



1965

## High School Leadership: A Study of Differential Characteristics of Emergent Leaders and Non-Leaders in a Small Private Roman Catholic Girls' High School in a Large Midwestern City

Hubert James Horan  
*Loyola University Chicago*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses](https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses)

 Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Horan, Hubert James, "High School Leadership: A Study of Differential Characteristics of Emergent Leaders and Non-Leaders in a Small Private Roman Catholic Girls' High School in a Large Midwestern City" (1965). *Master's Theses*. 1929.  
[https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses/1929](https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/1929)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact [ecommons@luc.edu](mailto:ecommons@luc.edu).  
Copyright © 1965 Hubert James Horan

HIGH SCHOOL LEADERSHIP: A STUDY OF DIFFERENTIAL CHARACTER-  
ISTICS OF EMERGENT LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS IN A SMALL  
PRIVATE ROMAN CATHOLIC GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL IN A  
LARGE MIDWESTERN CITY

by

Hubert James Horan, W. F.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Degree of Master of Arts in Sociology at Loyola  
University in Chicago.

February

1965

This Thesis is  
dedicated  
to the  
Belles of St. Mary's

## CONTENTS

	Page
VITA . . . . .	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	iv
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	vi
LIST OF GRAPHS . . . . .	viii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II. A REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY LEADERSHIP THEORY AND RESEARCH, WITH APPLICATIONS TO THE STUDY OF ST. MARY'S HIGH SCHOOL . . . . .	18
III. A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF ST. MARY'S HIGH SCHOOL AT THE TIME OF THE PRESENT STUDY (1963-4). . . . .	58
IV. PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE LEADER- SHIP QUESTIONNAIRE AND OF THE INTERVIEWS AND OTHER DATA ON LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS . . . . .	77
V. LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS COMPARED AND CON- TRASTED WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH AN APPROXIMATE CONTROL GROUP FROM THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER'S SURVEY OF CATHOLIC ADOLESCENT OPINIONS, ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES . . . . .	98
VI. CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	141
APPENDICES . . . . .	155
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	172



## VITA

Hubert James Horan was born in Manhattan, New York on October 23, 1936. Brought up in Queens, Long Island, he attended parochial grammar school and then Regis High School in Manhattan. Upon graduation, he went to Fordham University, where he majored in anthropology and received his Bachelor of Arts degree in June, 1958.

In that same year, he entered the Society of Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers). After a year's Novitiate at Alexandria Bay, New York, he went to Carthage, North Africa, for four years of theology and an introduction to Arabic and Islamic tradition and religious thought.

In July, 1963, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Fulton Sheen, in St. Ignatius Church, Manhattan. That fall he entered the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago to study for a Master's degree in sociology.

In December, 1964, he will start his active missionary life in the Republic of Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika and Zanzibar) East Africa, as a "practical sociologist" in the diocese of Mwanza, on Lake Victoria.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author's very real gratitude is due to the nuns of St. Mary's High School, who aided and abetted this study of their school in every possible way; to the students, and in particular to Barbara Kasper, Ellis Taussig, Marie-Antoinette McNamara and Mary B. Mueller, for information and assistance on many occasions; to Gordon C. Zahn and Edwin Gross, my mentors, for not letting me get away with any fast ones; to Peter H. Rossi, Andrew Greeley, and Leonard Pinto of NORC for the use of the Questionnaire they developed and for three long sessions of advice and encouragement; to Edward Clark, of St. John's University, for advice and help; to my mother and Mrs. George Barnard, for much patient work in typing and correcting.

If this thesis provides any real information or clarification to any of the above, it will have been worth it.

# LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Major positions of leadership . . . . .	77
2	Estimates of social class . . . . .	88
3	Previous schooling under same nuns . . . . .	89
4	Percentages of alumnae among relatives . . . . .	90
5	Prospective colleges of seniors . . . . .	91
6	Leader and non-leader "outstandingness" . . . . .	95
7	Work preferences . . . . .	111
8	Personality versus work preferences . . . . .	112
9	Most desired school achievement . . . . .	112
10	Closeness to center of things . . . . .	114
11	Characteristics ascribed to teachers . . . . .	115
12	Characteristics ascribed to other girls . . . . .	117
13	Characteristics ascribed to self . . . . .	119
14	Reaction to unfair treatment . . . . .	121
15	Freeness to disagree with teachers . . . . .	121
16	Reported favoritism of teachers . . . . .	122
17	Percentages going steady . . . . .	122
18	Frequency of dating . . . . .	123
19	Number of parental rules . . . . .	123
20	Hardest disapproval to take . . . . .	124

LIST OF TABLES  
(continued)

21	School versus non-school orientation . . . . .	126
22	Transfer students . . . . .	127
23	Closeness to Church . . . . .	128
24	Incorrect replies on doctrine quiz . . . . .	129

## LIST OF GRAPHS

<u>Graph</u>		<u>Page</u>
I	Social attitudes . . . . .	102
II.	Opinions on religious beliefs . . . . .	106
III.	Moral evaluations . . . . .	108
IV.	Religious practices . . . . .	130

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

While the literature on leadership is vast and quite varied in approach, high schools as a place of leadership formation have not been systematically studied until quite recently. Furthermore, the studies have never dealt with a girls' high school, although at least one all-boys secondary school was subjected to scientific investigation.

The first attempt to approach a high school from the specific point of view of its student leaders was that of M. A. Brown.<sup>1</sup> This study is largely of interest from a purely historical point of view. He focussed simply on the institutional leader, i. e., the student who happened to be in charge of an activity within the school, and found that they were largely identifiable with the group.

A more recent, more detailed, and rather controversial study under the aegis of the U. S. Office of Education demands more detailed consideration.<sup>2</sup> Briefly, Coleman investigated the "social climate" of each of ten high schools in the Chicago area, largely by means of a lengthy

---

<sup>1</sup>Leadership among high school pupils. (New York: Columbia University Teachers' College, 1933).

<sup>2</sup>James S. Coleman, The adolescent society: the social life of the teenager and its impact on education. (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

questionnaire. Five of the ten schools were from small towns, two from small cities, two from suburbs of Chicago, and one was a parochial high school for boys in Chicago.

His findings may be summarized as follows:

- First, there is an adolescent subculture, distinctive and sufficiently cohesive to merit the use of this term.
- Secondly, many of its values are ill-adapted to the mainstream of the adult world, which has little influence on the adolescent subculture.
- Thirdly, the leaders in this adolescent subculture are less, rather than more, oriented towards the adult world than are the non-leaders.
- Fourthly, as in most American studies of leadership, the leaders tended not to vary markedly from the school norm, as measured by questionnaire responses. Those markedly superior tended to be forced to underachieve or else to become isolates. In general, athletics was the single best correlate with leadership among boys, and popularity with boys tended to be the girls' functional equivalent of athletics.<sup>1</sup>

The specific question of leadership in the current theoretical framework of the behavioral sciences is a complicated one, and will be treated of at length in chapter II.

One interesting, less generally significant, finding in the Coleman study is of particular interest for the present study. St. John's, the only Catholic school in the study, frequently appeared as a "special case". Notably, in discussing the position and origins of the dominant groups in the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 1-10; 88-92; 138-142; 97-137; and passim. Note, however, that Coleman's criteria of an elite (p. 98) are largely association preferences.

different schools, Coleman speaks of the question of administrative controls and rewards as a means of making the students more school-oriented.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that this Catholic high school differs from the other nine in more ways than the socioeconomic and sex variables alone would account for.

This brings us to the "Catholic school problem". It is not possible, and probably unnecessary, to review this controversy as it stands. No one who reads the newspapers, certainly no Catholic who follows public issues at all, is unaware of the existence of this controversy, or of its complexity. Among other current attempts to temper argument with information is a study being conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago, under a grant from the Carnegie Foundation.<sup>2</sup> The aim of this investigation is to determine just what differences of opinion, attitude, background, religious belief, knowledge, and practice do exist between adult Catholics who have some Catholic schooling and those whose schooling was entirely in public schools.

Like many large studies on a national level, this project contains a number of side-studies. The one with which the present essay is concerned

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 299, note 8, and p. 217, note 17.

<sup>2</sup>NORC Project Number 476: Public and Parochial School Catholics: a proposal for research on some religious and secular effects of parochial schooling among American Roman Catholics. Results are currently being processed. Hopefully, first publications will take place in the spring of 1965. Rev. Andrew Greeley, Ph.D., is project director, Leonard J. Pinto is associate project director.



is the adolescent substudy. The adults in the survey were interviewed at length, and each family that had adolescent children (i. e. , aged thirteen to nineteen) received a "dropoff" questionnaire to be returned by mail to NORC.<sup>1</sup>

A caution is, therefore, in order. While the adult group is a carefully selected national sample, the adolescent group is, evidently, not. Further, although follow-up letters were employed to secure a higher response rate, questionnaire returns rarely achieve an entirely satisfactory response rate. The population that does not reply may differ in some significant ways from the population that does reply.

The purpose of this adolescent questionnaire was to test, with minimal additional expense and labor, some of the same hypotheses as the adult questionnaire with the advantage of being able to control the adolescent response in terms of relatively well-controlled data on family background.

The present thesis comes into the picture at this point. A questionnaire so widely distributed, and with so few efforts at selecting its adolescent population in specific terms, is of limited usefulness in studying some more particular aspects of the "school problem". The present

---

<sup>1</sup> 986 adolescents replied, of whom:

- 70% are currently in high school;
- 49% male and (obviously) 51% female;
- 76% in public high school, of those who  
    are currently in high school;
- 77% are Catholic.

writer desired to test two hypotheses which appeared to him to be highly relevant to aspects of the current controversy. These are, specifically:

Firstly, a small Catholic secondary school with:

- a) a relatively homogeneous student population,
- b) low faculty to student ratio,
- c) teachers competent in their fields,
- d) personal and direct student to teacher and student to student relationships,
- e) and adequate means of social control to direct the students in the socialization process of becoming Catholic Americans, should produce students who differ markedly from other American adolescents, and even other American Catholic adolescents of comparable background.

Furthermore, this difference should be in the direction of

- a) more frequent religious practice,
- b) greater identification of self with the Church,
- c) more favorable self image,
- d) greater religious knowledge,
- e) values and moral judgments more in accord with official Catholic teachings than the comparable Catholic adolescents without such a school background.

Secondly, and more directly in terms of the interests of this particular study, the emergent leaders of such a school differ but slightly from the school non-leaders in terms of the above criteria, but the differences that do exist will tend to be in the same direction, i. e., congruent with, as the direction of difference between the school population and comparable American Catholic adolescents.

These hypotheses require some elaboration and explication. The background of the second hypothesis, concerned with the special field of leadership theory as an aspect of social psychology, will be deferred until Chapter II, where this topic will be fully discussed.

The first hypothesis is best treated in a context or methodological

exposition, since it evidently supposes (a) the existence of such a school, and (b) means of testing for the variables mentioned, which is largely a question of method.

First, however, a word about the context of this first hypothesis. One frequently-heard criticism of the Catholic schools in general is that they are overcrowded, with an accompanying high teacher to student ratio. It is further urged that too many teachers, religious and lay, do not have the academic credentials required to teach in many comparable public school systems. Among Catholics, it is assumed that frequent contact with, and exposure to, priests and religious (i. e., brothers and nuns) in a school context is good, i. e., helps in the specifically religious aspects of education. Officially, the Catholic position on religious education of youth favors very distinctly the concept of a single-sex school. Too, social groups generally are believed to function more effectively when they are relatively homogeneous.

Accepting these beliefs as hypothetically valid, the school as described would come close to a practical approximation of the ideal sitz-im-leben of Catholic secondary education for adolescents. The school employed for the purposes of this study, as will be shown in Chapter III, is precisely what is called for by the terms of the study. It has one further advantage, in that it is directly controlled by a religious order specializing in education, rather than being subject to a priest administrator, such as a pastor or bishop, who would not normally be an expert on the education of youth.

The present writer's acquaintance with this secondary school began in the fall of 1963, when he began a year there as what might be termed a "quasi-chaplain", celebrating Mass three times a week, hearing the younger (grade-school) students' Confessions, giving an occasional talk. It occurred to him, on contact with the school and its students, that it was highly atypical and would be an interesting experimental group for such a study. He then requested and received a brief and very cordial interview with the Vicar, or regional superior, of this order's schools in the Midwest. She welcomed his idea of such an investigation and promised full cooperation.

The present author, who had previously discussed the general problem of studies of religious institutions with Leonard Pinto, of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), became acquainted with the project of which Mr. Pinto was then the associate director, and familiarized himself with the pilot version of the NORC adolescent questionnaire. It appeared to be an excellent instrument for the present study, and this for several reasons. First, it provided a means of testing for the variables in which the present writer was particularly interested, as well as several others which are outside the scope of the present study. Secondly, the NORC study would provide results which could be used as a kind of approximate control group for the present study.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, the results of this study

---

<sup>1</sup>The crude control group which is employed is the category of the National Adolescent sample containing female Catholics, currently in a Catholic secondary school, whose fathers earn over \$8,000. a year. This

would be the more significant because of their comparability and value as a test of reliability of another project. Fourthly, the NORC product was a cheaper and a better-designed instrument than a student working alone could reasonably hope to produce.

Accordingly the NORC made a special printing of their adolescent questionnaire for this present study.<sup>1</sup> As soon as was feasible, a request was made to the school for an appointment to administer the questionnaire to the entire high school, and not a sample of it, at one sitting. The request was made deliberately at relatively short notice--three days --to minimize the possibility that the students be prepared for the questionnaire, consciously or unconsciously, by the nuns.

The session at which the questionnaire was administered included one hundred and eight students, of a total high school population of one hundred and eleven. Two undergraduate sociology majors from Loyola University presided at the session; the students did not then know that the writer was in any way involved, and their first inkling of the purpose of the unusual morning study-hall session came when the two students walked in and distributed the questionnaire.

---

is the category that most closely approximates the population of St. Mary's High School. Unfortunately, the NORC category described has a population of only thirty-four.

<sup>1</sup>A copy will be found in Appendix A.

The responses to questions bearing on the present study were then tabulated manually as soon as possible, and the identities of the respondents were checked from their birthdates.

Following this, an interview was secured with two nuns, one principally a teacher, the other principally an administrator. Information was sought and obtained as to the general structure of the school: administrative hierarchy, student offices, clubs and activities, as well as the broad curriculum outline and admissions and disciplinary policy. This took the form of an informal discussion rather than of a structured interview.

About a month after the first questionnaire, the students were again assembled on a weekday morning. One hundred and nine students were present; one of the previous group was absent, and two absentees of the first session were present. The present writer then explained the essentials of his involvement in the study, a few of the results of the first questionnaire were presented in terms of school-wide percentages, and a second questionnaire was administered immediately.<sup>1</sup> This second questionnaire was designed simply to secure nominations from each student of the "real" leaders in the school, of those

---

<sup>1</sup>A copy of this questionnaire will be found in Appendix B. The explanation of the present author's involvement was given because, in such a small group, it was likely to become known in any case. Further, it is the writer's strong belief that as much frankness as possible should prevail with the subjects in studies of human society. The subjects' knowledge of the investigator's involvement did not appear to invalidate the results of this second questionnaire, as will be shown below (cf. page 11, note 2.)

who held important offices, of the qualifications for these offices, and of "outstanding students" in each of seven categories.

The results of this second, or leadership, questionnaire were then tabulated. Five nominations were taken as the minimum sufficient to establish a student as "outstanding" in each category, and established as a cutoff point. Questions four and five were taken together for the nominations of emergent leaders, and so the cutoff point here was a minimum of ten nominations as a "real leader". Those receiving more were regarded as "outstanding" in the categories, or as emergent leaders, respectively. The numbers of students designated as outstanding in the seven categories ranged from sixteen designated as outstandingly pious to thirty-three designated as outstandingly popular. Twenty students received more than ten nominations as "real leaders" and these are defined as the emergent leaders for the purpose of the present study.

The identities of these leaders were then checked from the birth-dates supplied on both questionnaires. Their twenty<sup>1</sup> NORC questionnaires were then separated from the others, and analyzed separately for purposes of subsequent comparison with the non-leaders.

Percentages and mean distributions were then established for the leader and non-leader responses, as well as the original response tabulations

---

<sup>1</sup>One of the twenty emergent leaders was found not to have taken the original NORC questionnaire; hence, in using this instrument, only nineteen leader responses are available.

for the school as a whole, on the NORC questionnaire. The number in each population varies slightly, due to the absentees and withdrawals from the school as well as to the non-responses to some questions. In presenting the data, therefore, the base population is always indicated.

Finally, in order to check in a very incidental manner on any obvious or physical characteristics of the twenty leaders, and as a means of checking the validity of some questionnaire responses, fifteen-minute interviews were obtained with these leaders. This interview dealt with such items as self-image, attitudes towards the school, personal interests, ambitions, and personal notions of leadership.<sup>1</sup>

This interview, while useful in obtaining information about the school and the individual "styles" of leadership, is evidently not utilizable for purposes of comparison, since only the leaders were interviewed.

As an adjunct to information obtained from the students, and as a check on the validity of some items, the school administration provided data on I. Q. scores, past marks, and past educational experience of all the students. In addition, a list was obtained of students having a near female relative who had been an alumna of this school, or another run by the same

---

<sup>1</sup>A copy will be found in Appendix C. Eighteen of the twenty leaders were available on the day fixed for these interviews. The two others were given a questionnaire version of the interview. One replied, the other "kept forgetting", although reminded.



order, or who was a member of the order. This was designed to provide an indication of probable "anticipatory socialization", to use Merton's term. By this is meant the process of adapting to group norms before becoming a member of the group. Thus, a seminarian is expected to act and think as a clergyman before being officially admitted to the ranks of the clergy.

Finally, the Principal provided a brief pen-portrait of the twenty leaders and an informed guess at the approximate socioeconomic class of the family of all the students.<sup>1</sup>

While on the subject of methodology, it would be well to discuss the validity of the results obtained.<sup>2</sup> No systematic attempt was made to check the honesty of all the answers. Some questions of validity were answered indirectly, as appears below. Few of the questions asked appeared to be of a particularly sensitive nature, and no major indications of dishonesty appeared. The checks employed would indicate that the students answered the questions honestly, at least in general. Some reservations, however, must be made.

First, many of the students, when the results of the question on dating habits was announced (NORC #43) voiced the opinion that many of the

<sup>1</sup>This, while obviously imperfect, proved useful. The author, after having met several of the families, would judge that the Principal tended to underestimate slightly the SES of the parents.

<sup>2</sup>The reliability of the first, or NORC, questionnaire, was not directly established except through planned pilot studies. The validity of the second questionnaire was established, on the point of nomination of emergent leaders, by the close correspondence between responses to this questionnaire and voting in the elections for school officers. (cf. infra.)

girls must have exaggerated the extent of their social life with the opposite sex. Secondly, the school records of students' marks tended to be somewhat lower than the girls' own estimates (NORC #29). Thirdly, some of the replies of at least three of the girls appear to be deliberately facetious: the religious "eclectic", one of those who approve of premarital sex relations, and one who provided entertaining write-in commentaries on some of her responses. These need scarcely detain us.

A more serious problem arose through the interviews. Many of the leaders voiced critical attitudes towards the Church and the school, as well as a desire for change and modernization in the school and in the Church in general, in the interviews. On the other hand, the questionnaire replies to questions designed to measure these same variables (NORC #3, B and H; for example) were rather defensive.

After giving this matter some thought, the present writer would suggest that this is probably a case of a more general tendency of group members to reserve their strong criticism of their membership groups "for internal consumption". Thus, although apparently largely uncritical of their Church and school in the questionnaire coming from the University of Chicago, these subjects were freer in discussing their dislikes with a priest whom they knew. This would then be a case of apparent attitude change only, due to a real difference of social context. Further, they might well have perceived the present writer as being change-oriented.

A more general criticism of the validity of such questionnaires is that they attempt to measure fairly complex attitudes and traits of personality by methods which are, after all, relatively crude. This is true, although perhaps a bit beside the point. Other methods also have their failings, and use of a measuring instrument is in any case necessary in order to perfect it. Further, researchers are hopefully aware that they have not exhausted a concept by their more or less adequate ways of quantifying the qualitative.

A word about the presentation of the data is also in order. The actual presentation will, of course, be deferred, but some of the modes of presentation should be explained in advance.

In general, the attitude questions provided the respondent with a scale of at least four possible responses, indicating the valence (positive or negative, for or against) and the intensity (slightly or strongly). To simplify the presentation of data involving a comparison among several populations, the mean weighted reply is often given, in place of percentages of each population in each category.<sup>1</sup> This has the advantage of providing one simple

---

<sup>1</sup>For instance: on NORC Question One, a weight of one is assigned to "agree strongly", two to "agree somewhat", three to "disagree somewhat", and four to "disagree strongly". Thus, instead of telling the reader that the percentages of leader replies were 5%, 16%, 31%, 47% in the four categories of response to NORC #1 A, he will be told that the leader mean response to this question is 2.94, where 3. would mean "disagree somewhat". This mean reply is computed as follows: the weight assigned to each response is multiplied by the number in the population who give that response. The result added together for all the possible responses, and divided by the total number of actual respondents.

indication of the way the population responded as a group, and avoids the inconveniences of percentages employed for comparison of small groups with large. It has also the tendency, as any simplifying device, of obscuring some characteristics of the data. Hence, when there appear to be significant characteristics obscured by this simplified method, fuller presentation will be supplied. This, evidently, leaves something to the judgment of the present author; however, data presentation is almost always a function of the judgment of the investigators, and a more complete presentation would be unbearably cumbersome.

It should further be mentioned that not every question on the NORC questionnaire has been tabulated for purposes of the present study, and not every question that the author has tabulated will be presented. This is simply because not everything on the NORC questionnaire is sufficiently pertinent to the study of differential characteristics of leaders and non-leaders to justify its inclusion in a study of limited scope. In particular, questions relating to primary school experience are omitted, as well, of course, as those which were irrelevant--i. e., items which are already known from more accurate sources, such as scholastic achievement.

Other questions were omitted because, in the present writer's opinion, they duplicated too closely other items in the NORC questionnaire to make separate inclusion advisable--again, given the limited possibilities of this study. Both were, of course, tabulated, to provide a cross-check on

validity and (to some extent) on reliability. This was the case for the three student characteristic questions, NORC #17, 20, 27.

Because of the fact, finally, that the school has a number of obligatory or quasi-obligatory religious practices, notably weekday Mass twice a week for all students,<sup>1</sup> the religious practices question (NORC #53) is probably not always too meaningful.

In general, then, the principal technical concern in seeking a method of presentation of data was the need to express a wide range of information as compactly as possible. As such, it represents a compromise: research, like politics, is the art of the possible.

One last note is perhaps necessary. It has become customary to find the results of "tests of significance" of differences reported by sociological surveys. The reader will not find such indications here. The reason is simple, but will need to be stated for those who are unfamiliar with statistics. These tests determine the likelihood that the results obtained in a random sample may be due to chance, and hence not be true of the total population of which the sample is a part. The present study deals principally with a whole population, not a sample: all differences within that population are hence statistically significant, since (obviously) there is no risk that a population be atypical of itself.

---

<sup>1</sup>Including the non-Catholics.

Other specific methodological notes for particular items will be presented in discussing the results. These will largely be confined to explanations of the weights assigned to particular responses, following the scaling techniques discussed above.

We have seen, then, that the present study investigates a particular, largely unexplored, type of population, in terms of aspects of a contemporary controversy about methods and results in religious education. It is closely connected to a much larger, nation-wide survey with similar but much broader aims. It tests two specific hypotheses, one dealing with leadership patterns, the other with certain expected differences between the population of this school and the national group of the NORC survey, which will provide an approximate control group. The leadership hypothesis is the more important for purposes of this study. The methodological considerations are in accord with current general practices in the social sciences, given the fact that the study involves a whole population and is of limited scope.

We shall now turn successively to a description of the school that is the object of this study; to a survey of leadership theory in the behavioral sciences today, as it is applicable to the school in question; and finally, to the presentation of the results and to their interpretation.

## CHAPTER II

### A REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY LEADERSHIP THEORY AND RESEARCH, WITH APPLICATIONS TO THE STUDY OF ST. MARY'S HIGH SCHOOL.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broad summary of contemporary leadership theory, and to indicate the major implications it may have for the study of Catholic high schools in general and the present school in particular. As the bibliography will indicate, only those works were included which deal with the scientific study, analysis, and evaluation of leadership as a human phenomenon. The many works providing practical handbooks for the formation of leaders, or the military and business leaders' guides, are generally left unmentioned.

It should further be mentioned that the majority of the studies and theoretical discussions used as bases for this chapter are American, and contemporary. This, of course, is a limitation. If the sociology of knowledge (wissensoziologie) has shown nothing else, it has certainly demonstrated how our ability to perceive facts and conceive hypotheses is limited by our milieu. However, since the school employed for this study is American, and the focus is narrow, this limitation should not be a crippling one.

Studying a school from the particular point of view of the social sciences introduces a question of approach as well. It would have been at least equally feasible to attempt the investigation within the framework of

the sociology of education, from the angle of human ecology, or from the more general position of small group dynamics.

Leadership was chosen as the focal point here because there exists a large--if poorly articulated--literature on the subject, and because of the personal interests of the author. The fact that most of the studies of leadership are analyses of similar small groups facilitates the use of comparable data.

In discussing leadership in any school situation, it is the investigator's strong belief that it is a considerable error to ignore the importance of the educators. Specifically in this study, the nuns perform many of the functions of group leadership in spite of not being fully members of the student group. Probably, the officer professors have an analogous role with regard to the cadets in other studies, the prison staff to the prisoners. The study of any group so imperfectly autonomous as students, cadets, seminar-ians, prisoners, hospital inmates, appears to be very incomplete if it fails to take into account the adult or other "freer" power structure that (for example) shapes many of the student groups' ends, rough hew them how they will

For this reason, although the study bears directly only on the student body, the position and influence of the faculty and administration will be mentioned where it is known--or may reasonably be assumed--to be significant. This will be found to dissipate a few small anomalies in the data.

Since leadership today is largely perceived as one specialty within



social psychology, the broad lines of this chapter will follow those of a team of social psychologists.<sup>1</sup>

Several terms occur often throughout this paper. It will be well to define them from the outset.<sup>2</sup>

Leader denotes an individual with status that permits him to exercise influence over certain other individuals. Specifically, our interest is in leaders deriving their status from followers (active participants in the group) who may either accord or withdraw it, in an essentially free interchange with a group context.

