choice	
1	19	23	29	. 27	
2	47	38	29	15	
3	16	14	16	12	
4	5	. 4	6	4	
5	4	1	1	1	
i	r non- 0 sifiable	0	11	, 14	
N.R.	6	17	5	24	
Tota	ls 97	97	97	97	

The "other non-classifiable" case occured only at the post-

secondary level for either of two reasons. Firstly, no concensus or meaningful mean could be obtained for write in activities. Secondly, the actual group or activity, usually identified only by its title, could not be identified. The above analysis holds true for the following table.

TABLE XIII

Social - Non-social Scores of all Activities - (Preferential).

	First)		Second Year		
			D0001M 200	i i	
	First Choice	Second Choice	First Choice	Second Choice	
1	13	6	5	7	
2	31 .	27	13	8	
3	6	.7	12	2	
4	7	2	5	5 .	
5	3	0	7	2	
	er non- O ssifiable	0	17	/ 13	
N.R.	37	55	38	60	
Tota	ls 97	97	97	97	

Although the large number of non-respondents in each category make it difficult to draw conclusions, one major distinction can be noted. In high-school (first year) the preferential choices are weighted toward the social end of the continuum, while at the post-secondary level, the choices are more evenly distributed, although slightly weighted to the social end.

There are possible ways of accounting for this. First, athletics feature prominently in the social life of a high school male

and being on a team tends to elevate social status, especially with females. The team - spectator sports - are listed in the first, but mainly the second rank. Second, in post-secondary life, the individual is becoming increasingly aware of his impending career and also not as likely to aspire to the sports due to tougher competition.

To examine actual drinking, the respondents were asked identical questions on each questionnaire. There were two questions each time, one dealing with special occasions, such as parties and dances, and a second referring only to drinking on what might be termed regular, or non-special occasions. Each question had three categories, wine, beer and hard liquor. In this way, the alcohol usage patterns could be identified, by both the nature of the situation in which the drinking occured and the type of occasion on which the drinking took place.

The following is an example of the format of one such category.

	ĸ			BEER			
0		••		0			0
1 2 3			÷	lX			
			•	2X			day
4567				3X			Week
8				4X			Week
10				5X			month
12				6X	٥	•	year
14			٠	7X			your

each category of both special and normal occasions, six in all, and circle the figures which most closely matched his average consumption. This procedure allowed both the lightest and the heaviest drinkers to place themselves somewhere on the scale. For example, and with reference to the preceeding chart, if a respondent estimated his average consumption of beer on normal or non-special occasions, at 3 bottles, twice a week, he would have circled "3" in the first column, "2" in the second column and "week" in the third column. The process was repeated for the average consumption in all six categories. From my

own knowledge and from information gained through the informal discussions cited earlier, I believe that the reported drinking corresponds very closely with the true picture. The information thus received was directly punched onto the IBM data cards.

Subsequent recoding of this data was done, taking into consideration the total amount in any one category, the number of times and in what time period the drinking took place. Thus, a respondent's reported drinking was ranked on a one to seven scale in each of the six categories. One indicating non-drinkers and seven indicating the heaviest drinkers. This was later revised, because of the small size of the sample to a one to four scale. This created several minor overlap areas which proved not to be significant.

In each category then, a "one" represented a non-drinker, a "two" represented a person who averaged up to 8 units a month, a "three" represents a person who averaged from 3 to 20 units a month and a "four" represents a person who averaged more than 16 units a month.

As can be noted, there are areas of overlap. These result partially

areas also reflect the judgment of the researcher concerning the relative ranking with respect to quantity, number of times and time period. For instance, it was felt that an average consumption of 8 units, 4 times a month represents a different drinking pattern than 1 unit, once a day, and was accordingly ranked differently. Regardless, 1 represents a non-drinker, 2 a light drinker, 3 a medium drinker and 4 a heavy drinker.

The following two tables, using 1 to 4 scale, show the distribution of respondents according to the major areas described above.

They will show the changes in distribution of the respondents over the one year period.

TABLE XIV

Distribution of Respondents by Drinking Ranks - Regular Occasions Only

(Year 1 & Year 2).

	First Year			Second Year		
	Wine	Beer	Liquor	Wine	Beer	Liquor
1	63	50	66	.66	47	48
.2	21	23 .	14	18	17	18
3	10	17	15	10	21	20
4	3	7	. 2	3	12	11
Tota	al 97	97	97	97	97	/97

TABLE XV

Distribution of Respondents by Drinking Ranks - Special Occasions Only
(Year 1 & Year 2).

		First Y		Secon	d Year			
	Wine	Beer	Liquor	Wine	Beer	Liquor		
1	73	. 58	56	• 76	56	48		
2	16	12	18	13	10	20		
3	8	18	. 18	4	17	16		
4	0	. 9	5	4	14	13		
Tota	al 97	97	97	97	97	97		

While it can be noted in the above two tables that the distribution remains in roughly the same proportions between the first and second years, there was a notable increase in the numbers in rank

4. It should also be mentioned here that the numbers in rank 1 do not represent non-drinkers; only those who did not drink that particular beverage. Beer and Liquor show the most marked increase in numbers in rank 4, the high drinkers category.

In order to discuss the total alcohol consumption of the respondents, it was necessary to combine the scores for each type of beverage, according to occasion. It was done by adding the drinking ranks of each respondent for each type of beverage within each category, adding a correctional factor and dividing by 3 (the number of beverages). The correctional factor ensures that an individual who drank only one type of beverage will still be recorded as a drinker. For instance, a respondent with drinking scores for wine, beer, and liquor on regular occasions as 1, 1, and 2 would be ranked as follows: (1+1+2) + 1 /3 = 1-2/3 or 2. This procedure is done for both regular occasions and special occasions. KALS-1 refers to the rank score for regular occasions and KALS-2 to the rank score for special occasions.