Status denotes the placement of an individual along a dimension, or in a hierarchy, by virtue of some criterion of value.

Role, which is implied by status, may be regarded as a set of socially defined expectations concerning behavior judged appropriate for a person occupying a particular position (status).<sup>3</sup>

Group may be most simply regarded as two or more people motivated to work together in virtue of achieving a common goal, in a more or less stable social context.

<sup>1</sup>Krech, David, Crutchfield, Richard S., and Ballachey, Egerton L. Individual in Society (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962) Chapter 12, "Leadership and group change," pp. 422-453. The four main key concepts of chapter organization are theirs. Other and more specific debts to this work will be acknowledged as they occur.

<sup>2</sup>The definitions of leader and status are taken almost verbatim from E. P. Hollander, "Emergent leadership and social influence," in Luigi Petrullo and Bernard Bass (eds.), Leadership theory and interpersonal behavior (New York: Holt, 1961) p. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Ralph M. Stogdill, Ellis L. Scott, and William E. Jaynes, Leadership and role expectations, Bureau of Business Research Monograph no. 86 (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1956), p. 1.

### A. Leadership and Typology of Leadership

At once the simplest and yet the most debated approach to the study of leadership is that of its typology. Presuming the acceptance of such basic sociological conceptions as interpersonal influence, and the reality of social groupings as something rather more than the sum of their individual members, we turn to the question: "what is the place of the leader in all this?", only to find that it is first necessary to specify what is meant by leader.

Historically, it is a commonplace to remark that the "great man" theory of leadership once held sway. This is perhaps the natural result of an aristocratic frame of mind. In any case, it refers basically to the idea that there is a type of excellent man who is naturally a leader, and others who are born to follow him.<sup>1</sup> Pareto, of course, has his conceptual framework of the rule of an elite class, rather than persons. Various more or less environmentally deterministic models were commonly employed in the last century. The modern consensus, by and large, regards leadership as the ability of one person to modify the behavior and attitudes of another, and consequently as a function diffused throughout the group in varying degrees--product as well as creator of social action, action being regarded as meaningful and goal-directed behavior.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Richard II and Julius Caesar are two of Shakespeare's plays that have lengthy apologies of this theory.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Luigi Petrullo and Bernard Bass (eds.), Leadership and interpersonal behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1961), Introduction, p. xii-xiv, of which this paragraph is in part a summary.

Petrullo<sup>1</sup> speaks of today's "multifactorial complexities", and expresses gratitude that there is an unconscious art of leadership to make up for the lack of a scientific psychology of it. He summarizes his own historical precis:

What was once the crux of some major theory . . . . . today seems to be but one of the many items considered in complicated leadership equation.

and furnishes his own definition of the leader in today's sense:<sup>2</sup>

The leader (is) whether selected from above or below. . . . . a freely followed person who is concerned with fulfilling the purposes of the group and the needs of the individual in it. Such a leader is in contrast to a "head man" who is appointed to carry out the objectives of those above him by directing or commanding.

Ross and Hendry,<sup>3</sup> in a similar attempt at a contemporary survey, speak of "how complex the nature of leadership is, and how foolish it is at this stage to be dogmatic in asserting one's views about it."

If this brief survey demonstrates anything, it is the fact that the typology about to be proposed is not on as firm grounds as (say) the taxonomy of species of mammals, but is a division, or a series of divisions, based alike on informed common sense and experimental techniques. These classifications follow different dimensions of the problem, and are by no means to be taken as definitive.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Petrullo and Bass, op. cit., p. xviii.

<sup>3</sup>Murray G. Ross and Charles E. Hendry, New understanding of leadership. (New York: Association Press, 1957), Preface, p. v.

There is first of all a widely acknowledged type of leader who is hors série, the unique, the preeminent in his field. Ross and Hendry<sup>1</sup> speak of him in these terms, and the extreme type of Weber's charismatic leader may also be inserted in this class.

Secondly, most contemporary students of leadership are agreed that there is a distinction between the designated, or imposed, or institutional leader, or head, and the true social leader. The terms vary; but because of its brevity, we will follow Petrullo in referring to the institutional leader as the head, not the leader. This will further avoid confusion in the terminology. The concepts indicated by various authors under the notion of headship range from Petrullo's near-despotic ruler to Krech's idea of the head as the officially assigned leader of a group, who may or may not be effective in that role.<sup>2</sup>

The object of concern in the present study is the third type of leader in this broad descriptive classification. Often referred to as the emergent leader,<sup>3</sup> to emphasize the fact that he fills the role as a result of favorable circumstances, he will be referred to here simply as "leader". His use to the group as its leader may be viewed as a special case of what Gibb regards as an essential attribute of the group, as social interaction in the pursuit of a common goal "in such a way that the existence of many is utilized for the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 15

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., p. 453

<sup>3</sup>"Emergent" is not a very clear or significant adjective here. Personal leader would perhaps be a clearer form, and does less violence to everyday English usage.

satisfaction of some needs of each. "<sup>1</sup> Leadership then becomes a group, and not a personal function. Its study is not, then, a question of the psychology of exceptional individuals, but of the interaction of a group that confers varying degrees of leadership on different members.

This is not, of course, to deny the importance of the leader's specific qualities. Although the tendency today is to regard leadership as a social phenomenon, the stubborn fact remains that all studies disclose a minority in this position of authority, as perceived by group members or by outside observers. Not just anyone, apparently, is capable of fulfilling this service to the group to any marked degree. Still, predicting successful leadership performance from a personality inventory alone would be attempted by few contemporary behavioral scientists.

The current conception, as noted by E. P. Hollander and Wilse Webb,<sup>2</sup> would seem to be that of a leadership-followership continuum of status rankings, with the different members of a group placed at uneven intervals along this continuum at a given moment. Hollander goes on to suggest that this should be altered to take account of individuals who are not perceived even as desirable followers.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the group may

---

<sup>1</sup>Cited in Ross and Hendry, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>"Leadership, followership, and friendship; an analysis of peer nominations," JASP 50 (March 1955) 163-7, esp. p. 163.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 164.

well see some members as desirable neither actively nor passively in the process of making and implementing decisions. They may be tolerated or even liked, but not regarded even potentially as useful to the group's central purpose.

It should be emphasized that the group's perception of a member's capacities may well be inaccurate. If inaccurate fundamentally, it may so influence the individual that he fulfills group expectations--or the lack of them--by his behavior and internalized attitude. Placed in a position which demands leadership, there is some evidence to show that people can learn to act like a leader, in spite of being considered especially inept.<sup>1</sup>

This ineptitude may possibly be the result of what Merton calls "the self-fulfilling prophecy". Another's opinion of us, as noted above, may influence our behavior. Some studies do point tentatively to the existence of traits usually found in leaders. The limitations of the studies would make it wise to refrain from extending them too far from the small groups with a fixed purpose, often factitious, usually drawn from institutionalized persons, that were used to test the experimenters' designs.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>L. Berkowitz, "Personality and group position," Sociometry XIX (1956), 210-222.

<sup>2</sup>On the existence of more broadly significant leadership traits, see L. F. Carter and Mary Nixon, "An investigation of the relationship between four criteria of leadership ability for three different tasks," J. Psych. XXVII (1949), 245-61. R. M. Stogdill, "Personal factors associated with leadership", J. Psych. XXV (1948), 35-71 supplies us with a broad survey and produces seven traits with "no consistent pattern."

From this last it would follow that, once located and identified, the leader would be distinguishable a posteriori from the other members; he is not, however, a distinct type. As to the leader-follower relationship alluded to above, it is not every nonleader who is a follower, as mentioned. Gibb<sup>1</sup> summarizes the specific leader-follower continuum very succinctly:

Followers subordinate themselves, not to an individual whom they perceive as utterly different, but to a member of their group who has superiority at this time and whom they perceive to be fundamentally the same as they are, and who may, at other times, be prepared to follow.

Axiomatically, of course, only one person can lead at a time and even institutional leaders (heads) change. It may be inferred from what has been said of the follower that he is a potential leader whose leadership is momentarily latent. We may then conclude that emergent leadership may be more or less a stable attribute of the leader, and that we are not authorized to suppose that the overt acts of leadership that reveal themselves to the observer's eye are all there is to this phenomenon; here as so often, the existence of a continuum may well lead one to expect an "iceberg effect" of latent leadership. What we can see depends on the individual leader, the group, and a host of external circumstances--such as appointed officers or social pressure.

---

<sup>1</sup>C. A. Gibb, "Leadership", in G. Lindzey, ed., Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), p. 915.

This, then, is the picture of the emergent, or personal, leader as we shall seek him. It is largely negative. He is not easily identifiable when he is not functioning as such with a group. Operationally, there are two common methods for the empirical study of leadership. The first is to watch the group in action and so decide upon the existence and identity of leaders. The second, which is adopted here, is that of asking the group members for the names of persons they believe to be leaders among themselves. This will have the advantage of relying on the group's longer and more intimate experience of its collective identity, thus profiting from a whole gestalt of impressions, running across a variety of experiences available to the collectivity but not to any ordinary observer.

Since the central criterion will then be one of influence over the attitudes and actions of the group, at least two corollaries follow.<sup>1</sup> The first is that, as noted, it will always be a question of degree of leadership influence<sup>2</sup> that is being studied. Secondly, since it is a question of interaction within a group, any influence is bound to be a product of interaction--a "two-way street". Of course, the traffic from leader to group will be proportion-

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, op. cit., p. 423.

<sup>2</sup>Influence will here be defined as the ability to modify the behavior and attitudes of others, without coercion.



ately heavier than from group to leader.<sup>1</sup>

### B. Determinants of Leadership.

The definition of a leader given at the beginning of this chapter should now be clear in its origins and in its principal implications. Let us now turn briefly to a consideration of the determinants of leadership.

From the above, it should be clear that these determinants are reduced to three by the conceptual framework just elaborated. Leadership, or at least its exercise, is a function of the group, of, (for want of a better word) the situation, and, of course, of the individual.

Let us begin our studies of the determinants of leadership with those coming from the group, for most of today's social psychologists would regard the group as the crucial factor. Some conceive of groups on physiological models,<sup>2</sup> some as a kind of person,<sup>3</sup> some indulge in essays in group typology--mostly canonizations of common sense.<sup>4</sup>

An exceedingly simple group will not normally have a recognizable

<sup>1</sup>William Haythorn, et al., "The effect of varying combinations of authoritarian and equalitarian leaders and followers," JASP LIII (September 1956), 218, shows how groups and leaders, respectively, tend to modify their behavior in terms of each others' expectations.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. F. K. Berrien, "Homeostasis theory of groups--implications for leadership," in Petrullo and Bass, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>3</sup>William C. Schutz, "The ego, FIRO theory, and the leader as completer," in Petrullo and Bass, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>4</sup>Stogdill, R. N., "Leadership, membership, and organization," Psych. Bull. XLVII (January 1950), 1-14.

leader,<sup>1</sup> and the stability of leadership as the function of a particular individual seems to be more common in the organized and older group, older meaning having the longer corporate existence.<sup>2</sup>

Further, group identity functions in a slightly different way in leadership choice. That is, the individual will choose and react differently when he is trying to think and behave as a member of the group: "Personally I don't care for the man, but he's the mayor our city needs." Jennings' classic distinction between psychotele and sociotele, while not enriching our language with beautiful words, does distinguish simply between what we do and feel as individuals as opposed to our reactions as members of a social group.

The role of group perceptions of the individual has been mentioned above: Mark Twain's Puddin'head Wilson is an example of an intelligent man treated as a fool and perceived as a fool in his town. On the contrary, the well-known "halo effect" may make the group turn to a man who is incapable of providing help in a particular situation, because of other times or other ways in which he has proven himself a spectacular success. Too, if the leader cannot find at least some support for his point of view from the group, he is likely to lapse into passive conformity, at least temporarily. We are all a bit like Riesman's other-directed man, tending to do what is expected of us. The ability of group pressure to distort and modify judgment is one of

---

<sup>1</sup>A notable exception would be the nuclear family.

<sup>2</sup>Stogdill, op. cit., p. 1 - 3.

the classic findings of social psychology.<sup>1</sup>

However, too much should not be made of the fatalism of the "group mind" (same collective). Any outstanding leader is likely to have a store of what Hollander calls "idiosyncrasy credit"; being, normally, secure in his status and having proven his worth, he is likely to be able to afford more deviance than the simple member.

The nature of the group, and its aims, will evidently be a heavy factor in the fact of leadership selection, and in the manner of its exercise. Authority is likely to be nearly absolute in military groups in combat, but in most groups it will touch on only small sectors of the members' lives. Radical change in the nature, purpose, composition, or structure of a group is likely to bring about collateral change in its leadership.

All this would clearly furnish much more useful theoretical scaffolding for the study of leadership, if it were not for the fact that specific results of studies form, at best, only a mosaic. Further, hypotheses that one or another study design have confirmed--partially, at least--are numerous and occasionally quite contradictory.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A summary of Solomon Asch's findings in this regard is available in his article "Effects of group pressure upon the modification and distortion of judgment," in H. Guetzkow, Ed., Groups, leadership and men. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Press, 1951.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Edgar Borgatta, Robert Bales, and Arthur Couch, "Some findings relevant to the great man theory of leadership," ASR XIX (December 1954) 755-59. The authors cite "at least six types of thinking about optimum leadership structure of the group for optimum performance",

As a point of transition from the group to the individual leader, it would be well to consider the plight of the marginal man who happens to be a leader. In Stonequist's original definition, he was a person belonging to two different cultures, which were conceived as not merely different but antagonistic. Today the note of antagonism is often absent in definitions. In any case, a marginal leader would be a group leader subject to pressure from a plurality of social groups. A factory foreman is to a certain extent also identified with the workers he supervises. The small town school superintendent is responsible to his staff, to his students, to the parents, to his political superiors. Like many leaders, he is in the middle: there are several reference groups, often, if not always, in competition.

Considering the nature of a high school, it is clear that the student government leader risks being caught between two fires. The school administration regards her as something of an extension of its functions, and the students expect the student to "stick up for" student interests. Hypothetically, the marginal leader may choose one, may reject both, may compromise: "no man can serve two masters". We may suspect that compromise is likely to be the more frequent choice.<sup>1</sup>

---

all of which have been subjected to some semblance of empirical validation. These hypotheses range from the presence of an all-round leader to value homogeneity of the group as being the most important variable in leadership effectiveness within the group. The study in question goes on to plump, so to speak, for the out-of-fashion "great man theory", and tests it empirically in a controlled situation.

<sup>1</sup>For a theoretical discussion of this point, see Stogdill, Scott, and Jaynes, *op. cit.*, p. 7-8.

All this emphasizes, as is necessary, the role of the social system or plurality of social systems forming the context of leadership. Still, the stubborn fact remains as noted: this quality is unevenly distributed. We may legitimately, and with real empirical bases, suspect that the individual personality has its part to play. Again, the literature is a bit confusing.

R. M. Stogdill, in an often-cited article that dealt a serious blow to the study of leadership from the point of view of individual psychology,<sup>1</sup> cites seven groupings of personal "leadership traits" found in an exhaustive survey of the literature. They have, he goes on to show, no consistent pattern among them. A more recent investigation<sup>2</sup> concludes that there is a somewhat consistent tendency for leaders to be better adjusted, more dominant, more extroverted, more masculine, less conservative, and to have greater interpersonal sensitivity than rank and file members. The differences, it should be emphasized, are not great. It appears exceedingly difficult to divorce the leader from his group context in any meaningful way.

---

<sup>1</sup>"Personal factors associated with leadership," J. Psych. XXV (January 1948) 35-71. The seven factors are: physical and constitutional factors; intelligence; self-confidence; sociability; will; dominance; surgency.

<sup>2</sup>R. D. Mann, "A review of the relationships between personality and performance in small groups," Psych. Bull. LVI (1959) 241-270. The summary above is paraphrased from Kretch, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, op. cit., p. 444.

First of all, the leader in our sense is a member of the group, seen as "one of us" by the rank and file. He is also in many ways the essence of the group, embodying in an extraordinary way the group's cultural system (values, norms), often in exaggerating them a bit. Is the group youthful? the leader is likely to be a bit more so. He is, thirdly, seen as better than the rest of us, but not too much better, or he will not be perceived as belonging to the group.

Like any group member, he is expected to behave: the "idiosyncrasy credit" mentioned above is not likely to be extended too far unless it has real functional value for the group.

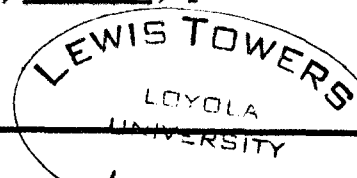
The person who succeeds as a leader in one situation has more chance of succeeding in another, related, situation than does the non-leader. A cautious conclusion, based on a number of studies, is that of L. F. Carter:

There are probably families of situations for which leadership is fairly general for any task falling in that family, but there will be other families in which the leadership requirements will be fairly independent of those in the first family of situations.<sup>1</sup>

This brings us, logically enough, to consider the importance of the situation as a determinant. It is a matter of universal observation that human groups do not exist in vacuums, that they change, and that they vary widely in nature, purpose and structure.

---

<sup>1</sup>Cited in Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, op. cit., p. 446.



The term "situation" covers a wide range of factors, much like the legal term "act of God". Basically it appears to be used to lump together all those factors over which the leader and the group have no direct control. In a study of factitious groups playing at a rigged pinball machine, R. L. Hamlin suggests that leadership is more immediate, more concentrated, and more swift in situations of crisis.<sup>1</sup> It is a long-standing observation of social history that new leaders come to the fore, often "charismatics", in times of rapid social change and disintegration.

We know also that the nature of the group goal plays a real part in determining leadership,<sup>2</sup> and obstacles to that goal can be numerous. Any serious obstacle tends to produce group frustration, as in a situation of immediate crisis, and with it ambivalence and the ensuing problems for the leader: he no longer knows what he is doing. In this sort of a novel, unclear situation, the emergent leader will tend to be the aggressive individual.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Leadership and crisis," Sociometry XXI (1958), 322-35.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. James G. March "Group norms and the active minority," ASR XIX (December 1954), 733-41.

<sup>3</sup>Launor Carter, "The behavior of leaders and other group members" JASP XLVI (October 1951), 589-95, gives an instance of this in a study involving NROTC cadets with an appointed leader who tended to be upstaged by a more aggressive emergent leader.

Then there is that situational aspect called "social climate". Long a favorite of social theorists, it corresponds a bit to the zeitgeist of the philosophers. Broadly, it seems to refer to the pattern of strong collective attitudes in the larger society. Ross and Hendry discuss this, giving as historical examples the election of Churchill as a reaction to his predecessors, and the hegemony of Hitler as a function of the German national mood in the thirties.<sup>1</sup> Social climate is a complex variable, but a real one. Negatively, it determines what the public "won't stand for"; positively, the things and the kind of person who will be precipitated to importance until the times change. Goldwater's nomination is a sign of current American social climate, as were prohibition and its repeal, women's suffrage--any major shift in values or value hierarchies.

Its importance here is that it is a largely non-rational determinant of who will and who will not be a suitable group leader. Further, it is often an influence not of the specific group's making, and may not really be shared by them: but they bow to the social climate. For instance, the social climate in Africa demands native African leaders in all posts possible. Business may prefer to retain their own local managers, but be pressured into the immediate promotion of a whole African cadre. Similarly, a divorce still

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. Cit., p. 32. It is worth noting that Coleman entitles the general descriptive chapter of the schools in his study "Value climates in each school" Appeals to "public opinion" by jurists and legislators seem to refer to much the same empirical referent.



has great difficulty in winning major public office in America, and even a very moral and highly competent person with known homosexual tendencies would never be elected to any major leadership position, in spite of followers' rational assent to the fact that he is the most qualified man for the task.

The group has its own norms and values, which may or may not be congruent with those of the larger society. But it cannot ignore these latter, just as the individual cannot ignore the smaller group.

Specifically, there are at least three evident aspects of St. Mary's<sup>1</sup> High School that will need some development at this point. We are dealing with a school that is Catholic, has a population of female adolescents, and is largely oriented to a single social class.

Friendly observers have long pointed out strong authoritarian<sup>2</sup> elements in Catholic schools. One mild comment on this, relevant to leadership, is the following:

Back of the techniques of leadership is something that can best be described as an attitude of willingness "to stick one's neck out".... Now there is in our faith and our way of life an inherent authoritarian tendency which can easily be abused.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"St. Mary's" is the pseudonym that will be used for the high school to be described in Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup>Authoritarian is here employed as a simple descriptive term, not as a hostile criticism. This point will be discussed in more detail below.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas P. Neill, "Better schools train for leadership," NCEAB LIII (August 1956) p. 228. Other and stronger comments can easily be cited.

Tendencies to authoritarian treatment of the students are perhaps explained partially by the supposition that the Religious who staff the schools will tend to treat those subject to them much as they themselves are treated. The forms of authority within the religious orders are not basically democratic, and this style of leadership might well be transferred into situations where it is less appropriate. The strict transfer of authoritarian patterns of leadership would be of questionable legitimacy in traditional Catholic thought, since the bases of authority for a teacher or principal are quite different from those of a religious superior. The former are regarded as being delegated by the parents of the students, the latter as being freely chosen by the Religious as persons representing God in the external ordering of the Religious' complete life.

Leaving aside the Catholic aspect, a school has, as such, its proper elements. Margaret Fisher remarks on what she calls the "principle of deferred commitment" in education--the students are encouraged to learn, but not to take action.<sup>1</sup> It would seem that student leadership would then not be likely to lead as often or as immediately to directing group activity, but would tend to limit itself rather more to information, protest, and attitude

---

The author goes on to remark the differences in his classes between products of Catholic secondary schools and the public schools in terms of docility.

<sup>1</sup>"Leadership and intelligence" (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia Univ., 1957), p. 154.

formation. In fact, most schools limit rather sharply the outside activity of students. St. Mary's permits no group activity that is not approved by the administration; most autonomous action is deferred until after graduation.

The subjects of this study are female adolescents. Adolescents are thought to be highly conforming, although they do not always refer their behavior to adult cultural norms. Women, as will be shown, are thought to have a more approval-oriented personality and to be more likely to accept and to reaffirm traditional cultural ways of doing and thinking. This is seen as reflecting greater dependency needs. Specifically, in an educational institution, she would tend to be the easier person to socialize, the more readily modified in behavior and attitudes, the more ready to affiliate.<sup>1</sup> (Of course, as George Schuster often pointed out, his long experience in a girls' college taught him that compliance does not always imply agreement.)

From this we may infer that female adolescents are less likely to form a deviant social group (or subculture, to use a stronger term the present writer much prefers to avoid in such a microcosmic context).

Thirdly, the school is very definitely the product of a single social class. By their constitutions, the nuns who run the school have long been associated with the upper middle class. The fact is sufficiently well known

---

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of these goals of education and their inferred significance for leadership, see Benjamin R. Wolman, "Education and leadership," Teachers College Record XLIX (May 1958), 465-73.

to "type" a girl who attends one of their schools.<sup>1</sup> Considering the fact that one of the difficulties in many urban schools is the wide difference between the social class of the teacher and that of the students, this factor at St. Mary's may be expected to eliminate much friction caused by class differences.

Given the wide empirical justification for the existence and importance of social class as a factor in American society, it would be unwise to pass over this situational factor in silence. In particular, one would infer from the one-class dominance at this school that the distinguishing characteristics of the American upper middle class would be reinforced in the course of education. Thus, the social group as a whole would probably not elevate to a position of leadership a member who would be unlike them in this respect, and such small class differences as would exist will probably be magnified.<sup>2</sup> The effect of social class is extremely pervasive; it is, in many ways, one of the key concepts of the behavioral sciences.

The school as a whole is oriented, as will be shown, towards the upper middle class. This relative homogeneity may be expected to restrict

---

<sup>1</sup>The present writer has, on several occasions, overheard a girl at a social event identify herself as a student of one of these schools. The reaction was invariably to tease her about being wealthy, a snob, or "slumming with us".

<sup>2</sup>A. Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner. Deep South: a social anthropological study of caste and class. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941) provides some very interesting illustrations of what class membership does to social perception.

the focus of the group's activities and result in a lesser range of attitudes and actions than might occur in a more diversified social group.

Furthermore, although the influence of other key variables--such as adolescence, Catholicism, and sex--may be quite important, the basic upper middle class orientation may be expected to explain much about this particular social group.<sup>1</sup>

Since the data to be considered in the following chapter contain little relative to questions of family background, it might be well to stop and consider briefly the theoretical implications of family background for the study of leadership. This is probably best done here, under the general rubric of situational factors.

There are at least two studies dealing with the question of family background and adolescent leadership.<sup>2</sup> Both of them are limited by what might be regarded as a tendency of educators, namely to tend to equate leadership with socialization and docility to school authority.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>For a very interesting study of an analogous, but rather different, one-class social group, see Clarence Schrag, "Leadership among prison inmates," ASR XIX (February 1954), 37-41. The leaders tended to be the "lowest of the low": disproportionately more homosexuals, psychotics, rebels, convicts for crimes of violence, "two-time losers", etc.

<sup>2</sup>The first, and more important, is that of Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Some familial antecedents of responsibility and leadership in adolescents", in Petrullo and Bass, op. cit. 239-271, with a good summary pp. 268-69. The second, of which only a lengthy summary is published, is Carl Weinberg, "Family background and deviance or conformity to school expectations", J. of Marriage and the Family, XXVI (February 1964) 89-91.

<sup>3</sup>For instance, Weinberg in the course of his article refers to leadership as one end of a continuum with deviance as the other. By school ex-

In spite of these methodological differences, there are several interesting points in these findings which would appear to have some bearing on the present study.

Weinberg studied a group of thirty schools, apparently or presumably primary schools. He employed six independent variables, and tested for correlation with marked leadership/conformity and marked deviance. He found significant relationships in three cases: sibling position, physical mobility of the family, and family disorganization (broken homes: one or more natural parent absent). The other control variables--family size, socioeconomic class, and working mothers--yielded no significant results.

He discovered that leaders, in his sense, tend to be eldest and only children, the deviants the youngest and intermediate.<sup>1</sup> The most significant relationship was that of presence of both natural parents in the home: 23% of his deviants came from broken homes, 17% of the total population, but only 8% of the leaders.