TABLE XVI

KALS-1	& .	KALS-2 Scores	Fir	st & Second	Years)		
KALS	Firs	t Year	Seco	Second Year			
Rank Score	KALS-1	KALS-2	KALS-1	KALS-2	American de la circa de american.		
1	44	44	30	34			
2	36	28	34	38			
3	13	23	29	22			
4	4	. 2	4	3			
Totals	97	97	97	97			

Table 17 below presents a final rank-score of drinking including both regular and special occasions. KALS-3, which is the term for this score was obtained in the same manner as was KALS-1 and KALS-2.

The rank scores of each respondent on KALS-1 and KALS-2 were added along with a similar correctional factor and divided by 2. KALS-3 then enables all respondents to be ranked according to the total amount of alcohol consumed on a comparable one to four scale.

TABLE XVII

KALS-3 Scores

(First & Second Years)

KALS Rank Score	KALS-3 (First Year)	KALS-3 (Second Year)		
1	38	21		
2	38	47		
3	19 .	26		
4	2	3		
Total	97	97		

As is readily apparent, there is a marked increase in the number of respondents whose KALS-3 score increased over the one year period, especially in rank two and rank 3. Of the 38 abstainers in the first year, only 21 remained abstinent during the second year. It should again be emphasised that the KALS-3 scores include all beverages and since many respondents restricted their drinking to one or two types of beverages (beer and liquor - see tables 14 & 15), their scores may appear low.

Before proceeding with the analysis of the relationship between these KALS scores and the various social - non-social scores; a few

further findings should be reported.

TABLE XVIII-a
Respondents by Frequency of Parental Drinking.

The state of the s	
Once a Day	22
Once or Twice a Week	31
Once or Twice a Month .	18
A Few Times a Year	16
Never	10
N.R.	0
	Constant
Total	97

TABLE XVIII-b

Respondents by Most Frequent Occasion of Parental Drinking.

With Meals	10
Evening Cocktails	17
Parties, Dances, etc.	29
Special Occasions	31
N.R.	10
	Continue
Total	97

It can be seen that the parents of most of the respondents - 87 - drink relatively frequent; the majority on relatively regular social occasions.

TABLE XIX

Drinking Locations - First & Second Most Frequent Locations.
- First & Second Year.

	First	Year	Second Year		
Location	lst Choice	2nd Choice	lst Choice	2nd Choice	
Licensed - Canada	6	4	16	7	
Licensed - U.S.	10	11	4	7	
Own Home & Rel.	16	11	25	14	
Friends Homes	23	10 .	20	30	
Public Non-Lic.	0	5	2	5	
Other	3	3	7	2	
N.R.	39	53	23	32	
	duund	Grownward	Springering	Bondara	
Totals	97	97	97	97	

TABLE XX

Reasons for Drinking - First & Second Choice - First & Second Year.

	Fir	st Year	Secon	d Year	
Reason	lst	2nd	lst	2nd	
Because Friends . Drink	4	17	5	21	
Feel Adult	1	2	2	1	
Unhappy, Worried	1	1	2	2	
Celebration	23 ·	16	28	21	
Like It	29	14	37	22	
N.R.	39	47	23	30	
Totals	977	97	97	97	

Table 19 illustrates the changing pattern of drinking locations of the respondents. Changes such as the decrease in numbers drinking in the United States and an increase in the numbers drinking in hotels etc. in Canada are in large part a reflection of the change to post-secondary school educational settings, as well as age. The relative increase in numbers drinking in their own or in friends homes reflects the seemingly more permissive attitude that many parents take when their son matures and has graduated from high school. (see table 21) In a number of cases, where the respondents lived away from home, they identified their friends homes and their own homes with their apartments or residences. Again, this freedom from parental restraint may be a determining factor in the increase in drinking. Table 20 shows that there were no significant changes in reasons for drinking, the two most chosen being the noncommittal responses of "celebration" or "because I like it".

Table 21 below presents the respondent's feelings about their parents attitudes toward their drinking.

Table 21

Respondents who drank by Parental Attitudes (2nd year)

	Condone drinking		Feel they would condone		
	yes no		yes	no	
parents knew	34	36			
parents didn't know			7	34	

These responses indicate that where the parents knew of their son's drinking, about half condoned it. On the other hand, when the parents did not know of their son's drinking, an overwhelming number of respondents felt they would not condone it. The parents with more permissive attitudes toward drinking are therefore more likely to be aware of their son's drinking than those parents who are less permissive.

At this point, the relationships between the respondent's drinking patterns and various independent variables may be examined. The KALS-3 scores will be used, as they depict the drinking pattern of the respondents taking all factors into account.

Each of the independent variables discussed below in relation to the drinking rank-scores is a possible reference group for the respondents in the manner in which this concept was previously described.

Religion

Table 22	KALS-3 (1st Year)			KAL	KALS-3 (2nd Year)			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Protestant (excluding	19	26	12	1	7	30	18	3
Presbyterian)								
Presbyterian	6	4	1	0	6	3	2	0
Roman Catholic	4	. 3	1	1	3	5	1	0
None & Other	9	5	.5	0	5	9	5	0

The most significant findings here is the difference between the Presbyterians and the other protestant denominations. There was a marked increase in both the number of drinkers and in the rank-score indicating heavyness of drinking among the non-Presbyterians. The Presbyterian pattern remains basically unchanged as does the Roman Catholic pattern. If this is related to the drop in religious influence on the personal life of the respondents (see table 9), the influence of the Presbyterian denomination appears strongest. A check on relationship of KALS-3 scores and religious attendence in the first year shows that the rank-score increases with decreasing church attendance. In the second year, those who had attended most regularly showed the most marked increase in KALS-3 scores, the others increasing

relatively little. Similar findings were obtained when religious attendance in the second year was examined with respect to KALS-3 scores.

ETHNIC ORIGIN

Table 23

Father's ethnic	KALS-3 (first Year)					S-3 (s	(second Year)			
background	1	. 2	3	4	1	2	3	4		
British Isles	29	29	15	1	18	33	19	4		
European	6	7	2	1	1	12	3	0		
Other	3	2	2	0	2	2	_3	0		

Since the KALS-3 score increases were relatively similar, there appears to be no distinct relationship between drinking patterns and ethnic origin. Since most of the fathers were also born in Canada, it can be assumed that, in large measure, the socialization process in the schools and in peer groups affects most respondents in a similar manner.

Fathers Occupation

Table 24

Blishen	KAL	KALS-3 (first year)				KALS-3 (second year)			
rank	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
2	17	17	9	1	7	21	15	1	
3	6	6	5	1	4	9	5	0	
4	6	2	. 2	0 .	5	3	1	1	
5	7	11	2	0	4	12	4	0	
6	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	
7	0	Ö.	. 0	0	0	0	0	0	

One on the Blishen scale represents high status occupations and seven the lowest. The most noticeable increases in drinking rates, as represented by the KALS-3 scores are found in the two largest groups - group 2 and group 5. In Burlington as has been mentioned earlier, these two groups are the polar extremes of socioeconomic status, group two being professionals and upper level management personnel and five being the more highly skilled and highly paid blue collar workers.

The increases in KALS-3 scores for these two groups were .39 and .25 respectively. The middle range respondents although they showed

definite increases in drinking, did not increase as much overall.

The KALS-3 scores of respondents, when compared to perceived social class, all showed about the same average increase. The noteable exception to this, based only on 5 respondents however, were those who felt that they were upper class. Their average KALS-3 score increased from 1.80 to 2.40 over the one year period. Those who felt they were middle class, increased an average of .25 on KALS-3 scores.

With the exception of those who intended to attend a university, there were no significant increases in KALS-3 scores, although there were few in the non-university category. The average KALS-3 score for those who wanted to attend a university rose from 1.79 the first year to 2.10 the second year. As there were 78 respondents in this group, this represents a significant increase. These findings are confirmed by an examination of the KALS-3 scores of those who actually attended universities the second year, where their scores rose considerably more, considering the number in this category, than did those who didn't

attend a university.

When the actual university attended is considered, the most significant increases in KALS-3 scores came from those who chose the University of Western Ontario and those in the "other" category (mainly American universities but all far from Burlington). The average KALS-3 scores for the Western group rose from the highest in the first year, 2.27, to 2.91. The group in the "other" category rose from 1.44, the lowest of the first year, to 2.33. Even considering that there were only 11 and 9 respondents in these categories

The KALS-3 scores of those who actually entered Western and "other" universities, rose from an average of 1.88 to 2.63 and from 1.62 to 2.23 respectively. No other group at any other university showed this significant an increase.

Intended Occupation "

In each year, for each class of most preferred occupation, there was an increase in KALS-3 scores. However, the average increase was a

relatively uniform one of about .30. The most significant point that was noted in this connection was that the higher the class of preferred occupation, the higher was the KALS-3 score each year. Those preferring class one occupations had the highest drinking rates in high school and, although they averaged the same relative increase in KALS-3 scores, maintained the highest average drinking rates after high school.

Activities Engaged In (Social Ranking)

The first area of analysis at this point will be concerned with the preferential social ranking of the activities that the respondents participated in in high school and the associated KALS-3 scores. The relationship between these social-ranks and drinking rates in the second or post-secondary school year is also included. As there are no significant differences between the relationships of socially ranked activities and KALS-3 scores on the first and second choices, only the first choice will be used here. Only a few more respondents chose high social-rank activities as their second choice than they did for their first choice.

Table 25

Social-rank in High School and KALS-3 scores - (first and second year)

Social	KAL:	S-3 (f	irst Ye	ear)	KALS	LS-3 (second Year)			
rank	1	2	3	4	. 1	2	3	4	
1	4	8	6	1	3	6	8	2	
2	22	18	5	2	11	24	12	0	
3	6	. 7	3	0	3	10	3	0	
4	1	1	3	0	0	3	1	1	
5	2	2	0 .	0	1	2	1	0	

Although there was an overall increase in drinking rates; the rates average increases were almost the same.

The picture here is analagous to that of the relationship between occupational choice and drinking rates. Here, those whose activities were highest on the social-rank scale, had higher average KALS-3 scores and maintained this higher average the next year. Table 26

Social-rank in the post-secondary school year and KALS-3 scores (first & second year)

Social	KAL	S-3 (f:	irst y	ear)	KALS-3 (second year)				
rank	1	2 .	3	4.	1	2	3	4	
1	9	13	6	0	3	16	9	1	
2	14	7	6	2	10	10	9	1	
3	8	6	2	0	4	7	5	0	
4.	1	5	0	0	2	2 ·	1	1	
5	1	Q	0	0	1	0	0	0	

A pattern that is almost identical with that found at the high school level emerges here. Those with highest social-ranks at a post-secondary school level had the highest average KALS-3 score both in that year (second) as well as starting with the highest average KALS-3 score in high school. The average rate of increase of KALS-3 scores for each social-rank score was about the same.