---

pectations he apparently means teacher expectations, leaving the peer group out of it; his criteria of leadership (ibid., p. 90) are largely of docility. Bronfenbrenner, on his part, defines leadership and responsibility operationally from the teacher's point of view ( $r = .44$  and  $.41$ , respectively, on rater reliability) alone. The correlation between leadership ("influences and directs group activities and is accepted in this role") and reliability ("can be counted on to fulfill obligations") is  $.48$ , which may be regarded as a substantial positive correlation (op. cit., 244-5).

<sup>1</sup>Very parenthetically, as a very rough means of comparison with the present study, it might be mentioned that of the twenty Sacred Heart leaders, the investigator is aware of the sibling position of thirteen. Of these thirteen, only one is a first or only child. One is the youngest, eleven are in an intermediate position.

Weinberg concludes with a pertinent observation, that concentration of research effort on the nonconformer has led us to ignore the less exciting high conformer at the other end of the polar continuum. The "good" child goes sociologically unnoticed, but the delinquent is surrounded by the attentive observations of the academic fraternity.

Bronfenbrenner's study is quite relevant. He takes one set of independent variables--parent practices--and, through a set of intermediate variables--sex of parent, sex of child, socio-economic status of the family--studies his dependent adolescent responsibility/leadership variable.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the psychoanalytic literature, then, he measures social class (SES) as well as sexual differences, thus letting economics and sociology into the picture, as well as biology. His exposition of methodology is quite honest and reasoned. Out of 400 respondents to a questionnaire administered to tenth-graders in a university-town secondary school, completed questionnaires were drawn from each of four social class sets, at random, for a total of 192 cases.

The results relevant for leadership among middle class (and above) female adolescents may be summarized as follows: for both responsibility and leadership,

In American middle class culture. . . for girls, the principal danger lies in the possibility of oversocialization through an overdose of parental affection and control.

. . . . .

---

<sup>1</sup>Bronfenbrenner, op. cit., p. 240-242.

Warmth and companionship facilitate the development of leadership in boys but impede its emergence in girls.

The differential effects of emotional support on the two sexes are enhanced in the higher socioeconomic strata . . .<sup>1</sup>

This last point, concerning differential effects of warmth and affection, deserves further comment. Apparently the optimal level of authority and affection is lower for girls than for boys; he who rules his daughter less, rules best. In a longer discussion of these results,<sup>2</sup> Bronfenbrenner contrasts the methods of employing love and discipline to children of the two sexes. The focus of the "love-oriented" discipline of the girl seems designed to lessen the impact of the environment on her, not vice versa, and to bring about socially-approved conduct and strong internalized controls for behavior. There is then a great sensitivity to the withdrawal of affection, timorousness, anxiety, inhibition. Unfortunately for validation of these results as he goes on to remark, studies of girls are few and far between, especially where leadership is concerned. Apparently our culture thinks less of the gentle sex in terms of authority and influence, whatever the Ladies Home Journal may have to say about the power of women. In any case, the present remarks apply only to girls from middle class families.

This point had been made at some length because, as will be evident from the following chapter, there is a very definite "love-oriented" spirit of discipline at St. Mary's High School, and the level of authority and

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 268-9.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 260-1



affection is quite high. As will be shown, the most frequently named leadership characteristics were associated with affection and not with strength or authority in the sense of the functional aggressiveness so often associated with leadership. Only three of the nineteen leaders interviewed mentioned "sticking to your opinion" or any sort of direct action on the environment as a part of leadership, and only one of these three was in a position of institutional leadership. The rest spoke mainly in terms of good example, duty, taking what is given, doing what is right, and showing affection.

This, of course, corroborates Bronfenbrenner. It would be normal for the style and extent of school discipline to affect the child in the same way that parental discipline does, and the threshold of discipline at Catholic schools is notoriously high. Whether this is good or bad is another question, but in terms of aggressive leadership and ability to change the social environment it is apparently not very productive. Much of this may be, as has been said, "over-socialization": too much of a good thing, especially with girls.

There is, however, another aspect. Catholic schools are almost universally run, in America, by celibate members of religious orders. They may be presumed to have the same basic nutritive needs (paternal/maternal) as persons not vowed to celibacy, and yet they do not have the same outlets. It is at least plausible to suggest that these men and women may be more protective, thereby tending to fulfill their own parental needs, in dealing with the students for whom they are in loco parentis. This is, at any rate, a

tempered version of a complaint frequently heard in Catholic colleges and secondary schools.<sup>1</sup>

In the present case, it is reasonable to infer from the pervasiveness of discipline, and from the vocabulary employed towards the students at St. Mary's High School, (such as "children" for high school students: confer the glossary at the end of the following chapter), that internalization of this life-style is likely to lead to dependency on the part of the students.<sup>2</sup>

There are several other corollaries of this survey of the determinants of leadership that apply to the subjects of the present study.

For one thing, it should be clear from the nature of the school, as described in Chapter III, that the school administration is in effective control

<sup>1</sup>An extreme--not to say pathological--case of this was reported to the present writer by a friend of long standing, a laywoman and a college professor. In a small Catholic girls' college where she taught for three years, there was a deliberate cult of "motherhood" toward the students on the part of the nuns. This was regarded as following the spirit of the Holy Mother Foundress. Its most appalling manifestation consisted in the fact that the dormitory Mothers each night kissed each student good night as she symbolically tucked in the edge of the blanket. The Mother entered the students' rooms without knocking at lights out, and the student was required to be awake, in bed, for this minor ordeal. (This, it should be noted, was not in one of the colleges run by the order which staffs the high school studied here.)

<sup>2</sup>An example of this dependency-relation at this present high school may be illustrative. For Christmas, one volunteer from each class wrote a thank-you note to the present writer. With one exception, all the students including the older high schoolers signed themselves "Your loving child"; this, in writing to a priest by no means old enough to be the father of any of them. Infrequent informal notes, even from some eighteen year olds, were often so signed.

of the situation. The real positions of headship, as ideally in most schools, are theirs: institutional control is not in the students' hands. Indeed, as long as the faculty and administration function adequately, there is little possibility of the rise of a strong emergent student leader to challenge their authority. Within a small task-oriented student group, however, they may be expected to manifest a more complete, if again microcosmic, leadership.

Examples of this would be in the line of girls' athletics, the basketball team in particular. There is also presently a school-wide current events forum where well-informed students are making their voices heard, thus rising to a status which might become a kind of "opinion leadership." The other organizations listed in Chapter III also appear to display a high degree of internal autonomy, but administration approval of initiative appears to be rather more than a rubber-stamp process.

Furthermore, the present system of election plus appointment of student institutional leaders give the administration the opportunity to "position" candidates for student leadership who are likely to be more mature and more perfectly socialized in terms of adult expectations.

There is one further and more speculative application of group leadership theory that should be introduced at this point. The importance of accurately perceiving group goals has been stressed above. Now, it is evident that the values of an adolescent social system are not necessarily wholly those of the education process as perceived by adult educators, even

if the social system in question happens to be a school. In fact, apart from a deliberately "counter-conformity"-oriented minority--the real or self-styled rebels--there exists a large group of students who may simply be termed fun-oriented. The basis for this assertion, in the present study, is largely the self- and school- descriptive questions that will be presented in a following chapter. In any case, it represents a pattern familiar to anyone who has ever worked in a high school.

Presuming the existence of latent group values which are not immediately pertinent to the central goal of education, it would be reasonable to expect the rise of leaders whose special competences would be the satisfaction of needs associated with these values. A good dancer, singer, mixer, guitar player, might be able to make a stronger bid for leadership than an educator's evaluation of her worth in terms of adult values and expectancies might warrant. In fact, the interviews and casual conversation and observation tend to support, albeit tenuously, this hypothesis. A more thorough series of depth interviews might have been able to provide more substantive support for this assertion. Still, it has at least the merit of providing a plausible explanation for the presence in a group of twenty top leaders (cf. Chapter IV) of several who appear to be neither retrograde nor positively in conformity with the overt reasons for their selection as leaders by the students, v. g. , approximation of a proposed ideal.

The existence of one or another emergent leader who is more or less

antagonistic to school aims is easier to explain. Rebellious attitudes and behavior need reinforcement, as does any other, and the exercise of any authority tends to provoke some resentment. A student who appears to be successful in resisting efforts at socialization will easily become a focus of attention, and a means to an end, for the "loyal opposition" as well as the more seriously rebellious. In the present study, none of the leaders were sufficiently a problem to warrant strong negative sanctions, such as expulsion, although several were quite critical of aspects of the school and one was proud of being "different" and able to resist efforts to "make her over", as she perceived them.

### C. Functions of Leadership.

A survey of the structural elements of leadership demands a glance, however rapid, at its functional facets; that is, what do leaders do that justifies our studying leadership as a separate role? what purpose do leaders serve to justify their position in the group?

To answer these questions, we may turn to Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey,<sup>1</sup> whose survey of leadership functions is probably the most thorough one in existence. They list and explain thirteen such functions: to wit, the leader as an executive, planner, policy maker, expert, external group representative, controller of internal relations, purveyor of sanctions, exemplar, symbol of the group, substitute for individual responsibility,

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., 428-432.

ideologist, father figure, and scapegoat. Obviously, not all of these are equally pertinent to the central role of leadership, which may be broadly termed the executive function. The originators of this multiplex schema refer to the first seven of the above functions--that is, executive through purveyor of rewards and punishments--as the primary functions of leadership. The other six they would regard as accessory functions.

The authors of this typology of leadership functions, however, go on to remark that this distinction between primary and accessory functions is somewhat arbitrary, and is likely to depend for its validity on the objectives of the group. As an example, the leader of a religious group would have as primary functions those of exemplar and symbol of the group.<sup>1</sup> In other words, special groups have special hierarchies of functions; they, like persons, vary in their hierarchies of values.

Within the terms of this particular schema of leadership functions, it may be profitable to pause and consider for a moment the functions which would appear likely to be principally those of the student leaders.

In terms of the description (below, Chapter II) of the Blue Ribbons, the notion of exemplary leadership as a major overt function comes clearly to mind; she is to be a concrete indication of what all are supposed to resemble, an approximate embodiment of the ideal of the school as a group.

At St. Mary's High School, there are many factors, as shown,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 431.

tending to make of the group a distinct entity. One of these is the means of marking group leaders. It may well be argued that the ribbon serves to distinguish the group as well as simply its bearer, thus "providing a kind of cognitive focus for group unity";<sup>1</sup> the group-symbol function, much like school uniforms.

The closeness of the student leader to the rest of the school population would also open to her possibilities as a "controller of internal relations", one of the primary functions of leadership. She would be more able to guide and influence the specific details of the functions of the group in its intra-group relations.

The ten other functions, inasmuch as they are useful in a school situation, appear to be more suitable to the administration than to the students. Except in the sense of the "microcosmic" leadership discussed at some length, above, the major functions of decision and command are not normally in the students' hands. Theirs is a special and rather truncated version of what might be termed full-range leadership: the adolescent group is extremely limited by the fact that adults in our society do not take adolescents too seriously--except, of course, when they become criminally deviant.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. , p. 430.

#### D. Patterns of Leadership.

"Structure" and "function" imply dimension. They are, of course, themselves key concepts in modern social theory, and hence theoretical construct dimensions. Here, however, the term is employed as used in a fairly recent study<sup>1</sup> of what amounts to leadership style, the way in which leadership is exercised. Dimension is perhaps not the best word, but style is still less precise: behavior-pattern would perhaps be better.

In their study, Halpin and Winer find evidence (through factor analysis<sup>2</sup> of their data) for the existence of two relatively distinct "dimensions" of leadership, which they name the "consideration" and the "initiating-directing" dimensions. Several other roughly analogous classifications exist. Alfred Gorman speaks of three dimensions: the psycho-social, the participation, and the job-task dimensions.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>A. W. Halpin and B. J. Winer, "A factorial study of the leader behavior descriptions," in R. M. Stogdill and A. E. Coons, eds. Leader behavior: its description and management, (Columbus: Ohio State U. P., 1958).

<sup>2</sup>Factor analysis at its simplest is a reduction to the "least common denominator" of the component variables in a given study. Generally it begins with checking the intercorrelations, or consistent and shared linking, among traits or attitudes. Those which correlate relatively highly are grouped together and that which is common to all of them is then described and named. Obviously, although the first step is based on mathematical techniques, the decision as to just what will be called a significant correlation is a prudential one on the part of the investigator, as is also the description and naming of the common element.

<sup>3</sup>The leader in the group. (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1963) p. 4.



Philip Slater<sup>1</sup> and Robert Bales<sup>2</sup> have also contributed to the study of this problem. Bales feels that there are two complementary types of leadership: the "task specialist" and the "maintenance (or social-emotional) specialist". Slater finds that emphasis on the task, on the leader's part, will tend to arouse some dislikes. Their two articles corroborate each other, a rare thing in social psychology. Furthermore, Slater has the merit of proposing a very simple classification that uses normal words as they are commonly used: he speaks of the two different styles as based on "task-ability" and "like-ability".<sup>3</sup> The present writer would propose Robert Moses as an example of the task-ability oriented leader, and Eisenhower as an example of the like-ability oriented leader. The style of behavior, the emphasis, is on keeping everybody happy so that they can keep the group functioning, for the latter; on getting the job done even if it means stepping on toes, for the former.

---

<sup>1</sup>"Role differentiation in small groups," ASR XX (January 1955) 300-310. His study employed volunteer Harvard students as subjects.

<sup>2</sup>"The equilibrium problem in a small group," T. Parsons, R. F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, eds., Working papers in the theory of action. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), cited in Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, op. cit., p. 433. Bales employed thirty five-man discussion groups.

<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., p. 308. He further regards the most fundamental role differentiation in small groups as the diverging of task functions from social-emotional functions. The task specialist, he finds, is more change-oriented, and more open to things outside the group, accepts technology more readily. The social-emotional axis would be more traditionalistic and would readily reaffirm dominant group values.

It should be emphasized that this is not a supplementary typology of leaders, but a description of two axes, or dimensions, or patterns, of leadership behavior. Halpin, of course, has opted to speak of and study "leader behavior" rather than leadership because the former is more easily observable and hence justifiable.<sup>1</sup> This lets escape from the investigator's net some aspects of leadership which are probably quite important. As Roby remarked, "The ability of a leader to fill any breach in the executive process may be more significant than the particular functions he performs routinely,"<sup>2</sup> and it is only the "particular behavior" that is observable and measurable. Furthermore, the same leader may emphasize his role performance according to one or another of these axes at different times; the influence of crisis, for example, has been treated above.

Let us then, for the sake of simplicity, accept two different axes along which leadership behavior will tend to crystallize, and call the one the task axis and the other the group, or social axis. At any Catholic girls' high school, we may reasonably expect to find a predominance of this latter axis of leadership, in its exercise among the students.

This expectation, like the others in this chapter, is probably

---

<sup>1</sup>Andrew Halpin, "The behavior of leaders," Educational Leadership XIV (December 1956), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup>Thornton B. Roby, "The executive function in small groups," in Petrullo and Bass, op. cit., p. 133.

conditioned by the fact that it is, after all, a posteriori. Still, granted the female, adolescent, Catholic, and highly homogeneous composition of this particular school, the aggressive doer who is quite willing to reap dislike for her efforts is not likely to emerge. Nor, as far as the present study can ascertain, is there any frequency of task-oriented behavior in this sense. Maintenance of the group, peace, cooperation, are the more predominant leadership concerns - "consideration", in Halpin and Winer's sense. The description of the leader high in this "dimension" that Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey supply would fit most of the twenty emergent leaders in the present study:

A leader who receives a high score on the "consideration" dimension is member-oriented: he displays consideration toward the members, rewards good work, stresses the importance of harmony and satisfaction in internal relations, remains easily approachable, accepts suggestions from the group, and invites participation in planning and goal setting.<sup>1</sup>

Among the characteristics of the school mentioned above, the most important in this sense is the one of sex. In a thought-provoking study, which is only one of many on sex-roles in this respect, M. Zelditch<sup>2</sup> finds that, throughout fifty-six cultures, there is clear sexual differentiation in nuclear family groups. The task axis characterizes the male role, the group or social

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., p. 432.

<sup>2</sup>"Role differentiation in the nuclear family: a comparative study," in Talcott Parsons, et al., Family, socialization, and interaction process, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955).

This would imply that, whatever the dysfunctional implications for the potential task-oriented female leader at St. Mary's, the production of leaders who function on the social axis of leadership is more in accord with their future role in their family of procreation. This is a culturally imposed preference for women, which may be rather more strongly sanctioned at this high school, but which is not peculiar to it.

There is one further aspect of leadership style that should be mentioned, and this is the celebrated question of the authoritarian versus the democratic leader. The terms are not without a very considerable semantic charge, so it would be well to start with a definition. By authoritarian leadership is understood one in which the leader is clearly differentiated, plays a strong role in setting group goals, has ultimate decision-making power, delegates few functions to members of the group, and tends to become indispensable for proper functioning of the group. The democratic leader is more permissive, delegates more, and is more the agent of the group than its head.

In this sense, the faculty and administration at St. Mary's operate within a power structure that is definitely authoritarian. Again, this may well be more evident than in some other schools, but is probably a general characteristic of the traditional school authority pattern. Within such a structure, of course, a given status individual may still choose to act more or less democratically, by judicious non-exercise of rights vested in his

office. Given the prescriptions of Church law, in particular, the tendency is for some status positions to engulf the individual.<sup>1</sup>

Among the students, the leaders have no personal power of decision, and the ultimate sanction would probably be for the student leader to abandon the group and let it go its way: there is no means of coercion at their disposition except insofar as withdrawal of affection and approval is a means of coercion.

This discussion of authoritarian and democratic leadership is brief, and placed at the end of this chapter, largely because of the writer's belief that this distinction becomes meaningful only in a relatively adult and relatively autonomous group. This is certainly not the case for the students, and anyone familiar with traditional canonical legislation will be aware of the limitations on the autonomy of the Religious.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>This is not meant to have sinister implications. By it is meant simply that the fact of what the person is is supposed to be much more significant for others in the authority structure than the fact of who he may be. Superiors are supposed to be interchangeable, and deference is required for the office and not for the person. A sign of this is the fact that the simple local superior is often (as here at St. Mary's) referred to as "Reverend Mother" or as Mother Superior; other religious are referred to by their personal names. In civil affairs, only the very highest offices carry such relatively name-obliterating titles: "Mr. President", "Mr. Justice," for example.

<sup>2</sup>There are a number of specific limitations, such as injunctions against engaging in some forms of commercial activity. There exists also a broader traditional canonical principle assimilating Religious to children who have reached the age of reason, but not yet their majority. For instance, anyone in solemn vows who gave, sold or bought something in his own name would be held not to have made such a transaction validly at all. Similarly,

With this the review of leadership theory is brought to an end. Some applications have been suggested in the form of a theoretical model for the study of leadership in the context of this particular high school. The next chapter will present a brief descriptive review of the same school, which will provide some of the necessary background for a subsequent presentation of the results of this study.

---

in civil law, there are limitations on the ability of those under twenty-one to dispose of property or to bind themselves by contract.

In its origins, this conception of a Religious as someone assimilated to a child is a fine juridical point. Medieval canonists wanted to know what, specifically, was the nature of the power of the superior over the subject. Since (they felt) it was not a public power, like that of a king or a bishop, they assigned it to their category of "dominative power". This implies a fullness of scope and depth like that of parents over children, with some differences due to the fact that the Religious promised his obedience to God. Also, their commitment to the superior was voluntary, unlike that of a child to his parents.

With the present rapid evolution of the religious life, this concept has been challenged rather radically, i. e., in some of its presuppositions. Still, it is practically effective enough to influence behavior and attitudes.

### CHAPTER III

#### A DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY OF ST. MARY'S HIGH SCHOOL AT THE TIME OF THE CURRENT STUDY (1963-1964)

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and (when necessary) explain the more salient aspects of the particular high school that is the object of the present study.<sup>1</sup>

In order to do this, it will be necessary to indicate very briefly some of the background of the religious order of women who staff this school, the history of the school, and aspects of life at St. Mary's High School that differ from most contemporary American Catholic secondary schools.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, since this chapter is needed principally as a tool the better to understand the results of subsequent research, much of the material will be in a very abbreviated form, and evaluation will be kept to a minimum.

---

<sup>1</sup>The descriptive data that follow are drawn from a series of interviews, formal and informal, with faculty, administration, and students, over the entire academic year of the study. Some paragraphs, as indicated, are from the author's personal observations. The final draft was checked through for factual error by the School Staff and by an Alumna. Opinions and evaluations are attributable solely to the author.

<sup>2</sup>For an interesting and literate account of life in a school run by this same order, see Mary McCarthy's Memories of a Catholic Girlhood. The reader should be aware, of course, that Miss McCarthy has not always attempted to be objective and that her evaluations occasionally appear, to the present writer, to be very critical and somewhat vindictive.

### A. The Nuns

The Congregation<sup>1</sup> of nuns who own, administer, and principally staff this high school--which shall be called St. Mary's High School, a pseudonym, is about a century and a half old. Founded in France in the wake of the first French Revolution, it saw the upheaval of the ancien régime in France, and subsequently, in most of Europe. Its Foundress, since canonized as a saint, was the daughter of a vigneron. She profited from an exhaustive humanistic education inflicted upon her by an apparently rather pedantic priest brother to start herself and the order on a mission of educating the middle and upper classes.

Today, the order is worldwide with strong missionary foundations and some 7000 members. They staff and run primary and secondary schools as well as university colleges. As with most private (i. e., non-diocesan) Catholic schools, they tend to have in their schools children of the wealthier families of the local Catholic communities. In their case, this is partly in function of the specific vocation of the order.

The rules and spirit characterising this order are partially based upon that of two older religious families in the Roman Catholic Church, the

---

<sup>1</sup>Technically, in Canon Law, a Congregation is an officially recognized group of persons bound by simple and perpetual vows of poverty, chastity and obedience within the Church. An Order is bound by solemn and perpetual vows. Popularly speaking, all religious groups are referred to as "orders". This usage will be followed throughout the paper.



Jesuits and the Carmelites. They are semi-cloistered, a status which involves many restrictions on travel or appearances outside of their houses. Exceptions are frequently made for studies and other reasons of importance to a teaching order, but the members remain rather less mobile than many other religious orders of women.

In general, these nuns have rather impressive academic qualifications. Almost all of the fully professed who teach in the secondary schools have one or more advanced degrees. Being semi-cloistered, their vocations tend to come nearly exclusively from students in their own schools. Further, where possible, their studies are pursued in their own institutions of higher learning, occasionally as far as the Master's degree.

The order is divided into Vicariates, rather than Provinces (the more frequent term used by religious orders), each of which is under a Mother Vicar, responsible to the Mother General in Rome. The Vicariate will normally comprise several schools, primary and secondary, often a college, and will either staff or share with another Vicariate one or more houses of formation for its own members. A large Vicariate may include several hundred nuns and an area of several states.

The candidate is normally accepted, in the Midwestern Vicariate, after one or more years of college. She will then receive two and a half years of spiritual formation, called the Novitiate, followed by one year of "Juniorate" and then either teach or study--according to her qualifications--

for another four years. Thereupon she will normally be called to Rome for her final perpetual profession in the order and will then quite often be sent on for further studies.

#### B. The School and the Students.

The particular school employed in this study dates from 1929. It had, in the secondary school division, 111 students in December 1963 when the study was started: 33, 29, 23, and 26 respectively, in the first through fourth years.

Physically, the school occupies a four story building near the lake front on Chicago's far north side. The building contains the class rooms for both grammar and high school girls, a chapel, and the living quarters for the nuns who staff the school. There are no boarding students, but all of the students eat lunch each school day in the cafeteria, seated in assigned places. The high schoolers, the grade school girls, and the grade school boys from an adjacent building also eat there, in three separate shifts. The boys' grade school is run by this same order of nuns.

In terms of religious affiliation, all the students are Catholics except for three Greek Orthodox and one Episcopalian. Two of the Catholics, however, claimed another religious preference: one "eclectic", and one without any religious preference.

There are three students not of American nationality; one Japanese, one Italian, one Irish. Perhaps fifteen of the Americans speak a second

language. To judge from their last names, a sometimes highly inaccurate indication, the majority appear to be of Irish or German descent.<sup>1</sup>

Since the tuition fees, which include lunch, are \$550. per school year, the families from which the student population was drawn tended to be of above average means. There were, however, several scholarship students.

Classes have ranged, within recent memory, from a low of eighteen seniors to a high of thirty-five freshmen. Each class has its own home room, and the first and last two years share a study hall. Some subjects have special rooms. The students assemble in the appropriate study hall on the second floor, whence they are led by a nun to the appointed classroom.

An attempt at art education by osmosis should be mentioned in passing. The corridors are lined with paintings, one period to a corridor, with perhaps a dozen or so framed reproductions of good quality for each major period of painting.

In St. Mary's High School, the Religious Superior of this community of nuns, while she has little to do with the students as such, seems to be the keystone in the local authority structure. Major decisions require her approval, and there are occasional direct interventions. In this particular

---

<sup>1</sup>By the author's count, over thirty names were identifiable as Irish, twenty as German. British and Scandinavian names accounted for about forty students. There were nine Central European names, with three Polish. Five Italian and one French name completed the identifiable family names.

community, the local superior ("Reverend Mother") is also Vicariate Superior for the Midwest, and has an Assistant Superior. The Vicar at the time of this study was an older nun, experienced, gentle but quite frank, and very popular with the students.

Directly in charge of the school--in this case, of all three of the schools, the girls' high school, the boys' and the girls' primary schools--is another nun, called the Mistress General.<sup>1</sup> The present incumbent was in her first year at this school when the study was made, the third school in her five years as a Principal. In her thirties, she handled the administrative problems of the school and many of the personal problems of the high school students. As in the Swiss system, she also taught one class.

A third and older nun was in charge of studies for the Vicariate and for the school. This woman, called the Mistress of Studies, handled most of the academic matters, but her position was a staff rather than a command assignment. A humanist, with a Ph. D., she also taught the High School seniors.

Another nun, called the surveillante, was in charge of routine discipline in the school. At the time of this study, this position was held at St. Mary's High School by a nun not fully professed in the Order. The present

---

<sup>1</sup>This is an illustration of a proclivity to employ, in their schools, a special terminology. The examples are numerous, and will be gone into in more detail when social controls are discussed. A more common designation of the analogous office would be "Principal", or perhaps "Headmistress". These terms have their explanation in the origins of the order.

students often felt that the real administrator of discipline was the Mistress General.

Each of the four school years had its own Class Mistress, always a nun, for history and English. The Class Mistress normally had her class for eighty minutes each morning, and a shorter afternoon session each day. They generally also taught "doctrine"--i. e. , gave religious instruction--to another class. In addition, two nuns specialized in teaching French. This high school had a total of eleven faculty members, full and part time, including six laywomen.