Activities Desired

Due to the relatively small number of respondents who replied to this question on each of the two questionnaires no table will be presented. There was no significant relationship between desired activities in either year of the study and the corresponding KALS-3 scores. Although there was in general an increase in drinking rates, the randomness of the changes in KALS-3 scores compared to social-ranks allows for no meaningful interpretation. An examination of the reasons for the respondents choice leads to the conclusion that in the vast majority of cases, 80%, personal interest alone was responsible. The remainder of the answers to this mature question were so widely

distributed as to be meaningless.

Friends and Drinking

The following two tables (27 and 28) indicate the distribution of responses to the questions about friends school and drinking.

Those who answered the 'drinkers only' portion of the questionnaire were asked only about their friends who drank.

Table 27

Drinkers

Friends & Drinking - 1st & 2nd year

	lst Year		2nd Year			
	in school	same activities	same activities	in school	same	
		school	non-school		activities	
none	4	18	9	3	4	
a few	9	26	28	10	32	
most	17	7	13	27	31	
all	24	1	2	33	5	
NR	43	45	45	<u>24</u>	25	
Total	97	97	97	97	97	

Table 28

Non-Drinkers
Friends & Drinking - First Yr. & 2nd Yr.

lst Yr.		in school	same activities	same activities	Friends				
			school	non-school	Drank				
	none	0	5	6	9				
	a few	2	19	17	19				
	most	12 .	9	11	4				
	all	23	2	2	4				
	NR	60	62	61	61				
-	Total	97	97	97					
2nd Yr.	none	0	0		2				
	a few	0	12		11				
	most	9	9 10						
	all	13	0	0					
	NR	75	75		75				
	Total	97	97		97				

The most noteable points in these two tables are the comparisons between respondents at the post-high school level (second year) who belonged to the same activities. In this case, activities refers to actual organizations or groups, not the combined ranking used elsewhere in this paper. The 'drinkers' also had more friends who were not in school. The last important point is that over half of the non-drinkers

reported that only 'a few' or 'none' of their best friends drank.

Non-Respondents - Second Year

An analysis of the marginal and cross-tabular data of those who had completed the first questionnaire but not the second was done to determine any major differences between them and the 97 double respondents. As far as could be determined there were no significant differences between the two groups of either a demographic or non-demographic nature. Their KALS scores were similar to those of the double respondents and so also were the relationships between KALS-3 scores and the various independent variables explored.

Because of the preceeding rather lengthy presentation of the data,
the following summary will be kept brief. Those variables which were
potentially reference groups for the respondents were analysed with
respect to the reported drinking patterns. As could be readily noted,
some of these groups, in the manner in which 'groups' were defined
earlier, had a more pronounced relationship to the drinking rates and
patterns than did others. For the sake of brevity, some completely
random or spurious relationships were discarded from the data presentation.

In general a picture emerges of a group of upwardly aspiring students whose family backgrounds are relatively homogeneous. This was as predicted when this particular sample was chosen. It is believed that the respondents who have been reported about in this study are typical of the total population of Grade 13 Burlington males. The Majority of respondents are from W.A.S.P. families of the middle and upper socioeconomic brackets. In both their high school and post-high school years, they participated in a wide variety of activities. Those who went to universities, the majority of the respondents, went to

quite a wide variety of institutions. McMaster being the closest, was of course attended by a greater proportion of students than was any other university.

with respect to the activities that the respondents participated in, the drinking rates were in proportion to their social ranking.

Those whose preferred activities were high in social ranking in high school had the highest drinking rates and maintained the highest rate the second year. In the post secondary year, those whose social rank was highest, again had the highest drinking rates, not only that year but also the preceeding year. In both cases, the average increases of drinking rates of the respondents in each social category was about the same. It is the maintainence of the highest rates which is the most interesting and significant point here.

This is not intended to establish any causal relationship between the respondent's activities as reference groups and their drinking patterns. Any attempt at establishing such a relationship is far beyond the scope of this study. But nevertheless, a relationship

between several of these variables and drinking patterns as represented by KALS-3 scores does exist. Just as it exists between the social-rank scores and drinking rates, so it also exists between other potential reference groups and drinking rates. Religion, social class, intended occupation, university preferences and actual university attended all show greater or lesser degrees of relationship to the drinking rates.

These changing relationships are not solely due to increased age since in the first year, 55 of the 97 respondents drank while none of the 97 were 21 years of age. Of these 55, 21 had KAIS-3 scores of three or more which indicate well established drinking patterns.

In the second year, 76 of the 97 respondents drank; 29 of these with similar well established drinking patterns. In this year only, 9 of the 97 respondents were 21 years of age.

University preference and university attended showed, when compared with KALS-3 scores, good relationships to drinking patterns and their increases. This is particularly true, as was mentioned earlier, of the University of Western Ontario which with it's reputation as a

'social college', may have acted as a positive reference group for these individuals. Similar increases in rates over the year were shown by those who actually attended Western in their post-secondary school year.

Those who wanted to attend distant universities, particularly in the United States, had the lowest KALS-3 scores in high school yet showed the greatest actual increase in drinking rates the second year to rank next after those who choose Western. In this case, the environmental conditions of the respondents would seem to be negative reference groups and the distant universities, with the increased freedom from restraint that distance brings, seem to be positive reference groups.

The most significant single thing that this study shows is that although drinking rates increase after high school and that the drinking patterns change at the same time, these patterns are in most cases already quite well established by the end of high school. At this time, two suggestions for further research should be made. First,

similar studies should be conducted on different populations. By this I mean both more heterogeneous populations at the same school levels and populations consisting of students in the earlier years of high school. Second, a follow-up study on these same respondents be conducted, if possible in two or three years time to enable better relationships to be drawn not only between the reference groups and drinking patterns but also what effect the various combinations of reference groups and drinking has on performance in university and in later life, particularly career patterns.