The students, it should be mentioned, wear uniforms at all times within the school, and frequently on their way to and from school. This uniform consists of a pleated loose skirt and a jacket with no insignia other than special awards, a white blouse, white "bobby socks", and soft gray low-heeled shoes. The jacket and skirt were of a light blue-green. In general, the students did not consider the uniform attractive; this coming academic year a new uniform will go into effect.

The curriculum is strongly set in the old academic tradition. It includes four years each of English, history, doctrine (religious instruction) and physical education. To these are added at least two years each of Latin, mathematics, and French, and a year each of biology and physics. Good students are encouraged to continue their French, mathematics, and Latin, and to take two sciences instead of the minimum of one. Introductions to

psychology, philosophy, sociology, and government are made in connection with the broader fields mentioned above. Almost all the students continue on to college, and the school's record in college placement is quite good. However, as will be noted, instruction in the sciences is limited and the minimum required for admission to some technical and engineering schools is not available, without outside summer school work.

The school possesses a variety of extra- and co-curricular activities many of them particular to schools run by this order. The principal activities are:

The Circle of Christ's Charity. This group is charged with organizing the missionary and caritative works of the students. Specifically, they collect a dime a week from each student, run a Christmas bazaar, and distribute baskets for the poor at Christmas.

Girls' Athletic Association. All students have some degree of membership, however peripheral; an inner core of "honor members", who wear gold wings as a sign of this status of athletic prowess, nominate the officers. The honor members organize a variety of events in the course of the year; acceptance into this group appears to be a coveted honor.

Social Affairs Committee. This organization, run by students elected by and normally from the senior class, manage the collective social life of the school--notably the Christmas dance.

Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. This is the primarily spiritual organization. Anyone may apply who is a Catholic, but not every applicant is accepted. For the juniors and seniors, admission requirements include frequent attendance at Mass, fairly regular spiritual reading, simple personal prayer, and some sort of personal charitable activity. This last may take the form of hospital volunteer work, for example, or participation in tutoring projects. Breaches of school discipline will bar or suspend from membership.

There exist also a weekly current events forum for all students, drama and glee clubs, volunteer weekend "workshops" on some aspects of devotion to the Sacred Heart, and occasional ad hoc groups.

Some of the organizations, such as Young Christian Students, which exist in many Chicago Catholic high schools, do not exist here. In particular, in lieu of the more typical forms of student government there exists an adaptation of the order's tradition of conferring "Blue Ribbons", a term which refers at once to an office and its privileges, to the person holding it, and to the physical ribbon worn by the person. "Blue Ribbon" shall be capitalized where it refers to a person.

Some aspects of the Blue Ribbons will be treated at greater length in the chapter on the leaders, but its general importance from the point of view of leadership make it necessary to dwell on them here at some length. They are the closest approximation to student government and to class officers to be found in this high school.

"Ribbons"<sup>1</sup> exist throughout the primary and secondary school

---

<sup>1</sup>The office and the students holding it are so named from its distinctive emblem, a two inch wide band of watered silk worn over the right shoulder and pinned together at the left hip, dangling to approximately knee level. This renders the individual girl, also termed a "Ribbon" physically as well as sociologically quite visible. The ribbon is normally worn at all times with the uniform, over the blouse but under the jacket. Its ultimate origins lie in the use of similar ribbons to designate cadet officers at St-Cyr, the "French West Point".

system of this order. Confining the present discussion to the secondary schools, they represent a group of students elected by the student body, subject to faculty power of veto. There is no set number, and the present process of selection represents a considerable evolution from the foundations of the order.

Students so selected are charged with a variety of minor functions within the school and, generally speaking, most of the heads of the extra-curricular organizations are also Ribbons. However, the school's manual regards them officially as what might be termed exemplary leaders, and that alone.<sup>1</sup> That is, by their efforts and in their behavior, they are expected to approach the ideal of the St. Mary's student as the faculty and students define this ideal. Once the office is theirs, they are supposed to use their influence to minimize deviance on the part of the others: obedience to the rule, active collaboration with the process of education in the broad sense, etc.

The number of ribbons, as noted above, is variable. Formerly, in some of their schools, it was the sign of a black sheep not to be a ribbon. Currently, at least here, it seems to be a minority that attain it. Those who are not Ribbons display attitudes toward them ranging from envy to a de-

---

<sup>1</sup>"In each age group, distinctions are given according to merit, distinctions which bring responsibility and which form those who bear them into a picked group capable of giving more generous service and more inspiring example. These are the Ribbons . . . ."



risation that is perhaps affected, as will be shown in Chapter IV. In any case, during the current year, the proportion varied from one sixth to one third of the seniors as Blue Ribbons, largely due to the system employed for electing the Ribbons.<sup>1</sup>

The Blue Ribbons have some responsibility and enjoy considerable prestige in the school, but there is quite a bit of disagreement as to just exactly what the office is supposed to mean. This can, no doubt, be explained in part as a result of the ambiguity of any role that is shifting from an original conception of an honor bestowed upon an exemplary student to an office comporting institutional leadership in school affairs. The Principal has a great deal to say in fixing the Ribbons' role. The results may be seen--as will be shown subsequently--as a classical case of conflict of role expectations.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>A normal cursus honorum in the series of elections (there are three a year: around Christmas and Easter, and prior to the end of the year) would be as follows. A promising freshman would receive votes from about two-thirds of her schoolmates, saying she should be a Green Ribbon, which is the equivalent of the Blue Ribbon for freshmen and sophomores. She would then be listed as an accessit (Latin, literally: "she draws near") or candidate. If she again received many votes in the next election, she could then become a Green Ribbon. Or, by default of popular votes or by faculty veto, she could be retained once or twice.

Once a Green Ribbon, she would normally retain the office (barring serious breach of discipline, like smoking in the washroom) until the end of the second year. Thereupon, she would lose it, and become remotely eligible for election as a Blue Ribbon in the same three-step process.

<sup>2</sup>It should be noted here that role conflict refers to potential sources of difficulty for the status individual. As Melvin Seeman puts it in "Role conflict and ambivalence in leadership", ASR XVIII (August 1953) 373, role

One of the means of control (that is, means employed by an institution to make sure its particular goals are accepted and pursued by its members) employed here is also quite useful to assure adhesion within the group: togetherness, or what Irving Lorge calls the "groupness of the group".<sup>1</sup> I refer to the use of a whole special vocabulary to designate persons, offices, and divisions within the school.<sup>2</sup>

There is remarkable uniformity of curriculum, discipline, and terminology in schools of this order throughout the world. The alumnae are extraordinarily loyal. Obviously, even apparently small things like a group vocabulary tend to promote in-group feelings. However, some of this is changing; for instance, only the nuns refer to the Freshmen as I Academic, the Sophomores as II Academic, etc.; in the interviews all of the twenty interviewed spoke of themselves as Seniors, Juniors, Sophomores, Freshmen. Further, many of them voice objections to being called "the Children". For example, even the current Mistress General, while preserving that title when speaking to the present author, described herself as the Principal when

---

conflict consists in "exposure of the actor in a given position to incompatible behavioral expectations. Though an apparent incompatibility may be resolved, avoided, or minimized in various ways, the conflicting demands cannot be completely and realistically fulfilled."

<sup>1</sup>"Groupness of the group," Journal of Educational Psychology. Vol. 46 (December 1955) 449-456.

<sup>2</sup>A short glossary of the more frequently used of these terms is appended to this chapter.

speaking to reporters of the Chicago Tribune. Many of the French expressions formerly used even in English-speaking schools have been replaced with approximate English equivalents, to the distress of some alumnae. One suspects that this tendency toward the more common usage will prevail.

Another means of social control is the ceremony known as "Primes".<sup>1</sup> This, in its current form in this school,<sup>2</sup> takes place in the following manner.

Every Monday an assembly of the entire high school is held in the school auditorium. On the stage are the Superior of the nuns, the Mistress General, and the Surveillante. Reverend Mother has the deportment cards in front of her, together with the medals; the Mistress General has the "Black Book", or bound list of names and comportment notes. All the faculty may be present, but this assembly is strictly a family affair.

The Fourth Academic (Seniors) then come up and stand in a semi-circle in front of the stage. One by one, their names are read off with a

---

<sup>1</sup>Not to be confused with the old canonical hour in the Roman Breviary of the same name. This Primes comes from the French word for prizes or bonuses.

<sup>2</sup>The ceremony is preceded by written reports from each teacher on untoward events in class, and their perpetrators, on the Friday. Then, the Saturday before, all the nuns meet and go through the class lists. The Surveillante writes this up, and the remarks to be made by the Mistress General are then prepared. The Class Mistress is particularly, but not exclusively, charged with the evaluation of her students. Awards as well as demerits are determined at this sitting.

"note on conduct"<sup>1</sup> and any additional comments. After all have received these comments in the senior class, they pass on the stage in single file and receive the deportment card from Reverend Mother, curtsying and thanking her. Then they return to their seats, and the juniors come up in semi-circle and the process repeats itself.

After all four years have been presented in this fashion, the winners of the medals for the past week's performance are called up to receive them. Other awards are also given at this time.<sup>2</sup>

The ceremony is concluded with a short talk from Reverend Mother, usually of encouragement.

A number of other sanctions, positive and negative, might be mentioned. Some of them are in the form of traditional ceremonies, others are ad hoc and mainly seasonal in nature. Outside the main study hall on the second floor, for instance, is a large board with each student's name, and boxes for particular categories of offences. In these boxes the nuns and lay faculty members may mark demerits in the appropriate category, as the occasion demands, for speaking, poor posture, lack of politeness, lateness.

---

<sup>1</sup>These are three: Very Good, Good, and Indifferent, depending on the quantity and quality of the breaches of discipline committed during the preceding week. Formerly, they were given in French: Tres bien, bien, and assez bien.

<sup>2</sup>Normally, a medal is given for each class, to be worn for a week, in each academic subject plus Politeness and Sports. The award may be primarily based on either achievement or effort.

Two or more marks in a week will get a mention in "Primes", The board is visible to all.

There are a variety of ceremonies, general to the Catholic community or particular to the school, in which degrees of participation are accorded as honors.

Some of the lesser seasonal means of dispensing rewards and punishments are quite remarkable in their imaginative conception.<sup>1</sup> The more sophisticated of the students, of course, speak of them with great, and possibly again somewhat affected, merriment.

Order is strenuously cultivated throughout the school, and the nuns are to be vigilant "with the watchful vigilance of a mother". Movements from one room to another are done in lines, under the conduct of a teacher. Discipline and self-control are highly stressed in the formation of the students, and this is particularly evident in the chapel, where novelty brings

<sup>1</sup>For instance: at Christmas the high school had a crib with a series of steps before it. At the base of the steps was a small flock of tiny sheep, with different colored ribbons about their necks. Each sheep represented one student, and advanced toward the crib according to the corresponding student's observances of the Advent practice: in this case, silence in class and corridors.

As another example: once, in the week before Reverend Mother's feast, a rather ingenious campaign was waged against slang. Each day one expression was banned for the day. Each girl was given a small ribbon to wear at the beginning of the day. Any person in whose presence she used the forbidden expression was authorized to take the ribbon from her. At the end of the day, those who still proudly bore their ribbons were entitled to a reward.

unexpected reactions. Little could normally happen in the school without at least one nun being aware of it. In the interviews with the students, however, only two members of the religious community were mentioned as going out of their way to look for breaches of discipline in the school; the others, one assumes, often temper justice with forgetfulness on purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Actually, these public methods of control--"Primes", marks, etc. remain largely reserved to minor offenses. "Problems" are treated in personal interviews, as methods of control and of counseling. Corporal punishment is never employed. The low ratio of faculty to students makes personal contact most feasible. Probably the most effective means of control is still the knowledge that disapproval of conduct will hurt a loved one--Harry Stack Sullivan's "significant other". The nuns are quite openly affectionate with the students, and praise them in public. One or another nun will embrace even the older girls, a practice not always appreciated by all the students, although all admit that they appreciate the kindness and affection that inspire these acts.

Further, this school very definitely exhibits the tone of a primary group.<sup>2</sup> When students were asked which characteristics of the school they

---

<sup>1</sup>Still, to judge from the interviews, this surveillance does in fact generate resentment on the part of many students.

<sup>2</sup>While "primary group" refers strictly to any two or more persons living in a close face-to-face relationship, it is not normally extended to describe a social system the size of this school, small as it is. Still, work groups are often described as social systems and certainly the various informal groups at St. Mary's are very precisely primary groups. It would, perhaps, be more accurate not to refer to the school as a whole as a primary group, but as a system of primary groups.

most liked, almost all replies stressed the fact that they all knew each other throughout the four years. For most of the teaching nuns, and the administrators mentioned above, almost all the students are definite personalities they can discuss rather than simply names connected to faces. Towards the end of their first semester, all the new freshmen with whom the author spoke expressed the feeling that they knew all the students in the high school and most of the nuns.

This primary-group tone is reinforced for those students (13%) whose entire grade school experience was in the associated primary school. An additional thirty per cent. could claim at least one year of St. Mary's Grammar School experience.

The homogeneity of the school's membership has been mentioned. One significant exception to this is the range of mental abilities of the students, as indicated by I. Q. scores. Here one finds a spread of over sixty points--from a low of 82 to a high of 147--or five standard deviations from a theoretical mean of 100. The school mean is 120. This could reasonably be expected to make it quite difficult for the low-normal student to survive academically. In fact, however, it is the policy of the school to discourage a student who is really making an effort from leaving on purely academic grounds.

The range on the other characteristics of the student population--age, religion, sex, socioeconomic background, ethnic group, to mention only a

few--is absent or negligible. If one applies accepted reference group theory, even these slight differences lose much of their potential significance. There is some evidence to suggest that the students here of other than middle and upper middle class backgrounds belong, by virtue of their career aspirations and educational accomplishments and aims, to that segment of the social class structure.

This introductory description of the more important general characteristics of the school being now completed,<sup>1</sup> it is now possible to move on to the results of the data.

---

<sup>1</sup>It should, in all fairness, be pointed out that such a cursory description passes a number of aspects of school life under silence. Further, the daily activities of any group of adolescents are far livelier than one might suspect from the above pages. A brief survey tends automatically to reduce the subject to the static state.



### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

Glossary of terms employed in the special vocabulary of St. Mary's High School.

Children: refers to the secondary and older primary school students.

Class: (as "the Children of the Fourth Class will meet in the garden today",) refers to what other primary schools call the grades. St. Mary's refers to the First through Eighth Class.

Class Mistress: the nun specially charged with a primary or secondary school class.

First through Fourth Academic: refers to the freshman through senior high school years.

Mistress General: that member of the community of nuns who is directly in charge of the school and of the students, the Principal.

Mothers: the nuns. The correct direct address is "Mother", except for the superior, who is "Reverend Mother". These are employed as titles as well as forms of address.

Primes: a ceremony of weekly bestowal of awards and of merits and demerits upon the high school students.

Ribbons: an office, and the person holding it, of official exemplar and leader within the school.

Salute: a curtsy, short or long as the occasion demands, required by the rule of the school under certain circumstances. Notably, it is traditionally bestowed as a sign of respect upon meeting the Superior and, sometimes, clergymen.

Surveillante: A nun, often not permanently professed in the order, charged in a special way with maintaining external discipline within the school.

## CHAPTER IV.

### PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE AND OF INTERVIEW DATA AND OBJECTIVE INFORMATION ON LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS.

#### A. Who are the leaders?

##### 1. Institutional leaders and their functions.

In answer to the second question on the leadership questionnaire,<sup>1</sup> the hundred and nine respondents name the following as the major positions of institutional leadership at their high school:

TABLE 1.

#### POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP AT ST. MARY'S HIGH SCHOOL.

Office	Number of Nominations
1. President, Girls Athletic Association	65
2. President, Circle of Christ's Charity	40
3. President, Social Affairs Committee	33
4. First Blue Ribbon	33
5. Second Blue Ribbon	32

A total of eighteen offices were named in all; each of the eighteen

<sup>1</sup>"Which are, in your opinion, the really important student offices and functions in this school right now, and who are the girls currently in charge of them?"

was a position connected with the three above-named school organizations, or with the Ribbons. Some students held two or more positions of institutional leadership; for instance, at the time of the study, the President of the Circle of Christ's Charity and the First Blue Ribbon were one and the same. Ten persons held the eighteen offices named; one student held four positions of institutional leadership!

One surprising result of this question was the proof that the Ribbons as such are not at the very top of the institutional leadership structure.

Another is the naming of an athletic association so far ahead of any of the others in a girls' high school. Apparently the simple factor of sex does not change the dominant position of athletics, at least in this high school. <sup>1</sup>

Since most of the offices mentioned above, as well as the lesser positions (secretary, treasurer, etc.) within these same student organizations are practically barred to underclassmen, a second question (Question Three)<sup>2</sup> was added. This question also hoped to obtain information on institutional leadership.

<sup>1</sup>Coleman's survey contains no girls' single-sex high school, so that the female adolescents in his study, coming all from co-educational high schools, are probably not a comparable group. At any rate, as mentioned in Chapter I, athletics do not seem to have a very significant role for Coleman's female high school elite.

<sup>2</sup>"Are there any girls you feel will one day, almost certainly, get elected or appointed to one of these top offices? Who are they, and what offices or functions do you think they will hold?"

Unfortunately, the question appears to have been poorly phrased. Several avoided answering it; several (four) answered by guessing at the future careers of fellow students. The question yielded little useful information.

## 2. The personal leaders.<sup>1</sup>

Questions Four and Five<sup>2</sup> had been designed to locate two categories of personal leaders: those who were also institutional leaders, and those who were not. Unfortunately, since there was no clear and uniform pattern of agreement on the institutional leadership offices, these two questions covered, by and large, the same population.

These two questions were, therefore, treated as yielding one category of personal leader, and a total of ten nominations was (as noted) taken as the cutoff point for determining the leaders. This yielded twenty personal leaders.

---

<sup>1</sup>The more frequently used term in the field is emergent leaders. However, strictly speaking, this is a misleading term. They may never emerge as leaders in the larger society; in the school they already have. Furthermore, if the function of the term is to distinguish these leaders from the institutional leaders, do not the institutional leaders also "emerge"? Personal is more in accord with non-technical usage, as mentioned above, and seems more precisely to indicate the distinction between the leader because of his job and the leader because of his personality.

<sup>2</sup>Question Four: "Are any one of the girls you mentioned in answer to questions two and three what might be called "bigger than their jobs--that is, would still be leaders, and remarkable people, even if they never held any important offices at all? That is, regardless of their official jobs or offices, they would stand out. Who are they?"

Question Five: "Now, among the girls who in fact hold no important offices or functions whatsoever, are there any who still always manage to stand out on their personal qualities--"born leaders", the kind of person you would almost instinctively listen to and follow?"

The range of nominations was 47, from a high of 57 to the established low of 10. Quartile deviation, however, was 8, indicating a relatively tight grouping around the mean, which was 19.5. All of the five top institutional leaders were among the top ten personal leaders, although the order was quite different.<sup>1</sup> Seniors were predominant, with nine. Five freshmen were nominated, and the sophomores and juniors each had three.

The twenty or so named further included two pairs of sisters, a senior and a freshman, who were first and seventh, respectively, as well as the second pair of sisters who were fifteenth and eighteenth, a freshman and a junior, respectively. There were only three among the personal leaders who, up to the end of the 1963-1964 academic year, had not held some sort of a position of institutional leadership, even a less important one.

Some further generalities about these twenty students are available from the brief (fifteen minute) interviews held with them in April 1964, four months after the above questionnaire was administered.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The rank orders of the five first institutional leaders as personal leaders were, respectively, sixth, fourth, ninth, fourth, and first.

<sup>2</sup>The interviews included one girl who was not among these twenty. This same leadership nomination questionnaire had been distributed, through the principal, to the faculty. The three nun faculty members who replied, and the one administrator, all named this girl as a likely institutional leader and as a girl possessing personal leadership qualities. Not one of the students answering the questionnaire so named her, although the major part of the student body received at least one vote. She was therefore included to see if a brief interview would provide clues to this anomaly. It did not. The present investigator would also have been inclined to name her as leadership material, and she did not seem to possess any evident characteristics that might render her unacceptable to her peer group.

None of the twenty leaders admitted to being basically dissatisfied with themselves, although two impressed the present writer as "protesting too much". Six were unqualifiedly satisfied with themselves as they were.

Fifteen of the eighteen interviewed expressed a liking for the smallness and family spirit of the school; three also said that they particularly liked the training and discipline it afforded them. Ten complained that there was too much and too strict supervision on the part of the nuns, eleven would have preferred a wider choice of courses. Three felt that the general mentality was too narrow, particularly on the part of the faculty. These criticisms were generally voiced calmly as flaws in a system that was on the whole functioning well.

Only one showed signs of being ill at ease in the interview situation, and one other of some overt hostility and suspicion.

Career plans were varied, as might have been expected from a high school group. The majority voiced a preference for occupations that might be termed altruistic,<sup>1</sup> although one at least was frankly exploitative<sup>2</sup> and several others were vague, although all save one mentioned at least one choice of future occupation.

---

<sup>1</sup>Teaching (1); Peace Corps (2); doctor, veterinarian, or nurse (5); nun (2); in both cases a nun of the religious order that staffs the school; guidance counseling (1); "somewhere I can help people" (2).

<sup>2</sup>"Make money" (1); interior design (1); politics, which might conceivably imply altruism (1); olympic athlete (1); writer (1); "maybe a movie critic" (1); "I don't care" (1); marriage right after college (2). Some, of course, mentioned marriage in connection with other choices.

From the brief descriptions of salient characteristics of each of the leaders furnished by the Principal, four of the above twenty are to some extent a "problem", although none of them are problems to the extent of requiring severe negative sanctions (such as expulsions).

### B. What makes a leader?<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. Student opinion of leadership traits.

Question Six<sup>2</sup> on the leadership questionnaire was designed to discover the qualities the students considered as being relevant to personal leadership. Indirectly, it may reveal some attitudes towards the current leaders as well.

The responses yielded a list of thirty-three traits associated with personal leadership in this high school. They almost all dealt with character traits, rather than (for instance) knowledge or administrative abilities. None of the traits cited could be described as pejorative, most dealt with traits that could be expected to facilitate interpersonal relationships. Those characteristics named more than five times, in order and with the number of times mentioned, are:

---

<sup>1</sup>Throughout this report "leader" will be understood to refer to the personal leader, unless otherwise specified.

<sup>2</sup>Question Six reads: "What's so special about the girls you named in answer to Question Five? What is there about them that makes them so outstanding?"

Friendly, easy to get along with	30
Fun, fun to be with	22
Has personality	14
Nice, nice to everybody	13
Has leadership, authority	11
Is kind, lovable, likable	11
Sticks to her principles	10
Listens to you, knows how you feel	9
Outgoing	8
Popular	7
Sincere, honest, loyal	7
Organizer, gets things done	7
Sweet, cute, charming	7
Has savoir faire	6

There is perhaps more insistence here on how the leader gets along with others, than on the leader as a distinct person.

An interesting contrast is furnished by Question Seven,<sup>1</sup> which was designed to gather attitudes toward, and traits connected with, institutional leaders.<sup>2</sup> This question yielded a list of twenty-one traits and categories of traits associated with institutional leadership. One striking result was the relatively large number and negative<sup>3</sup> and pejorative<sup>4</sup> traits named. The most

<sup>1</sup>Question Seven read: "What qualities does it take, in your opinion, to be a Ribbon, or to be put in charge of an important activity at school?"

<sup>2</sup>It should again be borne in mind that the top five institutional leaders are also personal leaders, i. e., the two categories overlap. Further, the phrasing of this seventh question reflects the author's mistaken preliminary impression that the Ribbons were the only major institutional leaders in the school.

<sup>3</sup>By negative, the present writer means traits prefixed with a "not" or a "shouldn't". Some examples: "Didn't get marked (for misbehavior)", "not aggressive", "not lax"

<sup>4</sup>By pejorative is understood characteristics that are strongly unfavorable. Examples: "half-way goody-goody"; "agree with the mob"; "brownies". This last, a softened version of a remarkably graphic and vulgar military expression, indicates a sycophant or "boot-licker".



frequently named traits and categories of traits, with the frequency named, are:

Obedience	26
Friendliness	21
Popularity	20
"Niceness"	18
Assorted negative characteristics	14
Piety	11
Reliability	11
Cooperation and work	10
Various pejorative characteristics	9
Frankness	9
Love of school	9
Leadership	6

There would appear to be considerably more ambivalence towards the Ribbons than towards the personal leaders. By no means is there a general dislike towards the institutional leader in general, or the Ribbon in particular, but there is more of a difference of opinion. The major criticisms of the Ribbons seem to be that some are felt to be insincere, others are allegedly there because they have managed to avoid getting in trouble.

Part of the occasional pattern of dislike may stem from the Ribbon's official role of exemplary leadership, of keeping the others "in line". There does not appear to be any fear of the Ribbons' power, probably because they have so little. The ribbons who were interviewed professed a respect for their office, but three of them had at least some reservations about their role. One indicated that some students, with influence but without office, went out of their way to make things difficult for her. The incidents she mentioned were, however, minor.

The central objection of some Ribbons--at least three<sup>1</sup> of them--to their role is specifically to the idea of themselves as extensions of the nuns among the students. This may provide us with a key to understanding the ambivalence of attitude.

On several occasions throughout the year, students have voiced the belief that "in this school, you're either for the nuns or you're against them". This is not surprising. The real authority is in the nuns' hands, and authority usually carries some unpopularity in its exercise. Further, any high school will contain some students who are not there by their personal choice, and who will therefore not necessarily be motivated to cooperate with school authorities.

Although it implies going rather beyond what is clear from the data, the present writer feels it is at least plausible to suggest that the hostility shown towards the Ribbons is largely a reflection of hostility felt towards the nuns. In at least one case this is the way the student sees it, although extrapolating to the eight or so who appear to dislike the Ribbons generally would be unjustified.

The predominance of social traits for the description of the personal leaders, on the other hand, support the general belief that the small group leader tends to be someone who is popular with the group and basically perceived as being one with the non-leaders. It further corroborates the

---

<sup>1</sup>At the beginning of the fall semester, there were only three Blue Ribbons; by April, however, there were a total of nine.

hypothesis that leaders of the socially-oriented axis ("maintenance specialists" rather than "task specialists") will predominate in the context of this high school.