STUDENT ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is a part of a piece of sociological research which is designed to discover someing of the relationship between the background of senior high school students and their attitudes. In this cticular instance, we are interested in attitudes toward alcohol and drinking behavior. The questions ve been designed in such a way that it is necessary to only circle a number or to fill in a blank. Unless nerwise indicated, please circle only one answer to each question.

Please be assured that all answers will be kept strictly confidential and used only in compiling data. no instance will the returned questionnaires be seen by anyone other than the researcher. Your answers, ong with those of hundreds of other students, will be transferred to data processing cards and will then be amined by computer, as it is only the aggregate of answers that we are concerned with.

In order to have a statistically representative sample of students, it is very important that you mplete this questionnaire fully and return it as soon as possible in the stamped addressed envelope enclosed.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Don Loree, Department of Sociology, McMaster University.

Page I

What is your age?

- Under 18 years
- 18 years or over

What is your religious affiliation?

- Roman Catholic Anglican 2 Baptist United
- 8 Christian Reformed None 9 Other Lutheran
- Presbyterian

From the following alternatives, please indicate what you consider your father's ethnic background to be.

- Polish British Isles
- Dutch Ukrainian 8 French Scandinavian
- German Other (Please Specify).....
- Italian

Was your father born in Canada?

- Yes
- 2 No

What is your father's present occupation? Please be as specific as possible, e.g., - chemical engineer, shop foreman, etc.

University of Waterloo

In a few words, describe exactly what he does in his job.

Now that you have completed high school, what are your plans for next year?

- Go to a university
- Get a full time job
- Attend a technical institute, e.g., Ryerson
- Some other form of higher education, e.g., teachers college
- Don't know
- Other, please specify

If you want to attend a university, which one would you prefer to go to?

- Carleton 6
- Waterloo Lutheran Guelph
- McMaster
- Western
- Queens
- Toronto

Other, please specify

	1430		
3	Fleaso indicate by a '1' the occupation you most de occupation which would be your second choice.	sire for your life work. Indicate by a '2' the	
	Accountant or auditor	Laboratory technician Lawyer or netary	
	_Actor _Actuary	Librarian	
	Advertising agent	Managor, construction	(
	Air pilot	" , financo	,
	Agricultural professional	" , forestry	
	Architect Artist or art teacher	, manufacturing	
	Artist of art toachor	" personnel	
	Author, editor or journalist	" , rotail trado	
	Biological scientist	" , transportation	
	Broker, agent or appraiser	wholesale	
	Business service officer Chemist	", other Motallurgist	
	Clergyman or priest	Musician or music teacher	
	Commorcial traveller	Officer, armed forces	
	Community sorvice worker	Osterpath or chiropractor	
	Computer programmer	Petroleum refiner	
	Dentist Designer, clothing	Pharmacist Photo engraver	
	Draughtsman	Photographer	
	Electricity, gas or water official	Physical and occupational therapist	
	Engineer, chemical	Physician or surgeon	
	, electrical	Psychologist	
	, locomotive	Purchasing agent Radio amouncer	
	ii , mining	Radio operator	
	Foreman, commercial	Roal estate agent or dealer	
	" , communication	Recreation service officer	
	manufacturing	School teacher	
	, mining , transportation	Social welfare worker Statistician	
	Goologist	Stock and bond broker	
	Government service official	Surveyor	
	Inspector, communication	Urban or regional planner	1
	, construction	Veterinarian	6
	Insurance agent	Vocational guidance counsellor Other, please specify	
	Judge or magistrate	outor , proudo apocarj	
	From the following phrases, indicate with a "1" the for choosing the occupation you most want to enter-		
	reason.		
	I will receive an above average income I will have the best opportunities for travel		
	I will be able to help other people		
	I think that I will get a lot of personal satis		
	I will get the most respect and admiration from I will be able to enjoy the kind of social life		
0	From the following list, please indicate all the act participated last year. Use a '1' for the activity second most preferred and so on.		
	Bend or musical activity	Pool hall	
	Car or motorcycle club	Science club	
	Church youth group	Service club	
	Drama or theatrical group Football	Skling Student government	
	Fraternity	Track and field	
	Hockey	Yearbook or school newspaper	
	Political organization	Other, please specify	
1	Please indicate which one of the following best desc did as being the one you most preferred.	ribes your reasons for choosing the activity you	
	1 My close friends were involved in it		(
	2 It was the most interesting	270.00	
	3 It would help me in proparing for my include c 4 It was the most socially enjoyable	areer	
	4 It was the most socially enjoyable 5 It helped me to become more popular and be me	et more people	
	6 I could help others	er man hanked	

Page III

12	Please list below any groups, organizations or ac to last year. List them in order of preference,	ctivities that you would have liked to have belonged '1' being the most preferred and so on.
	1.0000000000000000000000000000000000000	4

2	5

- 13 Why did you want to belong to the organization, group or activity that you would have most preferred to have belonged to?
 - 1 My close friends were involved in it
 - 2 It was the most intoresting
 - It would have helped me to prepare for my future career
 - 4 It was the most socially enjoyable
 - It would have helped me to become more popular and meet more people
 - 6 I could have helped others
- 14 In the last year, have you ever felt excluded from a social function or other activity because you either drink or don't drink?
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 15 Please think back carefully over the last year. Excluding all special occasions such as parties, dances, stags, etc., on the average, what type of beverage did you drink, how frequently did you drink and how much did you drink? Please fill in the following chart.

For Example: if you drank on the average two shots of liquor on one occasion a month, you would circle $\frac{1}{2}$ ix $\frac{1}{2}$ month $\frac{1}{2}$ in the liquor column or if you drank on the average one bottle of beer on two occasions a week, you would circle $\frac{1}{2}$ week $\frac{1}{2}$ in the beer column. If you did not drink at all during the last year, you would circle the $\frac{1}{2}$ in all columns.

Please complete all three categories

	WINE			BEER		HARD LIQUOR				
glasses 0	frequency 0	time 0	bottles 0	frequency 0	time O	shots 0	frequency 0	time 0		
2 3	1x	day	2	1x	day	2	1x	day		
4 5	2x		4 5	2x	,	4 5	2x			
7	3x 4x	week	? 8	3x 4x	week	7	3x 4x	week		
9	5x	month	9	5x	month	9	5x	month		
11 12 13	6x	year	11 12 13	6x	year	11 12 13	6x	year		
14 15	7≍		14 15	7x		14 15	7x			

16 The instructions for this question are the same as for the last question. This time, however, please circle the appropriate figures thinking only of special occasions such as parties, stags, dances etc.

	WINE			BEFR		HARD LIQUOR				
glasses 0	frequency	time O	bottles 0	frequency 0	time 0	shots 0	frequency	time 0		
1 2 3	ix	day	1 2 3	ix	day	1 2 3	ix	day		
4 5	2x		4 5	2x		4 5	2x	aay		
6	3x	wook	· 6	3x	week	6	3x	week		
8 9	4x	month	8	4x	month	8	4x	month		
10 11	5x		10 11	5x		10 11	5x			
12 13	6x	year	12 13	6x	year	12 13	6x	year		
14 15	7x		14 15	7×		14	7x			

	, Pago IV
	THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS (17 - 23) ARE TO BE ANSWERED BY YOU ONLY IF YOU DRANK DURING THE LAST YEAR
17	Following are several phrases which describe in general the answers of students to the question "Why do you drink?". Please rank these phrases, '1' being the closest reason to your usual reason for drinking, '2' being the next closest and so on.
	Because my friends drink To feel more adult Because I am unhappy or worried To celebrate seme special event Because I like it
18	Do you usually drink with a particular group of friends?
	1 Yes 2 No
.9	Please rank the following according to where you drank most often during the last year, '1' being the location most frequented, '2' being the next most frequented and so on.
	In a licensed place in Canada In a licensed place in the United States In my own home or the home of close relatives In the homes of my friends In some public non-licensed place, e.g., park, sports stadium etc. Other, please specify
0	Which of the following would best describe the situation in which you did the most drinking last year?
	Relaxation or fun with the guys Celebrating on special occasions At mixed events such as parties, dances etc. In connection with the activities of a group or organization to which I belong With my parents or relatives
1	How many of the friends with whom you drank during the last year were going to school?
	1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
22	How many of these same friends participated in the same activities that you did?
	None A few Nost All
23	Please indicate on the following list all the groups, activities and organizations that both you and the friends with whom you drank belonged to.
	Band or musical activity Car or motorcycle club Church youth group Drama or theatrical group Football Fraternity Hockey Pool hall Science club Student government Sking Track and field Yearbook or school newspaper Other, please specify
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS (24 - 27) ARE TO BE ANSWERED BY YOU ONLY IF YOU DID NOT DRINK DURING THE LAST YEAR

24 Of those who you considered to be your best friends during the last year, how many were in school?

1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All

25	How many of those same friends participated in the same activities that you did?
	1 None 2 A fow 3 Most 4 All
6	How many of those same friends drank?
	1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
7	Please indicate on the following list all the groups, activities and organizations that you and your friends belonged to last year.
	Pand or musical activity Car or motorcycle club Church youth group Drama or theatrical group Football Fraternity Hockey Political organization Pool hall Science club Service club Student government Skling Track and field Yearbook or school newspaper Other, please specify.

STUDENT ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionmaire is the second of two which are part of a piece of sociological research begun last year. This questionnaire has been mailed to a sample of those students to whom the original one was sent. Once again, we are interested in the relationships between young men and their attitudes, particularly toward alcohol and drinking. The questions have been designed in such a way that it is only necessary to circle a number or to fill in a blank. Unless otherwise indicated, please give only one answer to each question.

Please be assured that all answers will be kept strictly confidential and used only in compiling data. In no instance will the returned questionnaires be seen by anyone other than the researcher. Your answers, along with those of hundreds of other students, will be transferred to data processing cards and will then be examined by computer, as it is only the aggregate of answers that we are concerned with.

In order to have a representative sample, it is very important that you complete this questionmaire fully and return it as soon as possible in the stamped, addressed envelope enclosed.

Thank you very much for your cooperation, and particular thanks to those who completed and returned the first questionnaire last summer.

> Don Loree, Department of Sociology, McMaster University.

Page I

1 What is your age?

4 21 years 18 years

19 years 5 22 years or older

20 years

- What did you do during the last eight months? 2
 - I attended a university
 - I attended a technical institute, e.g., Ryerson
 - I attended some other institute of higher education, e.g., teachers college
 - I worked at a full time job
 - Other, please specify
 - Which of the following do you consider to be closest to your major reason for choosing that course of action last year?
 - Many of my friends were doing the same thing
 - I am obtaining the best training for my chosen career
 - It had the best social life
 - I could live away from home
 - It was necessary for financial reasons
 - It had the highest academic standards
 - It was necessary because of my high school marks
- If you attended some institute of higher education, please indicate which one.
 - University of Guelph
 - 2 McMaster University
 - University of Terente
 - University of Waterloo
 - University of Western Ontario
- Queens University
- Ryerson, Mohawk College etc.
- Teachers College
- 9 Other, please specify
- How often did you attend the services of a religious faith during the last year?
 - Once a week or more
 - Once or twice a month
 - Three or four times a year
 - Never
- If you drank during the last year and your parents knew, did they condone it?
 - You
 - 2 No
 - If you drank during the last year and your parents did not know, do you feel that they would condone it?
 - Yes

Which one	of.	the	followi	ing do	o you	consi	lder	to	be t	the r	najor	reason	for	wanting	to	go	to	that	particular
university	or	· to	follow	that	cours	e of	acti	ion	tha	t you	ı have	e decide	d u	pon?					