The naming of so many simply negative traits in connection with school leaders, especially institutional leaders, is perhaps best explained in connection with the patterns of social control in use in this school, as exposed above. Many of the positive sanctions are designed to reward those who have simply not infringed a rule, or not done anything objectionable, during a set period of time. The weekly "very good" is not an accolade for exceptional performance above and beyond the call of duty, but an acknowledgment of an unspotted comportment record. Many of the nuns would be in favor of reserving the "very good" for positive excellence, but this is not yet the practice.

## 2. Some objective differences between leaders and non-leaders.

The I. Q. range for the school as a whole, as noted, is 67 points. For the leaders, it is 64 points, from the same low of 80 to a high of 144. Although almost all of the very superior (over 140) students are absent, the mean I. Q. of the leaders (122. 2) is slightly higher than that of the non-leaders (118. 1).

This represents a familiar pattern, that of underselection of the exceptionally bright. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey suggest some reasons why this may be so:

First, the "too intelligent" person may not be perceived as "one of us". Second, his interests may be so remote from the problems of the group that he is not motivated to help the group. Third, problems of communication may arise because of the large gap in intelligence. And, finally, there is some reason to believe that the superior person may seek to introduce innovations that the group is not ready to accept because these innovations challenge the existing ideology. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The present writer would add one other possible explanation. The bright child who is also a high achiever is likely to attract jealousy, and will also be a convenient substitute object of dislike for the teacher, who rewards and esteems academic excellence. The teacher is out of the hostile student's reach to a great extent; the bright student is not.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the two highest I. Q. 's among the leaders are students whose athletic prowess is renowned. Perhaps their ability on the basketball courts made the others "forgive" them for their brains.

As would be expected with a slightly higher mean intelligence, the leaders had above-average grades. The non-leaders' mean grade was 2.3 on a 4-point system; the leaders achieved a 2.7 mean grade (B-)<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., p. 439.

<sup>2</sup>While on the subject of grades, and purely as an aside, academic competition does not seem to be taken too seriously here. In comparison with the deadly earnestness in the "scholarship race" in the present writer's own high school, and in others he has visited, there seems to be a remarkable lack of tension at St. Mary's. This is perhaps due to the fact that most of the families can afford to send their daughters to college even without the financial assistance provided by a scholarship. In other schools, with little or no tuition, the presence or absence of outside financial aid is likely to be critical in determining whether or not the student can go on to college. Here it is not.

To judge from the informed estimate of social class furnished by the Principal, the leaders tend to come from slightly higher class backgrounds. This finding is in contradiction with at least one study of student leaders, which indicates a lower mean social class for leaders than for non-leaders.<sup>1</sup> This perhaps is best explained by the fact that Hodges' group bridged more social strata, whereas the present group of subjects are largely homegeneous. In Hodges' group, the lower and lower middle class students may reasonably be supposed to be more highly motivated. Perhaps, too, the lower class college student has had to be more competitive simply to be able to "make it" into college. While the estimates of social class as furnished are not without a real risk of error as noted above, it may still be worthwhile to present the data for leaders and non-leaders:

TABLE 2.

## APPROXIMATE SOCIAL CLASS OF LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS

	Leaders-% (Base: 20)	Non-leaders-% (Base: 91)
Upper middle Class	37%	22%
Middle Class	52	47
Lower Middle Class	10	21
Upper Lower Class	5	8

<sup>1</sup>Harold M. Hodges, "Campus leaders and nonleaders." Sociology and Social Research XXXVII (March 1953) p. 253. Hodges used a sample of 200 out of a total of 1,500 undergraduate "fratmen". With this exception of social class, his other findings agree with the broad picture presented by the present study; his leaders have a slightly higher academic average, are younger, a bit more mature, more liberal, more in sports. Too, while lower in social

The information concerning previous education of the high school students provides one revealing, if partial, measure of "anticipatory socialization". As mentioned, the high school being studied is operated in conjunction with a grammar school. The same order runs other grammar schools as well. The percentages of leaders and non-leaders, divided according to the amount of schooling in grade and secondary schools run by this same order, is as follows:

TABLE 13.

## LENGTH OF STAY IN SCHOOLS RUN BY THIS SAME RELIGIOUS ORDER.

	<u>Leaders</u> (20)	<u>Non-leaders</u> (89)
All high school and all grade school . . . . .	31%	9%
All high school and some grade school . . . . .	42	28
All high school only . . . . .	31	51
Some high school only . . . . .	0	12

This rather clearly indicates that the leaders tend to have a longer experience with the particular traditions of the order, and they may be assumed to learn something about the high school from their close physical proximity to it.

Another, somewhat more subtle, measure of antecedent acquaintance with the school and with the order that runs it is provided by information on

Class of origin, they are higher in goals.

family backgrounds of the students. Specifically, the present investigator noticed that quite a few of the students came from families in which many of the women were alumnae of this school, or of another one run by the same order. He therefore asked the Principal to list for him all those students who had a near female relative--i. e., a mother, sister, aunt or grandmother--an alumna, or who was a member of the same religious order. The results can be presented very briefly:

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS HAVING A NEAR FEMALE RELATIVE WHO IS AN ALUMNA OF A SCHOOL RUN BY THIS SAME RELIGIOUS ORDER, OR ELSE A NUN MEMBER OF THE SAME ORDER.

School (109)	Leaders (20)	Non-leaders (89)
34%	70%	26%

It is clearly emerging, then, that the leaders tend to be people already more closely associated with the school, at least indirectly, for many years; they went to grammar school there, or their mothers are alumnae, or they have an aunt a nun in the order. The order, as is the case generally for teaching orders, receives most of its recruits from among the students in its high schools. The nuns tend, therefore, to be alumnae of the schools, as well as members of the order.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This applies only to the teaching members of the order. Like many of the older religious orders, there are two classes of membership. Those called "Mother" wear a slightly different habit and are teachers and adminis-

The data on previous schooling raised in the present investigator's mind the question of future schooling: how do the students feel about going on to colleges run by the same order? While the vast majority of the students regard themselves as being college-bound, preliminary talks with them revealed that only the seniors seemed to have very specific college plans, although the second semester had already begun. Accordingly, the Principal supplied a listing of the colleges for which the seniors had been accepted and to which they wanted to go. The results are as follows: (Only one senior had no plans for college.)

TABLE 5

PROSPECTIVE COLLEGES OF THE SENIORS AT ST. MARY'S  
HIGH SCHOOL.

	All seniors (25)	Senior leaders (9)	Senior non-leaders (17)
Colleges run by the same religious order . . . . .	28%	44%	18%
Other Catholic girls' colleges . . . . .	4	0	7
Large Catholic universities . . . . .	49	11	73
Small non-Catholic colleges or junior colleges . . . . .	4	11	7
Non-Catholic universities. . . . .	16	33	27

strators. Those called "Sister" generally perform the functions of manual labor around the convent, and never rise to positions of authority within the order. This corresponds roughly to the distinctions between priests and brothers in some religious orders of men. The distinctions within religious orders have tended, historically, to reflect prevailing class distinctions in the larger society.



While the bases are quite small, it is still apparent that the modal senior leader is going on to a college run by this same order, the modal senior non-leader is going on to a large Catholic university. Apparently the leader tends to be more satisfied with the "system" and life-style in the schools run by this order, and prefers to continue in the same tradition. For some, this appears to be partially an unwillingness to strike out into the relative unknown of another system of education. For others, it represents a more deliberate choice.<sup>1</sup>

While data on past classes' college choice was available, it was not possible to control this in terms of personal leadership as a variable. It was the nuns' impression that the Ribbons, at least, tended to go on to colleges run by their order in higher proportions than the student body in general.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>It should be mentioned that it is the policy of the high school administration in question to encourage the choice of a Catholic college which is not co-educational. The nuns, as is the case with members of most religious orders, displayed a preference for their own colleges. To the present writer's knowledge, however, no attempt was made to "pressure" the students to choose a college run by the same order except by indirection: the students would have occasional contact with nuns from the order's colleges, and information on these colleges was always available.

<sup>2</sup>Another word of caution is perhaps in order. It may very well be that leadership is not the determining variable at all, but that degree of satisfaction with previous educational experience is the key factor, and helps determine both the patterns of leadership and of choice of college. Secondly, the middle class girl may not be a really free agent as regards college choice. Her parents' wishes may outweigh her own in many cases, especially where the parents will be paying all the bills for a private college.

### 3. Leadership in specific fields.

The Ninth Question<sup>1</sup> was designed to obtain nominations of students who were outstanding in various ways in the school. Seven categories were chosen, based on indications from the Coleman study and from unstructured interviews with students at St. Mary's. These provided an idea of what areas might be important for high school students in general and students in this school in particular. Percentages of leaders and non-leaders in each of the categories were then determined. The cut-off point for inclusion as "outstanding" in each category was five nominations from the questionnaire respondents (N=109), as mentioned above.

Before turning to the specific categories, some more general observations may be in order. A "halo" effect does seem to exist, in the sense that some very popular students were named at least once as outstanding students, in spite of objectively inferior academic performance. There were more nominations of seniors than of freshmen, but the nominations of seniors tended to be more concentrated: fewer students received more nominations. The mean number of nominations (in all seven categories together) made by each student was twenty-seven. A total of sixteen students received at least

---

<sup>1</sup>Question Nine read: "We would like to know which girls you personally feel are really outstanding in different fields. Name as many as you wish, but please try to name those you feel are the most outstanding first, and the others in order--'best first'".

The categories will be named and described below: they included scholarship, popularity, piety, activity around school, admiration, athletics, and liveliness.

one nomination in each category, and a total of nine students received no nominations in any category.<sup>1</sup> The outstanding athletes and scholars appear to be more visible, as nominations in these two categories appear more concentrated.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the population of each of the seven groups of outstanding girls varied greatly, from a high of thirty-three named five times or more as being "most popular" to a low of sixteen so named as being "genuinely pious."

Thus prepared, it is now possible to turn to the seven categories and present the proportions of the school as a whole, of the leaders, and of the non-leaders, who fall into each of the categories. In order to simplify tabular presentation, the rows are marked simply by the letter and the key phrase of each category. The full phrasing of the original sub-questions of Question Nine was:

- a. Who are the best in studies?
- b. Those most popular with the other students?
- c. Those who show the most signs of a genuine piety?
- d. Those most active in school affairs?
- e. Those you personally admire the most?
- f. The best athletes?
- g. The most fun to be with--the "live wires"?

---

<sup>1</sup>There were four sophomores who received no nominations, three freshmen, one senior and one junior. This is a bit surprising, as one would tend to expect the bulk of the "wallflowers" to be from among the freshmen, who would be the least known and the least at home. However, high school teachers and administrators have assured the present writer that the phenomenon of "sophomore madness" is well known and that they are not surprised by these findings.

<sup>2</sup>The school's top athlete received a total of sixty-one nominations, the top scholar fifty-six. The most outstanding students in the other categories received no more than thirty-six nominations.

TABLE 6.

PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL SCHOOL POPULATION, OF LEADERS,  
AND OF NON-LEADERS IN EACH OF THE SEVEN SPECIFIC  
CATEGORIES OF "OUTSTANDINGNESS".

	<u>School</u> (111)	<u>Leaders</u> (20)	<u>Non-Leaders</u> (91)
a. scholars (20)	18%	35%	14%
b. popular (33)	30	95	15
c. pious (16)	14	50	7
d. active (19)	17	75	4
e. admired (18)	16	75	3
f. athletes (19)	17	55	9
g. "live wires" (33)	29	65	22

In other words, most of the leaders were not regarded as being especially good in studies, only half were regarded as especially pious, but most of the leaders were regarded as being outstanding in each of the other five traits. Furthermore, the converse also holds true in some categories: the majority of those judged outstandingly pious are also leaders, and the same holds true for all the other categories except for the scholars and the "live wires".

It would seem, then, that there is some evidence for the hypothesis that someone perceived as outstanding in personal leadership will also be perceived as outstanding in other fields. In all of the seven categories, the

small group of twenty leaders is disproportionately represented. Even in scholarship, where the showing of the leaders was weakest, there were seven leader scholars. Considering that the leaders were less than a fifth of the school and that there were only twenty outstanding scholars, one would regard anything above four leader-scholars as disproportionately high.

It will be noticed that the difference between the leaders and the non-leaders is less great in the categories leaving less room for coloration by subjective attitudes: studies and sports. As mentioned, the top scholar and the athlete are more visible, and both receive public rewards at this high school. That the majority of the pious students are also leaders is an encouraging sign, considering the importance of genuine piety as a goal of Catholic education.

The least difference between leaders and non-leaders is in the "live-wire" category, where by far the proportion of non-leaders is highest.<sup>1</sup> The existence of twenty non-leaders who are "live wires" may be an indication of the size of a group of students, fun to be with but not taken too seriously, who have chosen a sort of clown-role as an avenue to acceptability without responsibility.

One conclusion from these data would be that there appears to be no

---

<sup>1</sup>While thirteen of the twenty leaders are regarded as "live wires", and all of these thirteen are also "most popular", not all of these leaders are in the "most admired" category.

massive single determinant of personal leadership in this high school. The popularity factor would appear to come closest, presumably with admiration and activity around school forming a small cluster of traits associated with popularity. This corresponds well with the high place of traits linked with popularity given by the respondents to Question Six. There remains, of course, the very real possibility that there is a trait uniformly connected with personal leadership, and that these seven categories were not well chosen at all. Their choice was an informed guess, in a sense, and better guesses at more pertinent categories may eventually be possible.

A general conclusion from this chapter would be that the personal leaders are more likely to excel in athletics and studies than are the non-leaders, and they are more highly regarded by the other students. They tend to be associated more closely, and over a longer period of time, with the nuns who run the high school. They are slightly but really superior to the non-leaders in the objective criteria of intelligence of academic performance, and as a group tend to have a basically favorable attitude towards their school, to favor altruistic occupations in later life, and to show no serious discontent with themselves.

This part of the data presentation now completed, the following chapter will consider the results of the NORC questionnaire as a means of distinguishing leaders from non-leaders, and students at this high school from the segment of the national sample being employed as an approximate control group.

## CHAPTER V

### LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS COMPARED AND CONTRASTED WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH AN APPROXIMATE CONTROL GROUP FROM THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER'S SURVEY OF ADOLESCENTS.

Because of the large number of items to be compared and contrasted in this Chapter, the data will be presented in a simplified schematic form. After the table or graph is introduced, large differences between leaders and non-leaders will be mentioned. Following this, the large differences between the control-group and the non-leaders will be listed. After each mention, other lesser differences of special interest will be mentioned, and any necessary commentary or explanation will be given before moving on to the next table or graph.

The problem of determining what constitutes a "large" difference between two groups has been solved in an admittedly arbitrary manner. Since none of the three groups about which data are about to be presented are in any way "random" selections, it is impossible to employ standard tests of statistical significance of differences. Furthermore, statistical significance is by no means identical with substantive significance, and it is this latter which most particularly concerns us here.

After discussing the difficulty with Dr. Stark of the University of California Survey Research Center, and Mr. Pinto at the National Opinion Research Center, it was decided that there were at least two possible crude

indications of the real, or substantive, significance, that might be useful.

The first indication is the direction of difference. Where a consistent direction of difference exists among a series of related variables, suggestive inferences may plausibly be made.

Secondly, the absolute differences between two columns (in the case of percentages, the epsilon-factor) are an indication of differences between the populations concerned. Thus, if one column reads 98% and the column to its right reads 68%, we have a difference of 30 percentage points. Where the two columns represent similar populations, such a large difference bears comment.

As a practical measure of important difference, it was decided by the present writer to point out all differences larger than 10% of the total possible range. Where data are expressed in percentages, this would be 10 percentage points. Where the mean of a series of data is presented, the range of the scale employed was used as a base. Thus, in Graph I, the range went from 1.0 to 4.0; .3 would then constitute a relatively large difference, 10% of the possible range.

This has several practical advantages. One has to draw the line somewhere, as with cutoff points in the nominations contained in the preceding chapter. A smaller difference than 10% would have increased the number of "important" differences among the groups to the point where the significant might well have been drowned under the masses of reported differences. Furthermore, with bases as small as 19, a difference of 5% might be due to



one single individual--too small a cutoff point would be pointless.

Taking 15% or 20% of the possible range would equally have too many inconveniences, leaving the present writer with ten or less differences of this magnitude in all the assembled data.

Faced with a similar problem, Dr. Stark chose 12% as his cutoff point. For uniformity, and to simplify calculations dealing with means, the present writer has elected the 10% cutoff point, as described above. For all its patent disadvantages, it is convenient and serves to bring out the more salient points in the research without necessarily obscuring the patterns revealed by less obvious but more constant tendencies, which will also be remarked upon in passing.

The absolute range, rather than the actual range in each row, was chosen to avoid bending the analysis too much to the a posteriori shape of the data. Further, the actual range varies so much from item to item that false comparisons could easily be inferred: on Graph I, B, the actual range is only .18; but in A, on the same graph, it is .82. Surely relative comparisons would serve only to confuse the issue still further, and render it nearly impossible to see any pattern in the data.

There is one other aspect of the data presentation that must, in honesty, be remarked upon here. The control group, which is that segment of the national NORC survey most resembling the students of the present high school, proved to be quite a bit smaller than had been anticipated. Out of

nearly a thousand respondents to the national questionnaire, only thirty-four were (a) female Catholic adolescents, (b) in a Catholic high school, and (c) with relatively wealthy parents. Leaving out the sex, educational, religious or economic variable would seem to vitiate any meaningful comparison. Hence, for all its small size, the control group was retained as outlined in the Introduction.

The control group still retained three functions of real importance. First, it serves as an indication of the direction in which the experimental group may in fact be atypical. Secondly, the differences between the control group and the non-leaders will highlight the differences between the leaders and non-leaders, which are the principal object of study in the present paper. Thirdly, the control group furnishes another "dimension". The picture is rather different when the direction of difference from control to non-leader to leader groups is the same, and when the leaders revert back towards the control group. Without the presence of a control group, the difference would have been invisible.

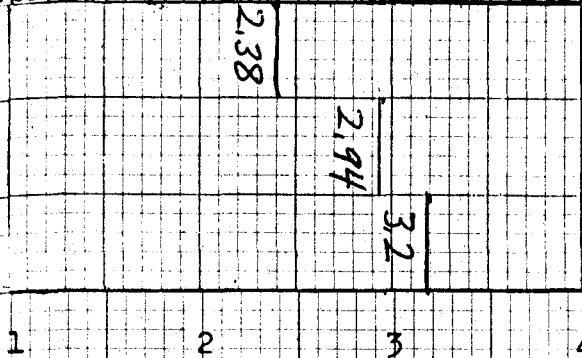
#### A. Attitudinal and Social Variables.

##### 1. Social and Religious Attitudes.

Graph I, A through L, presents the group mean agreement or disagreement with each of a series of twelve propositions designed to test important attitudes. The graph is based on Question Three of the NORC Questionnaire. The importance of the variables tested is in function of real

# GRAPH I - a

Agree Strongly      Agree Some-what      Disagree Some-what      Disagree Strongly

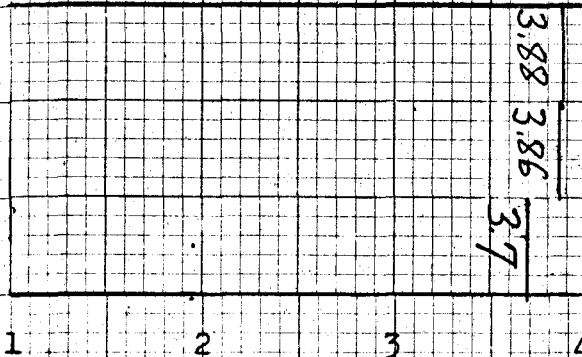


Control Group

Non-Leaders

Leaders

A. Only people who believe in God can be good American citizens.

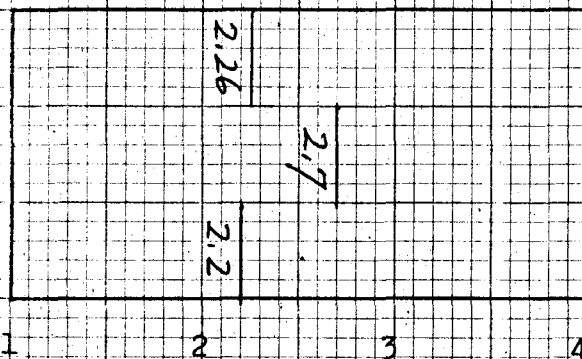


Control Group

Non-Leaders

Leaders

B. The teachings of my church are old-fashioned and superstitious.

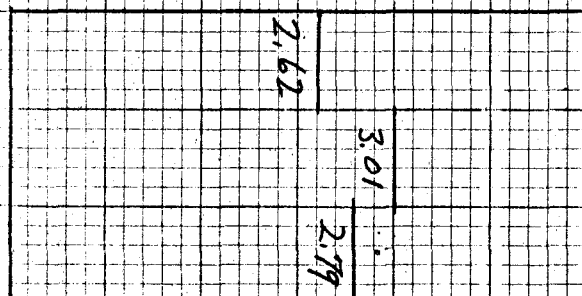


Control Group

Non-Leaders

Leaders

C. A family should have as many children as possible and God will provide for them.



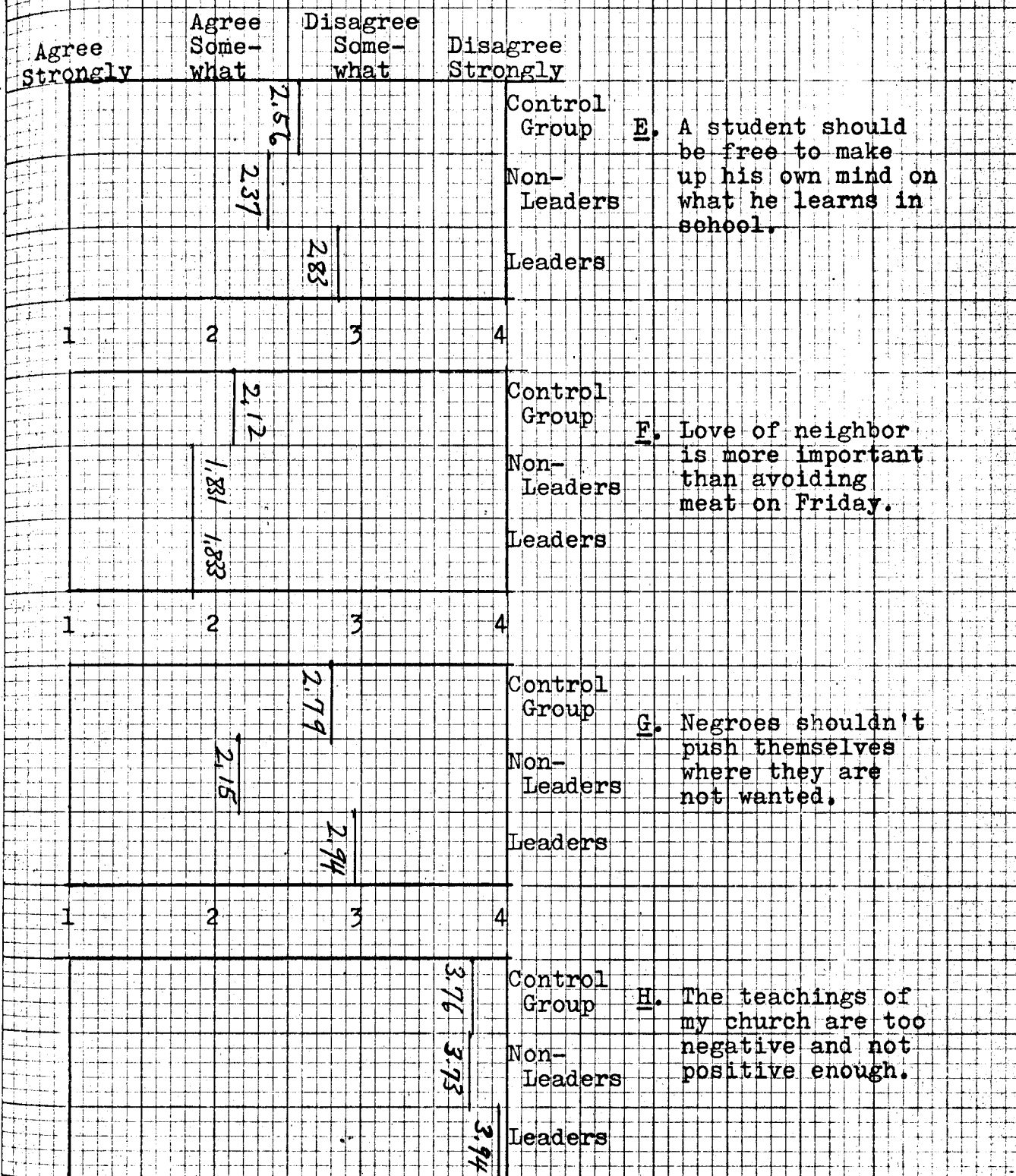
Control Group

Non-Leaders

Leaders

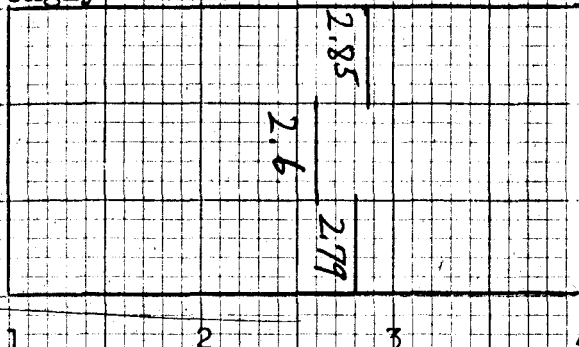
D. Negroes would be satisfied if it were not for a few people who stir up trouble.

GRAPH I-b.



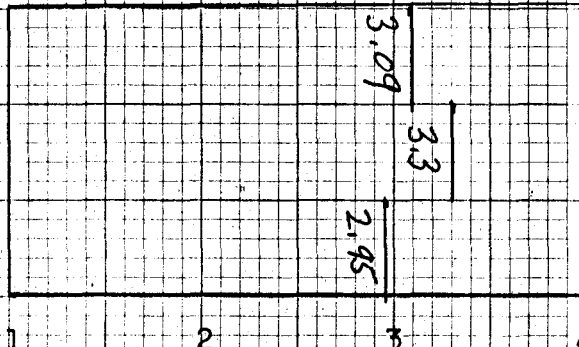
GRAPH I-c

Agree Strongly      Agree Some-what      Disagree Some-what      Disagree Strongly



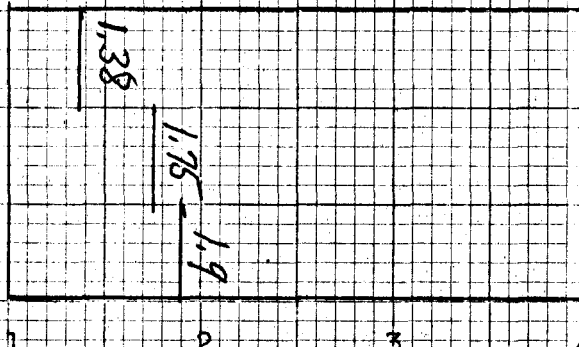
Control Group  
Non-Leaders  
Leaders

I. Books written by Communists should not be permitted in public libraries.



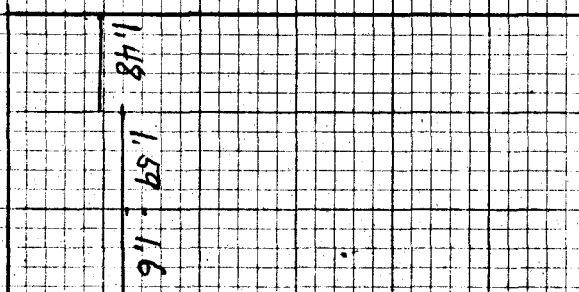
Control Group  
Non-Leaders  
Leaders

J. My religion teaches that a good Christian ought to think about the next life and not worry about fighting against poverty and injustice in this life.



Control Group  
Non-Leaders  
Leaders

K. Jewish businessmen are about as honest as other businessmen.



Control Group  
Non-Leaders  
Leaders

L. Working men have the right and duty to join unions.

or presumed contemporary social problems, such as racial and ethnic prejudice, birth control, formalism, religious and academic liberty, and related issues.

From these twelve items, it would appear that there is substantial agreement on a majority of the items, where 0.3 is taken as a measure of large difference on a four-point scale with a range of 3.0.

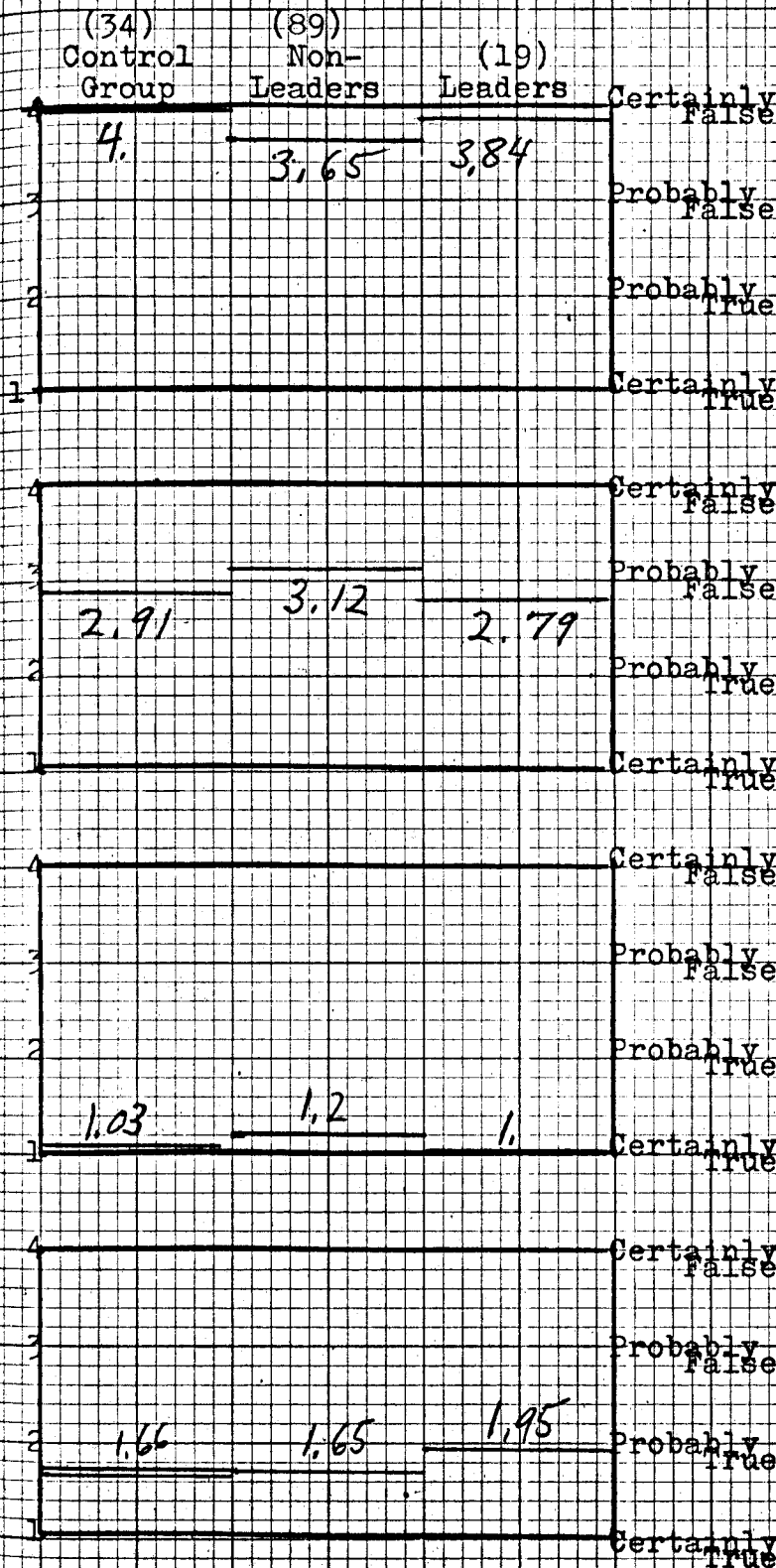
Relative to the non-leaders, the leaders are less inclined to accept family planning (C), less in favor of academic liberty (E), more pro-Negro (G) less eschatological, i. e. less inclined to neglect this world's values (J).

Relative to the control group, the non-leaders are more tolerant of atheists (civil liberty) (A), more inclined to family planning (C), less anti-Negro on (D), but more anti-Negro on (G), and more anti-Semitic (K).

The element of anti-Semitism appears, to the present writer, to be due in part to what Robin Williams calls the "threat" element of prejudice, here the result of economic competition in the middle and upper middle classes for the same socioeconomic niches. The more completely tabulated data from the national survey indicates a negative correlation between Catholic religious education generally and anti-Semitism, which contrasts with the mounting reluctance of students at this high school, from leaders to non-leaders, to accept the honesty of Jewish businessmen.

The contradiction, for the non-leaders, between (D) and (G), both on Negroes, may be explained by the nature of the two statements. That on

GRAPH II



A. When you come right down to it, there is no definite proof that God exists.

B. God doesn't really care how He is worshiped, so long as He is worshiped.

C. There is a life after death.

D. God will punish the evil person for all eternity.

which the non-leaders appear relatively anti-Negro again contains an element of threat for the middle and upper middle class white: the Negro "pushing himself where he isn't wanted". The other proposition, to the effect that most Negroes are basically satisfied, is easier to dissent from.

Graph II, based on NORC Question Four, is an attempt to measure assent to very basic notions of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. All four propositions are less carefully worded versions of dogmas held by Catholics to be de Fide: i. e., they are so central to Catholicism that a man cannot wittingly deny one of them and still remain a Catholic.

Taking a 0.3 difference as important, the leaders are less indifferent about forms of worship and readier to accept the possibility of eternal punishment than are the non-leaders.

The non-leaders, on the other hand, are rather less sure of God's existence than is the control group.

All this is part of an increasingly familiar pattern of religious incertitude, which appears more prevalent at St. Mary's than among the more typical high school girls. Given, however, the wording of some of the questions, it may well be that the unsureness of reply mirrors sophistication and not agnosticism: e. g., in a very real, if subtle sense, there is no immediately sure rational proof of God's existence, and a purely notional assent is worthless, from a religious point of view.

Graph III, summarizing replies to NORC Question Five, represents

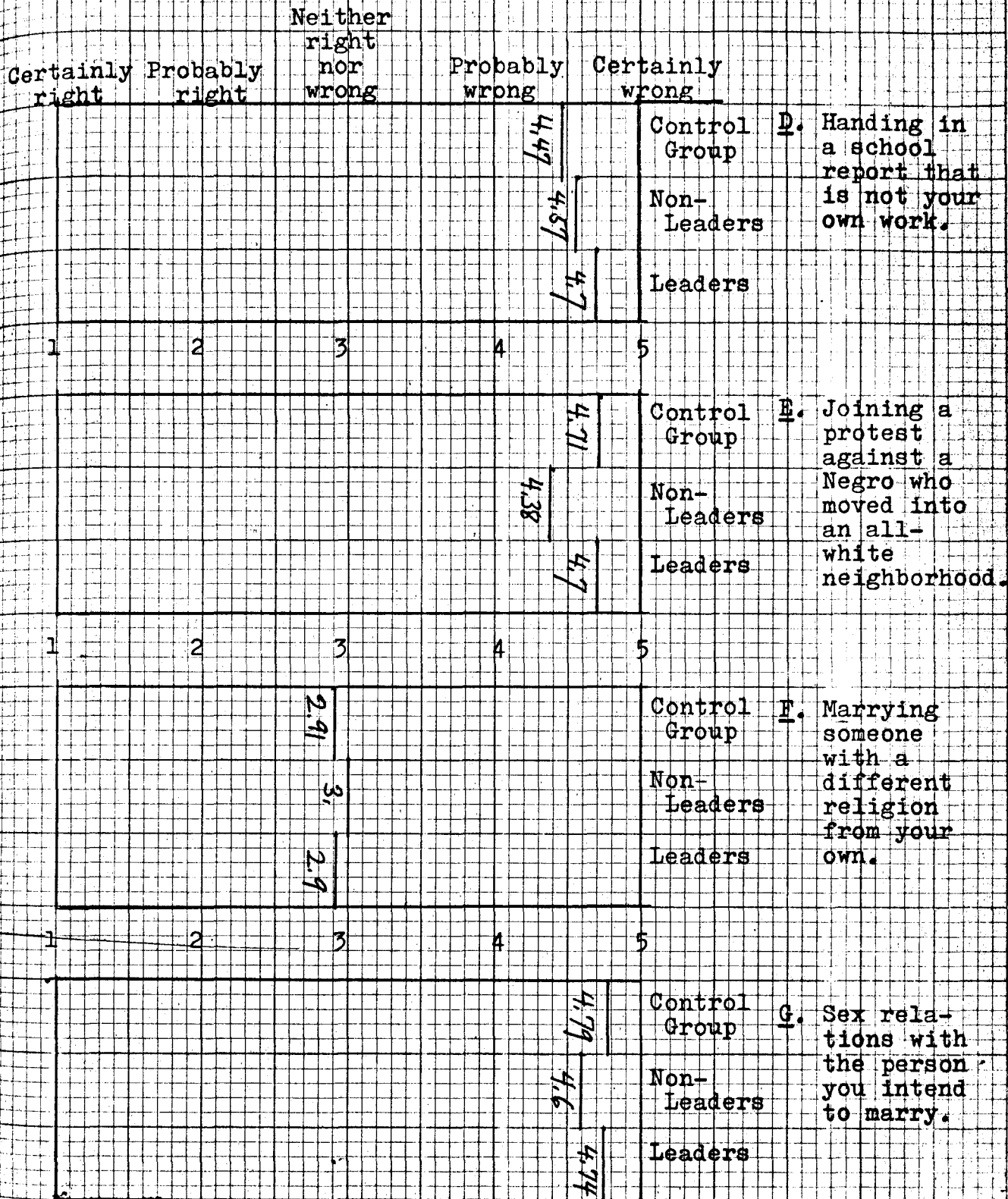


# GRAPH III - a.

Question Five: Here is a list of things some people feel are wrong and some people feel are right things to do.

Certainly right	Probably right	Neither right nor wrong	Probably wrong	Certainly wrong		
				4.8	Control Group	A. Help another student during an exam.
				4.6	Non-Leaders	
				4.7	Leaders	
1	2	3	4	5		
				4.53	Control Group	B. Heavy necking on a date.
				4.4	Non-Leaders	
			4.		Leaders	
1	2	3	4	5		
				4.56	Control Group	C. Having as little to do with Jews as possible.
			4.1		Non-Leaders	
				4.9	Leaders	

GRAPH III - b.



evaluation of the moral rightness or wrongness of seven kinds of acts. The leaders are more tolerant of heavy necking (B) and much less anti-Semitic than are the non-leaders (C), taking a difference of .4 as important.

The non-leaders are rather more anti-Semitic than are members of the control group (C). However, with the exception of religious mixed marriages, all of the mean replies of all three groups are clearly on the disapproval end of the moral continuum.

The scale provided by the question probably does not represent the degree of repugnance the act represents for the respondent, nor (it is to be hoped) the degree of seriousness they attach to an act. For instance, all three groups register the same negative assessment, or a more negative assessment, of cribbing on an exam (A) than they do of premarital sex relations (G).

Encouragingly from the point of view of official teaching of the Catholic Church, the students are able to perceive the wrongness of social injustices involved in discrimination and segregation: (C) and (E).

Probably the tolerance expressed towards mixed marriages, judged morally indifferent, would not have been so evident a generation or so ago (F). This well may be a product of our ecumenical age.

## 2. Social Preferences, Referents, and Ascriptions.

Table 7 reveals one of the highest single differences uncovered in the present study, from which it would appear that the high school under

study is a minor stronghold of individualism. This is perhaps not so surprising, if it is considered as being another one of those social "backlashes". The students lead an exceptionally regimented life under a highly centralized system of discipline, as described in Chapter II. Many voice objections to the regimentation of uniform, movement to class, close supervision, and prescribed ritual gestures. The individualism may be largely a social equivalent of Newton's "equal and opposite reaction".

TABLE 7.

PERCENTAGES PREFERRING TEAMWORK WITHOUT PERSONAL RECOGNITION TO WORKING ALONE WITH PERSONAL RECOGNITION, AND VICE VERSA (NORC QUESTION SIXTEEN. ).

Preference	Control (34)	Non-leaders (87)	Leaders (18)
Teamwork	48%	24%	28%
Work alone	9	45	28
Can't decide	42	31	44

Taken with Tables 8 and 9, Table 7 indicates that the leaders prefer solitary work less than do the non-leaders (Table 9), prefer a nice personality to hard work as a success formula more than do the non-leaders (Table 8) and have still less of a preference to be remembered as an "A" student and more of a preference to be remembered as "most popular" than do the non-

leaders (Table 9).<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES PREFERRING HARD WORK TO HAVING A NICE PERSONALITY, AS SIGNIFICANT IN ORDER TO GET AHEAD. (NORC QUESTION EIGHT)

Preference	Control (34)	Non-leaders (84)	Leaders (19)
Hard work	52%	37%	26%
Nice personality	18	32	42
Can't decide	30	31	31

TABLE 9.

THINGS HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS "MOST WANT TO BE REMEMBERED AS". (NORC QUESTION TEN).

Preference	Control (34)	Non-leaders (87)	Leaders (19)
An "A" student	38%	31%	21%
Star Athlete	--	4	5
Most popular	19	22	37
A leader in clubs, etc.	44	44	47 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Some percentages will total over 100%, as several students named two preferences instead of one.

<sup>1</sup>Attention should be drawn, also, to the high percentage replying that they "Can't decide", on both Tables 7 and 8. Interpretation of "Can't decide" is always problematical. It might be mentioned that several respondents, when

Further, relative to the control group, the non-leaders show a very much greater inclination to solitary work, a greater preference for a nice personality over hard work, but much the same relative preferences with regard to the choices presented by Table 9.

The relative disfavor for hard work may be a reflection of the absence of pressure to academic achievement. Further, in the preceding chapter, most of the characteristics associated with personal leadership were based on "niceness", relatively few with work or reliability. Too, in a small school, it would be relatively easy to get "typed" academically--the old college "A ' B' student is always a 'B' student" attitude, which leads to grading on a personal rather than an objective basis.

From the standpoint of more general social theory, the very homogeneity of the group may be a significant factor. As mentioned above, homogeneity tends to promote the ability of the group to "get along" with one another, and not its ability to foster competition among group members.

Table 10 provides some idea of the individual's perception of her social role in the school context. The leaders tend much more to see themselves as being in the very center of things, and much less in the "less close" category, than do the non-leaders. Relative to the control group, the non-leaders are also less frequent in the "less close" category.

---

asked, said that they thought both of the other alternatives were important, and honestly could not decide between them. Needless to say, the results might have been quite different without the "Can't decide" option.

TABLE 10.

## STUDENT SELF-ESTIMATES OF HOW CLOSE THEY ARE TO THE CENTER OF THINGS AT SCHOOL. (NORC QUESTION 21)

Closeness to center	Control (34)	Non-leaders (87)	Leaders (18)
At the very center	6%	10%	33%
Close	41	40	50
Less close	47	35	11
Far out	6	9	--
Farthest out	--	4	5

In a small school, one would expect more personal involvement; the existence of a small "farthest out" category at St. Mary's might be indicative of the predicament of the outsider in a small group. The isolate here might not be able to find enough like herself to form a smaller group-within-a-group where she and others like herself could feel at home.

A whole series of questions on the NORC Questionnaire asked respondents to circle, from a list given, characteristics which would apply to most people in a given category. These questions provide some striking insights into more general attitudes prevailing within each group.

Table 11, dealing with teachers, reveals large areas of agreement among the three groups of respondents. However, the leaders were more likely to see their teachers as self-controlled, interested in books, and as

knowing the score, than were the non-leaders. On the other hand, the non-leaders were less likely to see their teachers as stern, fair, or interested in books, than were the members of the control group.

TABLE 11.

PERCENTAGES IN EACH GROUP ASCRIBING GIVEN CHARACTERISTICS TO TEACHERS IN REPLY TO NORC QUESTION SIXTEEN: "THINKING OF ALL THE TEACHERS YOU HAVE HAD THIS YEAR, WHAT WORDS DESCRIBE MOST OF THEM?"

Characteristics	Control (34)	Non-leaders (89)	Leaders (19)
Interested in the subject	91%	87%	89%
Stern	29	18	16
Devout	53	52	58
Nervous	6	8	--
Fair	68	52	52
Hard to please	32	26	21
Self-controlled	47	52	68
Interested in students	88	87	84
Interested in books	74	37	68
Narrow-minded	6	8	10
Intelligent	91	92	89
Patient	65	74	68
Unhappy	--	1	5
Knows the score	62	48	73
Easy to talk to	79	76	79
Quick-tempered	9	10	5



The decrease in seeing the teachers as stern may be due to the tone of discipline at the school. In spite of being quite pervasive, the forms and style of discipline rarely conveyed to the students the notion that the nuns were hostile to them. Many spontaneously described the nuns as affectionate, although some students balked at certain manifestations of this affection.

The non-leaders, being presumably less close to the faculty than the leaders would be, might well see more evidences of favoritism than would the leaders. Considering the teachers' explicit expectations that the students placed in positions of leadership represent the teachers to some extent, one might well expect the leaders to identify with the faculty to a greater extent than would the non-leaders.

Table 12, dealing in much the same way with fellow students, reveals more differences among the groups. Only three of the ten characteristics show no large variations in frequency of choice.

Compared to the non-leaders, the leaders feel that their fellow students think more for themselves, are less hard to get to know, are more mad about clothes, and less active around school.

Compared to the control group, the non-leaders, on the other hand, feel that most of their fellow students also think more for themselves, are less friendly, harder to get to know, less likely to be mad about clothes, still less active around school, less studious, and less likely to cheat.

TABLE 12.

PERCENTAGES IN EACH GROUP ASCRIBING GIVEN CHARACTERISTICS TO FELLOW STUDENTS OF THE SAME SEX IN REPLY TO NORC TWENTY, "WHICH OF THE ITEMS BELOW FIT MOST OF THE GIRLS IN YOUR HIGH SCHOOL?"

Characteristic	Control (34)	Non-leaders (89)	Leaders (19)
Think for themselves	24%	31%	47%
Friendly	91	71	73
Hard to get to know	12	22	5
Mad about clothes	42	29	42
Active around school	79	65	53
Boy-crazy	42	37	31
Studious	36	26	26
Out for a good time	33	35	31
Snobbish	21	27	26
Cheat on some exams	18	7	10

All in all, the leaders seem to be rather more optimistic about their fellow students. The frequency of choice of "think for themselves" by both leaders and non-leaders confirms the hypotheses that St. Mary's High School students under study value individualism. The leaders see their environment as friendlier, which is understandable enough. The student leader is largely there in function of her popularity, and newcomers would be less likely to be

openly unfriendly to someone they perceive as a leader.

There is also a steady and continuous decline in the proportions seeing their fellow students as "active around school", from control to non-leader to leader groups. It is possible that leaders (especially in a small school) who are called upon to do a disproportionate amount of the "dirty work", may feel keenly the relative apathy of their fellow students.

Table 13, dealing with self-evaluation, furnishes several striking differences among the groups. In connection with the data presented in Table 12, it is interesting to note the exact obverse direction of change in frequency in choosing the "active around school" characteristic. The leaders are most likely to see themselves (Table 13) as being very active around school, and least likely to see others (Table 12) as active around school. This may well represent a true picture of things, as suggested immediately above.

Besides seeing themselves as very active around school, the leaders see themselves as very much more religious, much more likely to think for themselves, more sports-minded, and much more intellectual, than do the non-leaders.

Compared to the control group, these same non-leaders are inclined to see themselves as being out more for a good time, more ambitious, more sports minded, and less intellectual.

The differences between leaders and non-leaders are, here at least,

as numerous and usually quantitatively greater than those between the control group and the non-leaders. This suggests, surely, that whatever the observable fact of the matter may be, the leaders perceive themselves quite differently from the way in which the non-leaders perceive themselves.

TABLE 13.  
PERCENTAGES IN EACH GROUP NAMING GIVEN CHARACTERISTICS AS  
BEING TRUE OF THEMSELVES AS PERSONS, IN ANSWER TO  
NORC QUESTION FORTY-EIGHT.

Characteristics	Control (34)	Non-leaders (89)	Leaders (19)
Quiet	26%	24%	16%
Out for a good time	38	49	42
Unhappy	6	15	10
Active around school	59	69	89
Religious	65	35	79
Think for myself	71	60	84
Uninterested in school	3	7	--
Ambitious	59	70	68
Interested in ideas	68	65	58
Interested in cars	18	22	16
Rebellious	9	15	21
Plan on college	35	93	94
Sports-minded	29	44	63
Intellectual	32	16	37

This is a most interesting point. As was remarked at length in Chapter I, the leader is currently believed to be a person who is perceived by the group as being basically one of them. In the present study, at least, the leaders' self-image appears to differ quite a bit from the non-leaders' self image, although there is much greater convergence in the leader and non-leader points of view on "most of the girls at school". Does this not suggest that, however much the others may assimilate their leaders to themselves, the leaders may not at all accept this idea of themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Tables 14, 15, and 16 all deal with student-teacher relationships. Taken together, they show remarkably few differences in the freedom the students report they enjoy vis-a-vis their teachers. Compared to the non-leaders, the leaders are very much more likely to feel that everyone is always treated equally at the school, and are conversely less likely to agree that there is favoritism. Of course, if there is some favoritism, as the modal non-leaders feel there is, it is not the leaders who are likely to be discriminated against. (Table 16.)

Conversely, in Table 16, the non-leaders tend to feel freer about talking to the teacher about any unfair treatment than do the members of the control group.

---

<sup>1</sup>Whether or not the leaders actually see themselves as a "breed apart" is quite another question. The argument here is that they do not see themselves as non-leaders see themselves.

TABLE 14.

STUDENT REACTION TO UNFAIR TREATMENT BY TEACHERS AS REPORT-  
BY ANSWERS TO NORC QUESTION TWELVE.

Student reaction	Control (34)	Non-Leaders (87)	Leaders (18)
Feel free to talk to teacher about it	42%	54%	56%
Feel uneasy about talking to teacher about it	39	36	39
Feel it would be better not to talk to teacher	18	10	6

TABLE 15.

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH STUDENTS REPORT THEY HAVE DISAGREED  
WITH TEACHERS IN CLASS, IN ANSWER TO NORC QUESTION  
FOURTEEN.

Frequency of disagreement	Control (34)	Non-Leaders (87)	Leaders (18)
Often	9%	11%	17%
Occasionally	44	50	44
Once or twice	35	33	39
Never	12	6	--

TABLE 16.  
FAVORITISM IN TEACHERS' TREATMENT OF STUDENTS, AS REPORTED  
IN ANSWER TO NORC QUESTION FIFTEEN.

Student feeling	Control (34)	Non-leaders (87)	Leaders (18)
Some students receive much better treatment	6%	15%	11%
Some students receive somewhat better treatment	18	22	11
Some students receive a little better treatment	47	41	33
Everyone is always treated equally	29	22	44

Table 17 indicates no noticeable difference between leader and non-leader, but a large difference between the control group and the leaders. It would appear, then, that the students at this high school are less likely to "steady date". Considering the fact that this practice is strongly discouraged (for teenagers) by Catholic moralists, this difference would be a good sign from the point of view of adult Catholic expectations.

TABLE 17.  
PERCENTAGES IN EACH GROUP REPORTING THAT THEY DO "GO STEADY"  
IN ANSWERING NORC QUESTION FORTY-FOUR.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Control	18%
Non-leaders	7
Leaders	5

Table 18, which deals with frequency of dating, indicates that the non-leaders date significantly less often than do the members of the control group.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 18.

MEAN FREQUENCY OF DATING REPORTED IN ANSWER TO NORC QUESTION FORTY-THREE.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Control	3.46
Non-leaders	2.69
Leaders	2.94

As to parental rules and restrictions (Table 19) none of the three groups seem to have very severe parents,<sup>2</sup> nor are there any large differences among the groups. Nevertheless, there is a slight but real decline in the number of parental rules reported, the control group having the most and the leaders the least.

TABLE 19.

MEAN NUMBER OF PARENTAL RULES, OUT OF A POSSIBLE MAXIMUM OF NINE, REPORTED IN ANSWER TO NORC QUESTION FORTY-SIX.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Control	3.47
Non-leaders	2.94
Leaders	2.37

<sup>1</sup>The scale would run from 1.0 (no dating at all) to a possible 6.0 (dating more than once a week), so that a 0.5 difference may be of some significance. It should be noted that the 0.25 difference between leaders and non-leaders disappears almost entirely when account is taken of the higher median age of the leaders, most of whom are juniors or seniors.