- Many of my friends are doing the same thing
- I will obtain the best training for my chosen career
- I like its reputation for social life
- I can live away from home
- It is what I can afford financially
- It has the highest academic standards
- It is necessary because of my marks

In any community, certain families are thought of as being either upper class, middle class or working class. To which of these classes would you say that your family belongs?

- Upper class
- Middle class
- 3 Working class

If you feel that your family is middle class, which section of the middle class would you say it belongs to?

- Upper middle class
- Middle middle class
- Lower middle class

Please indicate by a 'l' the occupation you most desire for your life work. Indicate by a '2' the

supation which would be your second choice.	Y-1
Accountant or auditor	Laboratory technician
September 1	Lawyer or notary
Actuary	Librarian
_Advertising agent	Manager, construction
_Air pilot	, Tillance
_Agricultural professional	_ , lorestry
Architect	, manuracturing
Artist or art teacher	- mining
Artist, commercial	, personner
_Author, editor or journalist	" , retail trade
Biological scientist	, transportation
Broker, agent or appraiser	, wholesale trade
Business service officer	, other
Chemist	Metallurgist
_Clergyman or priest	Musician or music teacher
Commercial traveller	Officer, armed forces
Community service worker	Osteopath or chiropractor
Computer programmer	Petroleum refiner
Dentist	Pharmacist
Designer, clothing	Photo engraver
Draughtsman	Photographer
Electricity, gas or water official	Physical and occupational therapist
Engineer, chemical	Physician or surgeon
" , civil	Psychologist
" , electrical	Purchasing agent
" , locomotive	Radio announcer
" . mechanical	Radio operator
" , mining	Real estate agent or dealer
Foreman, commercial	Recreation service officer
" , communication	School teacher
" , manufacturing	Social welfare worker
, mining	Statistician
transportation	Stock and bond broker
Geologist	Surveyor
Government service official	Urban or regional planner
Inspector, communication	Veterinarian
	Vocational guidance counsellor
, construction	Acceptonal Randance competitor
, metal	Other, please specify
Insurance agent	_
Judge or magistrate	

From the following phrases, indicate with a 'l' the phrase which most closely describes your reasons for choosing the occupation you want to enter. Indicate with a '2' the second most important reason.

- _I will receive an above average income I will have the best opportunities for travel
 I will be able to help people
 I think that I will get a lot of personal satisfaction
- I can get the most respect and admiration from others
- I will be able to enjoy the kind of social life that I want

13	13 From the following list please indicate all the activiti participated last year. Use a 'l' for the activity you most preferred and so on. This list refers only to acti	enjoyed or preferred most, a '2' for the second
	Basketball	ki club ocial committee tudent government rack and field restling earbook or school newspaper ther, please specify
14	Please indicate which one of the following best describe as being the one you most preferred.	s your reasons for choosing the activity you did
	1 My close friends were involved in it also 2 It was the most interesting 3 It would help me in preparing for my future care 4 It was the most socially enjoyable 5 It helped me to become more popular and to meet 6 I could help others	
15	15 From the following list, please indicate all the activit participated last year. Use a 'l' for the activity you most preferred and so on. This list refers only to acti	most enjoyed or preferred, a '2' for the second
	Baseball Boy Scouts Canoe club Car or motorcycle club Church youth group Baseball Place	ockey plitical organization pol hall ervice club or organization kiing .M.C.A. ther, please specify
16	Please indicate which one of the following best describe as being the one you most preferred.	s your reasons for choosing the activity you did
	1 My close friends were involved in it also 2 It was the most interesting 3 It would help me in preparing for my future care 4 It was the most socially enjoyable 5 It helped me to become more popular and to meet a 6 I could help others	
17	Please list below any groups, organizations or activities last year. List them in your order of preference, 'l' b	
	14	
	2 5	
	3	
18	18 Why did you want to belong to the organization, group or to have belonged to?	activity that you would have $\underline{\text{most}}$ preferred
	1 My close friends were involved in it also 2 It was the most interesting 3 It would have helped me to prepare for my future 4 It was the most socially enjoyable 5 It would have helped me to become more popular a 6 I could have helped others	
19	19 From the following list, please indicate <u>all</u> the activit were involved last year. Use a 'l' for the activity you preferred and so on.	
	Band or musical activity Boy Scouts Canoe club Car or motorcycle club Chess club Church youth group Curling Drama or theatrical group Football Fraternity	olitical organization col hall cience club ervice club or organization kiing ocial committee tudent government rack and field restling earbook or school newspaper .M.C.A. ther. please specify