<sup>2</sup>Considering that the original question, number Forty-six on the



Table 20 is rather more important. Some version of this question has been built into several studies of adolescents, as an attempt to discern their "significant others."

TABLE 20.

THOSE WHOSE DISAPPROVAL WOULD BE HARDEST FOR RESPONDENTS TO TAKE, AS REPORTED IN ANSWER TO NORC QUESTION FORTY FIVE.

Reference Group Selected	Control (34)	Non-leaders (83)	Leaders (17)
Parents' disapproval	91%	59%	76%
A favorite priest's	6	18	6
A closest friend's	--	16	--
A favorite teacher's	3	7	18

Surprisingly, each row contains at least one large difference, although the mode in each of the three groups remains parent-oriented. Relative to the non-leaders, the leaders are more orientated towards their parents, less towards priests, not at all towards their friends,<sup>1</sup> and more towards the teachers.

NORC questionnaire, afforded a possible nine parental rules to check off, and that parents are believed to be relatively severe with teen-age daughters, two or three rules seems relatively permissive.

<sup>1</sup>On this point of peer-group influence, cf. Coleman, *op. cit.*, pages 5 - 7 and 138 -142. His Table I, on page 5, is particularly apropos, where in answer to a similar question he received the following replies as to whose disapproval would hurt the most:

The relative importance of the teachers, at the expense of the priest, may well be another indication of the close affective ties the leaders have to the school, and the lessening influence of the parish for them.

The non-leaders, compared to the control group, present rather a different picture. They are very much less concerned with their parents, more concerned with priests and closest friends, than is the control group.

This drop in importance of the parents, by far the largest single shift in emphasis in this table, may well indicate that the increase in importance of clergy and friends represents (at least partially) a search for parent-surrogates. That the teachers have not, with the non-leaders, the importance they have for the leaders, seems to indicate that the non-leaders are not as strongly bound to the school as are the leaders.

The overall impression given by Table 20 is that St. Mary's is, on the whole, less parent oriented than is the control group, although the parents

---

Disapproval Most Feared	Boys (3.621)	Girls (3.894)
Parents'	53.8%	52.9%
Teachers'	3.5	2.7
Breaking with friend	42.7	43.4

The dissimilarity between the Coleman study's results and those of both the NORC national survey and the present writer's more limited investigation is striking. On no group of the NORC study, it may be added, does the friend's importance come anywhere near that indicated above. In subsequent analyses of his data Coleman reported that the elites in the schools he studied were even less parent-oriented than were the other students, and that parents became less important as the high school composition became more exclusively middle class.

still remain the predominant influence. The displacement from parents to another reference group favors the clergy ~~for~~ the non-leaders, and the teachers for the leaders, but in none of these three groups does the "closest friend"--representing, presumably, the adolescent peer group--loom very large as a significant other. The adult world would appear to wield quite a bit of influence over these adolescents, at least.

Tables 21 and 22, taken together, confirm the importance of the school for the leaders, as well as the relative length of their stay in it. Compared to the non-leaders, the leaders are very much more inclined to favor the school-centered world over the rest of their personal worlds, and much less likely to have attended another high school previous to coming to St. Mary's.

TABLE 21.

PERCENTAGES IN EACH GROUP PREFERRING SCHOOL-RELATED FRIENDS INTERESTS, AND ACTIVITIES TO THOSE NOT RELATED TO SCHOOL. (NORC QUESTION TWENTY-TWO).

---

<u>Group</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Control	82%
Non-leaders	68%
Leaders	94%

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGES IN EACH GROUP HAVING TRANSFERRED FROM ANOTHER HIGH SCHOOL TO THEIR PRESENT ONE.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Control	9%
Non-leaders	27%
Leaders	5%

The exact opposite is the case for the non-leaders. Compared even to the control group, they are less oriented to school, and much more likely to be transfer students. This last element--previous high school experience--may well be an important one. The newcomer to St. Mary's, given the many special aspects of life at this particular school, may well be a bit confused. Some appear to have had difficulty in a previous school, and some at least are not in their current high school by their own choice, and appear to resist parental pressure.

In any case, the newcomer to any social group will normally be unable to emerge as a leader. Probably, the more cohesive the group, the more of a handicap for the newcomer.

#### B. Specifically Religious Variables.

Table 23, based on a scale where a difference of 0.3 may be considered large, reveals that the leaders feel closer to their Church than do the non-leaders. Furthermore, even the control group feels closer to the Church

than does the group of non-leaders.

Of course, absolutely speaking, all three groups are clustered at one end of the continuum, between "very close" and "close" to their Church or religion. Too, in a high school like St. Mary's where frequent and often intensive religious acts dot the weeks and the months, the relative context<sup>1</sup> may make a genuinely religious person feel less than "very close" to her Church.

TABLE 23.

MEAN REPORTED CLOSENESS TO THE CHURCH ON A FOUR-POINT SCALE, WHERE ZERO IS "VERY CLOSE" AND THREE IS "NOT AT ALL CLOSE". (NORC QUESTION FIFTY).

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Control	0. 412
Non-leaders	0. 742
Leaders	0. 388

As an indication of the extent of religious knowledge, Table 24 supplies us with the results of a six-point questionnaire on Catholic doctrine. Some of the questions might well be considered quite difficult. There were no large (0. 5) differences among the three groups, but the control group did best, the leaders next best, and the non-leaders least well. All three groups

<sup>1</sup>In some cases, students have expressed opposition to pious cautionary tales about alleged miracles, incorrectly associating these legends with the Church's faith, in conversation with the present writer. This opposition to exaggerations in doctrine may be part of the reason why some do not feel very close to their religion.

may, objectively, be said to have done well, getting five questions right out of six. In all groups, the modal reply to each question was also the correct one.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 24/

MEAN NUMBER OF INCORRECT REPLIES TO A SIX-PART QUIZ ON  
CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE, IN ANSWER TO NORC  
QUESTION FIFTY-THREE.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Control	0.94
Non-leaders	1.34
Leaders	1.22

Graph IV represents the results of a six-item inquiry into religious practice, obviously a major factor in evaluating a system of education that purports to be specifically religious. An overview of the six items would seem to indicate that religious practice is high at St. Mary's, even relative to other similar Catholic high schools for girls.<sup>2</sup>

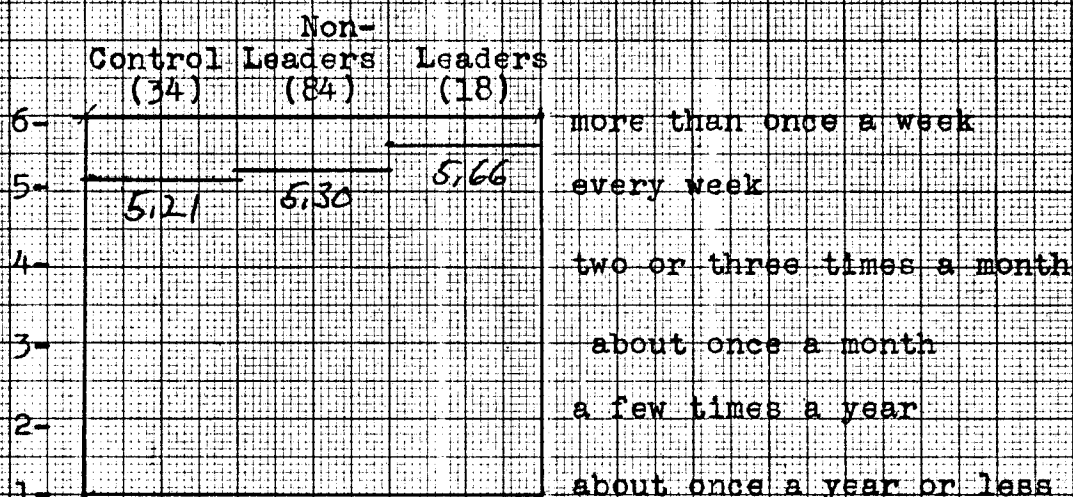
<sup>1</sup>Among some Catholics in the national survey who were not in Catholic high schools, the modal reply was occasionally one of the incorrect ones.

<sup>2</sup>One caveat, however, is in order. In recent years, this high school has been able to get a priest to come frequently, often even daily, to celebrate Mass. Weekly Confessions were also possible at the school itself. Weekday school Mass, or Confessions at school, are by no means universally possible in girls' secondary schools, because of the difficulty of finding a priest willing or able to come regularly for a noonday Mass. Thus, the comparison with the control group may be unfair to these latter students. There is a considerable difference between getting up an hour early to go to Mass before school, and leaving study hall at school to assist at an obligatory service in the school chapel.

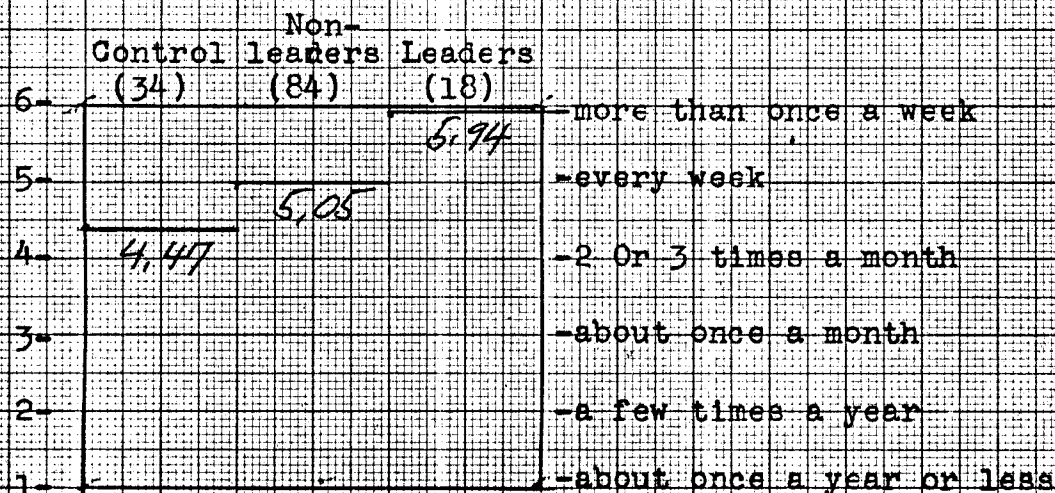
# GRAPH IV - a.

Question 52. Below is a list of religious practices.  
(Circle one number on each line to indicate how often,  
if at all, you do these various things.)

## A. Do you go to Mass



## B. Do you receive Holy Communion



# GRAPH IV - b.

## C. Do you go to Confession

	Control (34)	Non- leaders (84)	Leaders (18)	
6-				-more than once a week
5-				-every week
4-				-2 Or 3 times a month
3-	3.18	3.01	3.18	-about once a month
2-				-a few times a year
1-				-about once a year or less

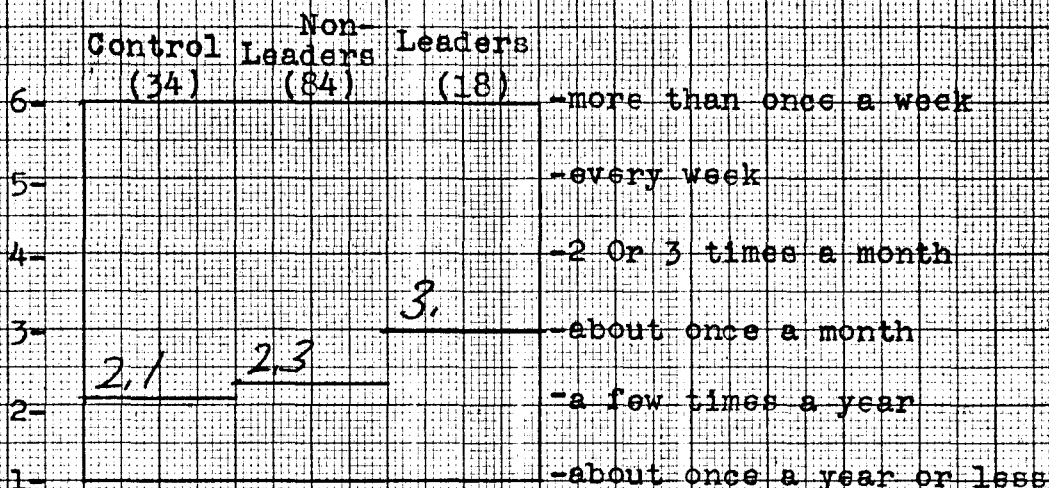
## D. Do you pray

	Control (34)	Non- leaders (84)	Leaders (18)	
6-	5.97	5.84	6.0	-more than once a week
5-				-every week
4-				- 2 Or 3 times a month
3-				-about once a month
2-				-a few times a year
1-				-about once a year or less

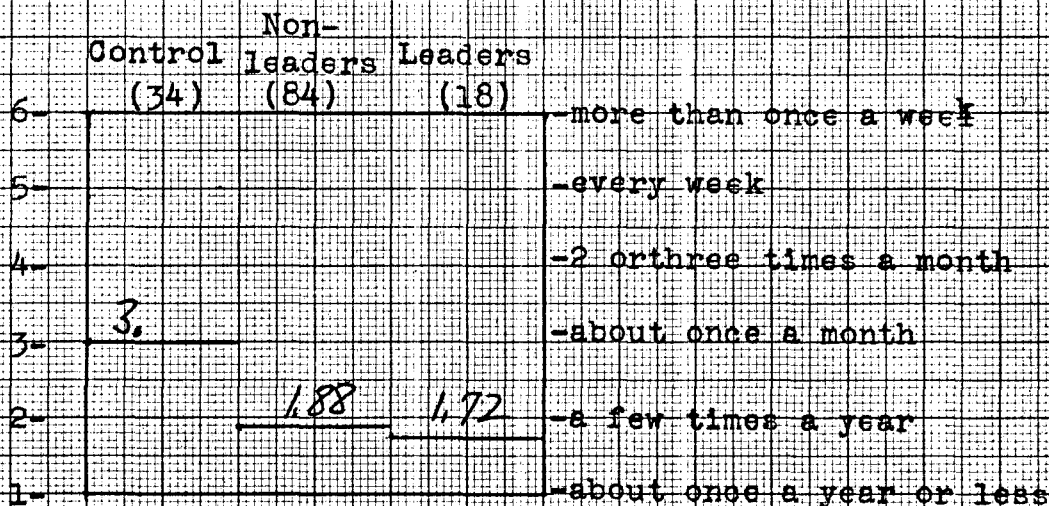


# GRAPH IV - c.

E. Do you talk to a priest, brother, or nun  
about things that bother you



F. Do you attend Church (Parish) sponsored meetings or  
activities (other than religious instruction)...



Also, the leaders go to Communion more often than do the non-leaders, (B) and (E) talk to a priest or a nun about their problems more often than do the non-leaders, in spite of the fact that both have the same opportunities at the same school.

Compared to the control-group, the non-leaders go to Communion more often, but take part in their parish activities much less often. This last appears to be part of the relative unconcern for their parishes on the part of these high school students,<sup>1</sup> where the school may well have supplanted the parish as a center of sacramental and religious life, at least in part.

Considering the absolute frequencies reported, and comparing these with generally recommended practices for Catholics, it would appear that all three groups have a frequency of religious practice that is well above the "subsistence level". The key items among the six would undoubtedly be the directly sacramental ones, where frequent Mass and Communion and at least monthly Confession would represent an ideal. All of the groups live up to this ideal, at least.

Insofar as these simple questions give any idea of the depth of a person's spiritual life, or of its earnestness, the results seem to be highly

---

<sup>1</sup>When asked about their interpretations of this fact, several of the students said that the other teenagers in their parish were not like them, and that they felt more at home with the other students at school. By "not like them" they explained that they meant the others were of another type of family background--presumably a lower socioeconomic class.

satisfactory from the point of view of official Catholic expectations. Again, on the specifically religious sections of this graph, St. Mary's students do somewhat better than do the control group students, and the leaders do best of all.

It would appear, then, that whatever suspicions Graph II may arouse as to the orthodoxy of belief of the students in all three groups, their level of religious knowledge appears high and they practice much better than they could probably preach.

### C. Conclusions.

Before summarizing and comparing the actual large differences with those predicated in the original hypotheses, some obvious warnings are in order. First, the data are far from exhaustive, the size of all three groups is small, and little is known about the specific high school backgrounds of the scattered members of the control group--whereas the context of the two St. Mary's groups has been described above.

Secondly, it may well be that the control group represents a higher proportion of "leader" types than does the total population of the experimental group. Those who would answer and return a "drop-off" questionnaire might be an atypical group. Thirdly, the "skimmed-off" group of non-leaders might be very atypical of the whole student body at St. Mary's.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>In fact, this last difficulty appears not to be the case. The present writer tallied the school totals with the other data as presented, and found that the means and percentages of the total school population and of the non-leaders showed almost no substantial differences.

There is also the possibility of an intervening variable underlying many of the leader/non-leader differences. After discussing these with the school administration, it would appear that some, at least, of the nuns would regard the direction of difference between the leaders and the non-leaders as indicating that the leaders respond better to the formation the school is trying to give all its students. That is, the differences between leaders and non-leaders are in the direction of the attitudes and beliefs the nuns consider more desirable, the leader represents more closely the positions they are trying to inculcate.

It will be remembered, in terms of the direction (and not the magnitude) of the differences among the groups, that the first hypothesis predicted that the difference between the control group and the non-leaders would be further accentuated in the same direction, by the differences between the non-leaders and the leaders. Let it be said that this pattern was not at all consistently reproduced by the data.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the leaders' positions in the majority of these cases lay somewhere between that of the non-leaders and that of the control group. In

---

<sup>1</sup>For example: on a graph, this would mean that a line drawn through each of the three mean points should describe a more or less steeply inclined plane. Of the twelve parts of Graph I, seven describe a V and not a plane. Of the four parts of Graph II, three describe a V and one describes a plane. Five of the seven parts of Graph III show the same V-shape, two the predicted plane. Finally, however, four of the six parts of Graph IV do in fact form the inclined plane, and only two the V-shape.

some cases, the control group was nearer the non-leaders than were the leaders!<sup>1</sup>

If the principles of more general leadership theory hold, this would tend to mean that, in cases where the leaders "revert" to the control group's norms, the group of non-leaders may be presumed to be turning in that direction also. Since the leaders are commonly believed to represent the opinions held by the group, and to hold them in an intensified manner, the direction of difference between leader and non-leader would be held to represent the direction of orientation of the group's opinions, and the probable way in which opinion shifts will occur within the group.<sup>2</sup>

As a very tenuous indication of relative differences, it might be well to remark that a count of the large differences<sup>3</sup> between leaders and non-

<sup>1</sup>The clearest example of this phenomenon is in Table Seven, Column Five, dealing with those who would describe themselves as religious. In an effort to see if this non-fulfillment of the hypothesis might be due to chance peculiarities of the small (34) segment of the 994-case sample in the national survey that formed the control group, the present writer tabulated most of these items in comparison with the total national sample and one other segment of it. The same pattern held, with variations, of course. There was only one example of a clear inclined plane: a growing unwillingness (from total sample to Catholic girls to Catholic high school students to St. Mary's students) to be remembered as an "A" student.

Probably, then, the control group does serve as a relatively effective base line against which to measure the particularities of this school's response to the same questionnaire.

<sup>2</sup>This something like the phenomenon Kipling mentions with his "What the Bandar-log think today, the jungle will think tomorrow", or the economists' "When Americansneeze, the world is about to catch cold".

<sup>3</sup>That is, differences of more than 10% of the total possible range.

leaders reveals twenty-three such differences. A similar count of differences between control group members and non-leaders yields twenty sizeable differences, for a total of forty-three. The discussion of these differences formed the bulk of the present chapter.

This enumeration would at least suggest that the widely held democratic idea of the leader as being essentially one with his followers may be just that: a democratic idea, true to the extent that the group functions in a democratic context which favors this particular style of leadership. A Catholic religious community is only secondarily democratic in its basic power structure. This pattern in the religious community, it has been suggested, may well in its turn influence the patterns of student leadership and the type of person who will emerge as a personal leader in Catholic schools' social context. From the unusually thorough-going methods of social control employed at this school, one might reasonably anticipate such a relatively high degree of leader/non-leader differentiation.

Here, at least, the leader appears to be at least as different from the non-leader as the non-leader is different from members of a group drawn from other social groups entirely.

In summary, then, and with all due qualifications, the following are the principal apparent differences among the three groups:

First, the non-leaders, in comparison with the control group, are more

- tolerant of civil liberties
- favorable to family planning
- against letting Negroes "push where they are not wanted"
- anti-Semitic (on two counts)
- in favor of working by themselves
- inclined to favor a nice personality over hard work
- free in relationships with teachers
- oriented towards priests and friends
- likely to be transfer students
- frequent in receiving Communion,

and less

- sure of proofs of God's existence
- convinced that Negroes are basically content
- likely to see themselves as "less close to the center of things"
- likely to assign favorable characteristics to teachers, fellow students, or self.
- likely to go steady
- likely to date
- oriented towards their parents
- likely to attach importance to school
- close to their Church
- likely to attend parish activities.

Secondly, and more importantly in terms of the present paper, the leaders are, in comparison with the non-leaders, more

- pro-Negro
- concerned with this world's values
- ready to accept the existence of eternal punishment
- tolerant of necking
- likely to prefer a nice personality over hard work
- likely to prefer being remembered as "most popular"
- likely to see themselves in the center of things
- likely to assign favorable characteristics to teachers, fellow students, and themselves
- convinced that treatment at school is always fair and equal
- free about approaching a teacher
- parent-oriented and teacher-oriented
- likely to attach importance to school
- close to their Church
- frequent in receiving Communion

-frequent in talking over with a priest or a nun things  
that bother them,

and less

- in favor of family planning
- in favor of academic liberty
- indifferent to forms of worship
- anti-Semitic
- likely to prefer working by themselves
- willing to be remembered as "A" students
- priest- and friend-oriented
- likely to be transfer students.

Among these differences, it is interesting to note that only nine of the items appear both as important differences between leaders and non-leaders and between control group members and non-leaders. Furthermore, of the nine, only four<sup>1</sup> of the differences are in the same direction, or congruent, for both leaders relative to non-leaders and non-leaders relative to the control group. The other five shared large differences<sup>2</sup> and show opposed direction, the leaders tending more in the direction of the control group rather than continuing to emphasize the difference between the control group and the non-leaders. On these points, leaders and non-leaders may be

---

<sup>1</sup>Namely, the preference for a nice personality over hard work, freedom in relationships with teachers, more frequent Communion, and pro-Negro disbelief in the contentment of most Negroes with their lot.

<sup>2</sup>The five large divergent differences in the two series of comparisons are the tendency to anti-Semitism, the preference for working by oneself, the tendency to be transfer students, orientation towards priests and friends, and the tendency to attach importance to school and school-centered activities.



said to hold doubly divergent views. The divergent views would graph as a sharp V-shape, with the control group and the leaders as the two summits, and the non-leaders as the nadir. The congruent differences would graph as a sharply inclined plane, passing successively through the control group to the non-leaders to the leaders.

This again suggests that the similarity between leaders and non-leaders, remarked upon in the survey of the literature, may be largely a product of the study designs. In most leadership studies, only one social group was studied, and in this group leaders and non-leaders were compared and found much alike. The present writer would suggest that this likeness might be placed in a more exact perspective by comparing with members of another and similar social group, as was done in this study. Few absolute large differences may exist between leaders and non-leaders in the same social group, but these few differences may again prove to be quantitatively and qualitatively greater than those between members of another similar group and the non-leaders of the first group.

With, then, the completion of this review and recapitulation of the data, the present study is basically completed. However, it will be necessary to deal more explicitly with the hypotheses originally proposed, and to present some more problematic possible applications of the data. Hence, this paper will be concluded by a final chapter of analysis and discussion.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS.

This chapter has two main functions. First, it will review briefly the data in terms of the hypotheses announced in the introduction. From this, it will be seen whether or not the study, as such, justified its separate existence: has it added to previous studies? has it produced any ideas for further research? Also, from the profile of the leader it should be possible to essay a brief "formula" for being or becoming a leader at St. Mary's.

Secondly, since some of the evaluations in Chapter III are contested by the Religious who staff the school, forum will be given to some of their objections and a very brief discussion of some of these points will ensue.

#### A. The hypotheses revisited and revised.

In terms of the first hypothesis,<sup>1</sup> it will be seen that its division into parts was at once its weakness and its strength. The underlying simple

---

<sup>1</sup>Both hypotheses are presented in Chapter I, pp. 4-5. The first hypothesis predicated that a Catholic high school with the qualities ascribed to St. Mary's High School, should produce students who differ markedly from other American Catholic adolescents of comparable background. The directions of this difference were predicted in some detail.

The second, and more important, hypothesis predicted (a) that leaders and non-leaders would differ but slightly in the experimental group (i. e. the high school being used in the present study), and that (b) this slight difference would tend to be congruent with, or in the same direction as, the difference between the school population and the comparable group of female Catholic adolescents.

idea--that the experimental group would consistently be notably different from the approximate control group,<sup>1</sup> and that the leaders would be slightly more different from the control group (the "inclined plane" mentioned in Chapter V), is not verified. The reality is at once richer and more complicated. While the non-leaders are in fact often different from the control group, and occasionally quite different, one may well be surprised that there is not more difference. The particularity of a given school does not appear to make that much difference in the overall attitude clusters of its students.

Practically, then, it became necessary to take the six predicted aspects of the difference between St. Mary's and the control group one by one. It will be remembered from the preceding chapter that the non-leaders often, but not always, had higher rates of religious practice than did the control group. However, they felt somewhat less close to the Church, they were more often wrong in their knowledge of doctrine, and their values and moral judgments were not consistently more in accord with official Catholic teachings. To judge from Tables 4 and 7, the non-leaders do not have a consistently more favorable self-image than "the comparable Catholic adolescents without such a school background" of the hypothesis.

This all changes when the leaders come into the picture. Although they often take a mid-position between control and non-leaders, on four of

---

<sup>1</sup>That is, the sector of the NORC national survey that most closely approximately resembles the high school students in this study. Cf. Chapter I.

the five items of the first hypothesis the difference between leaders and control groups is the very difference incorrectly predicted between non-leaders and control group. The exception is that of religious knowledge, where even the leaders at St. Mary's do less well than the control group.