- 20 Please indicate which one of the following best describes your reasons for choosing the activity you did as being the one you most preferred.
 - 1 My close friends were involved in it also
 - 2 It was the most interesting
 - It would help me in preparing for my future career
 - 4 It was the most socially enjoyable
 - It helped me to become more popular and to meet more people
 - 6 I could help others
- 21 All churches have some sort of official standpoint on moral and behavioral matters such as birth control, drinking, etc. Which of the following best describes your attitude toward the official doctrine of your church on drinking?
 - 1 Strongly agree
 - 2 Agree
 - 3 Neutral
 - 4 Disagree
 - 5 Strongly disagree
- 22 How often did you attend the services of your religious faith during the last year?
 - 1 Once a week or more
 - 2 Once or twice a month
 - 3 3 or 4 times a year
 - Never
- 23 Many factors influence a young person in his decision about his future career. Please rank the following in terms of their influence on you in your choice of a career. Use a 'l' for the most influential, a '2' for the second most influential and so on.
 - _My family including close relatives
 - My friends
 - My religion or clergyman
 - _My school through guidance counsellors, movies, talks, etc.
 - Personal contacts with my teachers
 - _My own knowledge gained through reading, hobbies, etc.
- 24 Which of the following do you think is the most reasonable age limit for drinking?
 - l No limit
 - 2 16 years
 - 3 18 years
 - 4 21 years
- 25 Have you ever felt excluded from a social function or other activity because you either drink or don't drink?
 - l Yes
 - 2 No
- 26 Please think back carefully over the last school year. Excluding all special occasions such as parties, dances, stags, etc., on the average, what type of beverage did you drink, how frequently did you drink and how much did you drink? Please fill in the following chart.

For example: if you drank on the average two shots of liquor on one occasion a month, you would fill in the liquor column as follows: /2/lx/month/

if you drank on the average one bottle of beer on two occasions a week, you would fill in the beer column as follows: /1/2x / week /

if you did not drink at all during the past year, you would circle the 'O' in all three columns.

Please complete all three categories

	WINE			BEER		HAI	RD LIQUOR	
glasses	frequency	time	bottles	frequency	time	shots	frequency	time
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	lx	day	1 2	lx	day	1 2	lx	day
3 4	2x	week	3 4	2x	week	3	5x	waste
5	3x	WCGK	5 6	3x	week	5	3x	week
7 8	4x	month	7 8	4x	month	7	4x	month
9	5x	year	9	5x	year	9	5x	year
11 12	6x		11	6x		11	6x	
13 14	7×		13 14	7x		13 14	7x	
15			15			15		

7 The instructions for this question are the same as for the last question. This time, however, please circle the appropriate figures thinking only of special occasions such as parties, stags, dances. birthdays, etc.

	WINE			BEER	HARD LIQUO	LIQUOR		
glasses	frequency	time	bottles	frequency	time	shots	frequency	time
0	. 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	lx	day	2	lx	day	2	lx	day
3 4 5	2x	week	5 4 5	2x	week	3 4 5	2x	week
5	3x		6	3x		6	3x	
7	ι_{tx}	month	· 7	4x	month	7 8	l_{+X}	month
9	5x	year	9	5x	year	9	5x	year
11 12 13	бx		11 12 13	6x		11 12 13	6x	
14	7x		14	7x		14	7x	

3 0	n	the	average,	how	often	do	your	parents	drink?
-----	---	-----	----------	-----	-------	----	------	---------	--------

- Once a day
- Once or twice a week
- Once or twice a month
- A few times a year
- Never

9	On	what	occasions	do	your	parents	most	frequently	drink?
---	----	------	-----------	----	------	---------	------	------------	--------

- 1 With meals
- Evening cocktails to relax
- At parties, dances, etc.
- On special occasions

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE TO BE ANSWERED ONLY IF YOU DRANK DURING THE LAST SCHOOL YEAR

O The following are phrases which describe in general the answers of students to the question "Why do you

	Please rank			being	the	closest	reason	to	your	reason	for	drinking,	
J	the next cl		•										
AUTOMOLIA	ause my frie feel more ad	ink											

- Because I am unhappy or worried
- To celebrate some special event
- Because I like it

l Do you usually drink with a particular group of friends?

- 1 Yes

2 Please rank the following according to where you drank most often, 'l' being the location most frequented, '2' the next most frequented and so on.

- __In a licensed place in Canada
- __In a licensed place in the United States
- In my own home or the home of close relatives
- __In the homes of my friends
- In some public non-licensed place, e.g., park, sports stadium, etc.

 Other, Please specify
- 33 Which of the following would best describe the situation in which you did the most drinking?
 - Relaxation or fun with the guys
 - Celebrating on special occasions
 - At mixed events such as parties, dances, etc.
 - In connection with the activities of a group or organization to which I belong
 - With my parents or relatives

34	How many of the friends with whom you drank during the past year were going to school? 1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
35	How many of these same friends participated in the same <u>school-sponsored</u> activities that you did? 1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
36	How many of these same friends participated in the same <u>non-school sponsored</u> activities that you did? 1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
37	Please circle on the following list all the groups, activities and organizations that both you and the friends with whom you drank belonged to. 1
	THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE TO BE ANSWERED <u>ONLY</u> IF YOU DID <u>NOT</u> DRINK DURING THE LAST SCHOOL YEAR
38	Of those who you considered to be your best friends during the past school year, how many were in school? 1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
39	How many of these same friends participated in the same <u>school-sponsored</u> activities that you did? 1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
40	How many of these same friends participated in the same <u>non-school-sponsored</u> activities that you did? 1 None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
41	How many of these same friends drank?
	l None 2 A few 3 Most 4 All
42	Please circle on the following list all the groups, activities and organizations that both you and your best friends belonged to.
	1 Art Club 2 Band or musical activity 3 Boy scouts 4 Canoe club 5 Car or motorcycle club 6 Chess club 7 Church youth group 8 Football 9 Football 10 Fraternity 11 Pool hall 12 Science club 15 Service club or organization 16 Skiing 17 Social committee 18 Student government 19 Track and field 20 Wrestling club 21 Yearbook or school newspaper 22 YMCA 23 Other, please specify

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