A highly plausible inference from this may be suggested. The leaders, from this point of view, tend to be those students at St. Mary's on whom the special aspects of that form of education have "taken": i. e., they represent much more clearly the type of girl and the type of practice, attitude, and opinion that the school overtly or covertly tends to foster.

This conclusion fits in well with the mainstreams of current leadership theory, and suggests a certain similarity with Weber's ideal-type idea: that the personal leader of a group tends to approximate the typical characteristics of the group more than does the non-leader. This is nothing radically new. Traditionally, leaders have been called simply by the name of the people over whom they exercised hegemony.<sup>1</sup> Titles in the classical tradition, the Christian concept of personal religion, further illustrate this.<sup>2</sup> Weber's description of the ideal type, as a kind of essential paradigm that cannot

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Parsifal: for an example of identification of King and country. Shakespeare refers to kings and dukes as "France", "England", "Gloucester", etc.

<sup>2</sup>As pater patriae, "Father of the fatherland", or the sixteenth century devotio moderna with its emphasis on progressive configuration to the Divine model: the "Imitation of Christ".

always be applied point by point, is a keenly insightful tool to examine exemplary leadership more fully.

This "typical" nature of the personal leader is subject to reservations, of course, and does raise further questions. The most significant reservation stems, in the present writer's view, from lack of knowledge about the educational contexts of the control group. While their high schools are almost certainly dissimilar to the high school here studied, little else is known about them and there might be some consistent pattern on their part that would better explain the data. The most important question, again in the present writer's opinion, is this: if only or principally the leaders demonstrate this tendency to conform highly to Catholic adult expectations on these five points, what of the mass of non-leaders with whom the educational effort is relatively unsuccessful? Can it be good if a school turns out an elite that is superior (from the point of view advanced in the hypothesis) to a comparable sample group, while producing simultaneously a larger and slightly inferior group of non-leaders?

The point, of course, is overdrawn. Nevertheless, it merits some speculative attention, and will be discussed below in a slightly different context. In terms of the second hypothesis,<sup>1</sup> a cautious yes-and-no comment.

---

<sup>1</sup>The second hypothesis, it will be remembered, predicted (a) little, or relatively little, difference between leaders and non-leaders in the high school under study; and (b) that the difference that will exist between leaders and non-leaders will be in the same direction as the difference between the control group and the non-leaders.

ary is again in order. The differences between leaders and non-leaders do not consistently tend in the direction predicted.

On the other hand, while the data in Chapters IV and V do not show enough consistent distinctions between leaders and non-leaders to justify speaking of the leaders as a "breed apart", they do seem to present enough differences to justify treating them as two different parts of the same social system. The difference, of course, is not as consistent nor as well founded as that among the social classes in America (for example), but it may well be of the same nature: a more or less useful distinction of ideal types that is based on observable and measurable characteristics.

Since there is a very high degree of uniformity of curriculum and discipline at all the schools run by this same order, the same basic pattern of distinctions between leaders and non-leaders may well repeat itself with remarkable similarity in many of their other secondary schools.

In the context of other similar studies mentioned in the review of the literature, the present study has, then, some small contributions to make. The group studied is one which continues in time more or less independently of the actual membership, as does any institution, but it is also one in which many of the students, and the bulk of the leaders, will have had four to twelve years of daily interaction with one another. Thus, it differs radically from the temporary and often very artificial groups used in some studies. Very specifically, the leaders here have more time to grow into their new roles,

to learn to succeed in adapting to a position of leadership. There are, in fact, some intensive efforts on the part of the faculty to socialize particular students to "obtain more cooperation and understanding", to use the Principal's expression.

There is, at the same time, another element of the social context added in this study: in many institutional studies, no mention is made of the permanent cadre (the faculty, the staff) who seem, in the present social context, to play a very significant role in determining the patterns of leadership and the types of leader who will be encouraged to emerge.

The distinction between person and office appears to be meaningful to these students even in the abstract: they had different reactions, as a group, to personal and to institutional leaders, even though the same students tended markedly to be both personal and institutional leaders.

The collective experience of the group, to judge from responses to the leadership questionnaire, seems in fact able to furnish information that would not at all be apparent from purely observational research, at least in the present writer's experience of the school.

Further, the position of the Blue Ribbons, as shown above<sup>1</sup> to be

---

<sup>1</sup>The theory of role-conflict is treated in Chapter I, page 30; its application in the school under study, and the survey data supporting this, are in Chapter III, page 68, and Chapter IV, pages 84 to 85. The nuns and the students had different and rather conflicting views as to what constitutes student leadership in act. The students apparently expected someone to act as a kind of "shop steward", and the nuns wanted more of an extension of themselves among the students.

ambiguous and conflict-laden, would seem to indicate that even two potential reference groups in partial conflict (in this case, faculty and students) can suffice to cause real role conflict.

All of this, which is by no means exhaustive, suggests the inevitable further avenues for research. The high conformer does make an interesting subject of study<sup>1</sup> and it might even conceivably be argued that the "good" adolescent has as much to tell us about human society as does the delinquent.

Still, the main problem in applying any research on adolescents is our almost complete lack of knowledge about just what traits in an adolescent lead to what results in the adult. How many of these personal leaders in a special kind of high school will be in any sort of position of personal leadership when they are forty-five? Anyone who has worked with secondary, or even university, alumni groups knows that success in school is not a sufficient basis for predicting success in life. It is important to be able to identify probable future leaders in the larger adult society, of course. The present writer suspects that the pattern of emergence after high school will be similar to that here described in high school principally in the measure that the two social contexts are similar. Evidently, the larger American society contains two sexes, a variety of religious beliefs, a continuum of social class structure, and a vaster range of ages not at all automatically corre-

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the discussion on p. 33, above.



lated with a distinct status in the power structure. Further, the prominent values in the larger society are often in conflict with those we overtly impart in schools. All of this makes any long-term inferences based on this study highly tenuous, and practically invites a panel study of the same group as they develop in other social contexts.

This point, while not directly relevant to the hypotheses employed in the present study, seems to the present writer to be an implicit pre-supposition underlying the hypotheses in many studies of adolescents. After all, what is the use of studying adolescent leadership if it bears no direct relationship to adult leadership? It is tacitly presumed that the adolescent who is a leader in his social group will tend to be a leader in the adult group. The validity of this assumption has never, to the present writer's knowledge, been satisfactorily investigated.

This failure to take effective account of the time element is probably the most serious failing of the present study, as of the studies reviewed. A group is presented at a given moment in time and space, studied there, and then left. The result is like a candid photo, and not a film strip or a movie, preventing any real study of the developmental aspects of the phenomenon of leadership except by inference.

Another interesting study would be a comparison between this school and a small non-denominational private girls' school. The present writer attempted, in fact, to locate such a school, but found only boarding secondary

schools. This, of course, gives a much different tone to the school.

To be a leader in the school here studied, then, it manifestly helps to start before the beginning of the secondary school experience itself.<sup>1</sup> Further, the disproportionately high number of leaders who come from families with members who are alumnae would indicate that parental attitudes may well motivate the student to strive for leadership.<sup>2</sup> Several of the mothers of leaders, for example, are personally acquainted with the nuns as friends or former classmates. It would be reasonable to suppose that these mothers would motivate their daughters to succeed in school and to assimilate the training given, and would reinforce any sanctions (positive or negative) employed by the nuns to socialize their daughters.

The leaders seem, further, to have a wide range of tolerance and frequently take less extreme positions on the attitude and opinion questions than do the non-leaders.

They are popular with a wide range of students, as noted, and see their world as friendly and equitable. They seem also to have a more favorable idea of themselves.

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 89-92 for presentation of basic data.

<sup>2</sup>The Boy Scout cliché, for example, that the Eagle Scout is generally the son of a man who failed to make it but maintains his interest in the scouts and wants his son to rise in scouting for his own vicarious satisfaction, might furnish an analogy to this question of parent-inspired motivation at St. Mary's

Simply put, then, the leader is a person with a better than average experience of the school, well motivated to conform, basically satisfied with the school as she sees it, and successful in her relations with both the nuns and the other students. For the institutional leader as an ideal type, there is probably more insistence on the nuns as a reference group; for the personal leader, more on the peer group, if the above typical model is valid. The high school leader appears to be more of a creature of her environment than a creator of it, and in Weber's typology would be more the traditional than the charismatic type of leader.

This, of course, goes beyond the data, but it does serve as a rational and coherent means of reducing the bulk of the findings to manageable form. While the above pages highlight the person of the leader more than does much modern leadership theory, it is far from contesting the importance of the group. It is even suggested above that the social group socializes its leader before she begins to shape the group.<sup>1</sup>

### B. St. Mary's: an ideal Catholic school?

More in the nature of an appendix than a continuation of the commentary on the data, these remarks are both an explanation of the characteristics described above<sup>2</sup> in connection with the reasons for the choice of this present high school, and an attempt to give a fair presentation to a divergent view.

---

<sup>1</sup>By the indices of "anticipatory socialization" in Chapter IV, p. 88 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Chapter I, pp. 6-7. The characteristics included small size, qualified faculty, independence from untrained supervision, adequate means of social control, homogeneity (especially sexual homogeneity) of the student body.

Especially in connection with the first draft of the present Chapter II, the nuns in charge of the high school employed in this study expressed some dissatisfaction with the way in which the thesis was being presented.<sup>1</sup> Some of the objections were based on misunderstandings about terminology, and objections to the use of words like "conformity". Others were simply to the present writer's attempts at humor or to remarks perceived as attempts at humor. These are unimportant.

Behind the remainder of the objections runs a constant unspoken question about the nature of an "ideal" high school. It seems fairly evident that any social system will have its imperfections. Furthermore, in describing the functioning of any system it is very difficult to avoid indulging in pathology. Probably the fairest comment would be to say that all of the elements mentioned in the first two chapters depend, for the nature of their effect, on the way in which they are used as well as on the simple fact of their existence.

First of all, homogeneity may well aid in maintaining a satisfactory intra-group tone as well as (for instance) making it easier to perpetuate shared rationalizations and making it more difficult to collaborate with other social groups. Having only one sex in a school undoubtedly has many advant-

---

<sup>1</sup>The following citation from a letter to the present writer of July 19, 1964 will illustrate:- "Frankly, although many of the facts cannot be contradicted, I think the choice not really significant--that the school is made to look stuffy, Victorian, inbred, narrow. I don't think that the openness, vitality, warmth, modernity, breadth of either the Religious or the Children comes through."

ages in reducing the difficulties involved in educating adolescents, but it is certainly no unmixed blessing.

Strict discipline, administered publicly and fairly consistently, is undoubtedly a very effective means of keeping the upper hand and directing the course of life at school. Sociology, as well as physics, however, seems to know well the phenomenon of reaction. Since school occupies only part of the day and lasts only part of a life, strict means of control in school, if not internalized, may do more harm than good.

The same may be said for the sincere interest that the nuns seem to have in each individual student personality. This, too, may go too far or be misused. These are all risks of any human modus operandi. A too-great personal involvement may make it impossible to see clearly the objectively necessary course of action, and a shrewd adolescent can manipulate adults as well as vice versa.

It is probably necessary to give the upper middle class girl the means of protecting herself from the effects of some contacts with the environment, as noted above. Again, in dosage it is possible to err in either direction.

The primary group tone of school benefits, it would seem, the majority of the students; yet there is some evidence that those who are left out are all the more terribly isolated. The deprivation, for them, is more terrible since everyone else seems to be well insulated in cliques.

There is little ambiguity about the essential goals of education at this high school. This undoubtedly facilitates the selection of means to these ends, although it is quite possible that there be subsequently an illegitimately transfer of fixity from the goals to the means. In a school representing a century and a half of experience and adhesion to the same traditions, it would not be surprising if some means initially designed to be rational and instrumental became symbolic and ritualistic with the passage of time. White gloves, today, are probably more symbolic than instrumental--like the sleeve buttons on a man's jacket. A large and physically visible badge to distinguish the leader in a small school, especially when the perceived important offices are elsewhere, seems mainly symbolic: in an army of one hundred, the officers would probably not need a special uniform in order to be known as officers.

Too, the age of the tradition behind the school may have its ill, as well as its good, effects. It will undoubtedly make the students benefit from a long and extended ~~experience~~, but it may also mean that the small social system that is the school may change less rapidly than would the larger society. For instance, the curtsy, long a normal sign of greeting from a middle or upper class woman to her elder or superior, is no longer so perceived in America today. Yet it continues in this school and many others like it, a charming sign in the present writer's opinion, but an anachronism.

The traditions, the special vocabulary, the family pattern of succeed-

ing generations attending schools of this same order and working actively as alumnae, motivates the student or alumna to internalize group goals and identify with the nuns and their schools very keenly. It may also, like many things that reinforce in-group feelings, serve to keep the outsider at a distance and limit the openness of the social system.

All of this is scarcely intended to be any sort of an indictment of this school or of the women who staff it. On the contrary; it is, however, intended to point out that all these characteristics mentioned are not unmitigatedly favorable, and that a certain incidental dysfunction is therefore inevitable--like dysentropy in physics. When a social system possesses a characteristic, it will be both a weakness and a strength, at least potentially. Institutions, like persons, tend to have the vices of their virtues and have to "take the chalk with the cheese. "

## APPENDIX A



NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER  
University of Chicago

STUDY OF YOUNG ADULT  
ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

Your household is one of about 3,000 in the United States in which young people are filling out this questionnaire.

The research is designed to give important data on people's past experiences and attitudes toward school, and opinions on current events of the day.

Feel free to answer exactly the way you feel, for no one you know will ever see the answers. Information obtained will be reported in terms of statistics; the report will read something like this: "Fifty per cent of the young men reported that they were members of elementary school clubs."

Almost all of the questions can be answered by circling one or more numbers or letters beneath the questions: For example:

I am a resident of . . . . . (Circle one.)

Canada . . . . . 1

United States . . . . . 2

England . . . . . 3

NOTE: After each question there is an instruction in parentheses.

1. If it says "(Circle one)," circle only the number of letter which best describes your answer, even though some of the other answers might also seem to be true.
2. If it says "(Circle one number or letter on each line)," please look to see that you have circled one and only one number or letter on each of the lines. For example:

	Agree	Disagree
A. There are 12 months in the year.	(1)	2
B. The sun rises in the North.	4	(5)
C. In the summer, grass is green.	(7)	8

PLEASE BEGIN THE QUESTIONNAIRE WITH QUESTION ONE BELOW.  
THANK YOU!

1. What is your date of birth?

(Month)

(Day)

(Year)

3. Here are some statements. How much do you disagree or agree with each one? (Circle one number on each line).

Agree Strongly    Agree Somewhat    Disagree Somewhat    Disagree Strongly

A. Only people who believe in God can be good American citizens	1	2	3	4
B. The teachings of my church are old-fashioned and superstitious	6	7	8	9
C. A family should have as many children as possible and God will provide for them	1	2	3	4
D. Negroes would be satisfied if it were not for a few people who stir up trouble	6	7	8	9
E. A student should be free to make up his own mind on what he learns in school	1	2	3	4
F. Love of neighbor is more important than avoiding meat on Friday	6	7	8	9
G. Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted	1	2	3	4
H. The teachings of my church are too negative and not positive enough.	6	7	8	9
I. Books written by Communists should not be permitted in public libraries	1	2	3	4
J. My religion teaches that a good Christian ought to think about the next life and not worry about fighting against poverty and injustice in this life	6	7	8	9
K. Jewish businessmen are about as honest as other businessmen	1	2	3	4
L. Working men have the right and duty to join unions	6	7	8	9

	Certainly True	Probably True	Probably False	Certainly False
A. When you come right down to it, there is no definite proof that God exists	6	7	8	9
B. God doesn't really care how He is worshiped, so long as He is worshiped	1	2	3	4
C. There is a life after death	6	7	8	9
D. God will punish the evil person for all eternity	1	2	3	4

5. Below is a list of things some people feel are wrong and some people feel are right things to do. (Read each statement, starting with Statement A, and circle one number on each line that comes closest to your own personal feelings about each action.)

	Certainly right to do	Probably right to do	Neither right nor wrong	Probably wrong to do	Certainly wrong to do	Depends on why the per- son does it
A. Help another student during an exam	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. Heavy necking on a date	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. Having as little to do with Jews as possible	1	2	3	4	5	6
D. Handing in a school report that is not your own work	1	2	3	4	5	6
E. Joining a protest against a Negro who moved into an all-white neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5	6
F. Marrying someone a different religion from your own	1	2	3	4	5	6
G. Sex relations with the person you intend to marry.	1	2	3	4	5	6

7. Would you prefer a job where you are part of a team, all working together, even if you don't get personal recognition for your work, or a job where you worked alone and others could see what you have done? (Circle one choice.)

Part of a team with no personal recognition. . . . 7

Work alone with personal recognition . . . . . 8

Can't decide . . . . . 9

8. Some people say that hard work is more important for getting ahead than having a nice personality and being well-liked. Other people say that having a nice personality and being well-liked are more important for getting ahead than hard work. Would you say that hard work or a nice personality is more important? (Circle one choice.)

Hard work . . . . . X

Nice personality . . . . . 1

Can't decide . . . . . 0

9. Are you presently in high school?

Yes, I'm a freshman (1st year) . . . . . 1

Yes, I'm a sophomore (2nd year) . . . . . 2

Yes, I'm a junior (3rd year) . . . . . 3

Yes, I'm a senior (4th year) . . . . . 4

No, I have not yet begun . . . . . 5

No, I left school without graduating . . . . . 6

No, I have graduated . . . . . 7

No, I have graduated and am in college . . . . . 8

10. B. GIRLS ONLY.

If you could be remembered here at school for one of the following, which would you want it to be? (Circle one choice.)

- An "A" student . . . . . 1
- Cheer leader . . . . . 2
- Most popular . . . . . 3
- A leader in clubs and activities . . . . . 4

## 11. How much time on the average do you spend doing homework outside of school? (Circle one choice.)

- None or almost none . . . . . 3
- Less than one-half hour a day . . . . . 4
- About one-half hour a day . . . . . 5
- About one hour a day . . . . . 6
- About one and one-half hours a day . . . . . 7
- About two hours a day . . . . . 8
- Three or more hours a day . . . . . 9

## 12. If you feel that you were treated unfairly in some way by a teacher, do you -- (Circle one choice.)

- Feel free to talk to the teacher about it? . . . . X
- Feel a bit uneasy about talking to the teacher? . . . 0
- Feel it would be better not to talk to the teacher? . 1

13. What if you disagree with something the teacher said. Do you --  
(Circle one choice.)

feel free to disagree with the teacher in class?..... 7

feel uneasy about disagreeing in class? . . . . . 8

feel it would be better not to disagree in class?. . . 9

14. Do you ever remember disagreeing in class with what one of your high school teachers said? (Circle one choice.)

Yes, often . . . . . 1

Yes, occasionally . . . . . 2

Yes, once or twice . . . . . 3

Never . . . . . 4

15. Do your teachers treat everyone equally, or are some students treated better than others in school? (Circle one choice.)

Some students receive much better  
treatment than others . . . . . 6

Some students receive somewhat better  
treatment than others . . . . . 7

Some students receive a little better  
treatment than others . . . . . 8

Everyone is always treated equally . . . . . 9

16. Thinking of all of the teachers you have this year, what words below best describe most of them? (Circle as many numbers as apply in each group)

Interested in the subject . . . . . 1	Interested in books . . . . . 1
Stern . . . . . 2	Narrow-minded . . . . . 2
Devout . . . . . 3	Intelligent . . . . . 3
Nervous . . . . . 4	Patient . . . . . 4
Fair . . . . . 5	Unhappy . . . . . 5
Hard to please . . . . . 6	Knows the score . . . . . 6
Self-controlled . . . . . 7	Easy to talk to . . . . . 7
Interested in students . . . . . 8	Quick-tempered . . . . . 8

17. Teachers sometimes like certain kinds of students. Here is a list. (Circle all the numbers which describe the kinds of students you think your teachers like best.)

Quiet . . . . . 1	Asks questions . . . . . 1
Thinks for himself . . . . . 2	Polite . . . . . 2
Obedient . . . . . 3	Interested in ideas . . . . . 3
Quick to memorize . . . . . 4	Voices his own opinions . . . . . 4
Neatly dressed . . . . . 5	Active on teams or clubs . . . . . 5
Likes to work on his own . . . . . 6	Interested in books . . . . . 6

20. Which of the items below fit most of the girls in your high school?  
(Circle as many as apply.)

Think for themselves . . . . .	0	Boy crazy . . . . .	5
Friendly . . . . .	1	Studious . . . . .	6
Hard to get to know . . . . .	2	Out for a good time . . . . .	7
Mad about clothes . . . . .	3	Snobbish to girls outside their group . . . . .	8
Active around school . . . . .	4	Cheat on some exams . . . . .	9

21. Suppose the circle below represented the life at your school. The center of the circle represents the center of things in school. How far out from the center of things are you? (Underline the number which you think represents where you are.)

( 1 ) 2 ) 3 ) 4 ) 5 )

22. Which is more important to you--activities or friends associated with school, or activities and friends in the neighborhood, or somebody else not related to school? (Circle one.)

Groups, activities or friends related to school . . . . . 3

Groups, activities or friends not related to school . . . . . 4

23. How active would you say you have been in school activities? (Circle one)

Very active . . . . . 6

Pretty active . . . . . 7

Not too active . . . . . 8

Not active at all . . . . . 9



24. Thinking of the teachers you now have in class, how good do you think they are in getting ideas across and gaining the students' interest? (Circle one choice.)

Very good . . . . . X

Somewhat good . . . . . 0

Good . . . . . 1

Not too good . . . . . 2

Not good at all . . . . . 3

27. Which items below apply to your best friends who attend the same school as you do, and are of your own sex? (Circle as many numbers as apply in each group.)

Quiet . . . . . 1

Interested in ideas . . . . . 1

Out for a good time . . . . 2

Date a lot . . . . . 2

Active around school. . . . 3

Plan to go to college . . . . . 3

Religious . . . . . 4

Interested in cars . . . . . 4

Think for themselves . . . . 5

Intellectual . . . . . 5

Uninterested in school . . . 6

Sports-minded . . . . . 6

Studious . . . . . 7

BOYS ONLY:

Girl-crazy . . . . . 7

Same religion as I am. . . . 8

GIRLS ONLY:

Mad about clothes . . . . . 8

29. Different schools use different marking systems. Circle below the one number that indicates your general average through high school so far.

100 - 90% (Superior) . . . . .	3
90 - 86% (Excellent) . . . . .	4
85 - 81% (Good) . . . . .	5
80 - 76% (Fair) . . . . .	6
75 - 71% (Average) . . . . .	7
70 - 65% (Passing) . . . . .	8
65 or less (Unsatisfactory) . . . . .	9

30. Did you ever attend any other high school besides the one you presently attend? (Circle one choice.)

No, this is the only high school I ever attended . . . . .	X
Yes, and I only attended public high schools . . . . .	0
Yes, and I attended church-related high schools . . . . .	1
Yes, and I attended both public and church-related high schools . . . . .	2

43. Do you date?

No . . . . .	3
Yes, very irregularly . . . . .	4
Yes, about once a month . . . . .	5
Yes, about once every two or three weeks . . . . .	6
Yes, about once a week . . . . .	7
Yes, about twice a week or more . . . . .	8

44. Do you go steady or not?

Yes, I go steady . . . . .	X
No, I don't go steady . . . . .	0

45. Suppose you had a problem and you knew that however you solved it, someone would be disappointed in you. Which would be hardest for you to take? (Put a 1 next to the kind of disapproval you would find hardest to take, a 2 for the next hardest, a 3 for the third hardest, and a 4 for the least difficult one to take.)

- A. Parents' disapproval \_\_\_\_\_
- B. Disapproval of a favorite priest or minister \_\_\_\_\_
- C. A closest friend's disapproval \_\_\_\_\_
- D. A favorite teacher's disapproval \_\_\_\_\_

46. Below is a list of items on which some parents have rules for their teenage children, while others do not. (Circle the number after each situation that your parents have definite rules for.)

Against use of the family car . . . . .	0
Time for being in at night on weekends . . . . .	1
Amount of dating . . . . .	2
Against going steady . . . . .	3
Time spent watching TV . . . . .	4
Time spent on homework . . . . .	5
Against going out with certain boys . . . . .	6
Against going out with certain girls . . . . .	7
Against dating someone of a different religion . . . . .	8
No rules for any of the above items . . . . .	9

48. Below is a list of items. (Circle only those which are most true of you as a person. Most people choose three or four items, but you can choose more or fewer if you want to.)

Quiet . . . . .	1	Ambitious . . . . .	1
Out for a good time . . . . .	2	Interested in ideas . . . . .	2
Unhappy . . . . .	3	Interested in cars . . . . .	3
Active around school . . . . .	4	Rebellious . . . . .	4
Religious . . . . .	5	Plan to go to college . . . . .	5
Think for myself . . . . .	6	Sports-minded . . . . .	6
Uninterested in school . . . . .	7	Intellectual . . . . .	7

49. What proportion of your friends are Protestant? Catholic? Jewish?  
(Circle one choice on each line.)

	Almost		About		Less than	Very	
	All	All	Most	Half	Half	Few	None
Protestant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Catholic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Jewish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

50. How close do you feel toward your church or religion--very close, pretty close, not too close, or not at all close? (Circle one.)

Very close . . . . . 0

Pretty close . . . . . 1

Not too close . . . . . 2

Not at all close . . . . . 3

51. What is your religious preference? (Circle one.)

Protestant (Denomination) \_\_\_\_\_ 5

Catholic . . . . . 6

Jewish . . . . . 7

Other (What?) \_\_\_\_\_ 8

None . . . . . 9

52. Below is a list of religious practices. (Circle one number on each line to indicate how often, if at all, you do these various things.)

About once a year, or less?    A few times a year?    About once a month?    2 or 3 times a month?    More than once a week?

A. Do you attend Mass...	1	2	3	4	5	6
Do you receive						
B. Holy Communion.....	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. Do you go to Confession	1	2	3	4	5	6
D. Do you pray.....	1	2	3	4	5	6
Do you talk to a priest,						
E. brother, or nun, about						
things that bother you...	1	2	3	4	5	6
Do you attend Church-						
F. (parish) sponsored meet-						
ings or activities (other	1	2	3	4	5	6
than religious instruction)						

53. Here is a short quiz which touches on practices and beliefs of the Catholic Church. You are not expected to get them all correct--some you may find rather difficult. Please circle the number after the answer which comes closest to being correct, in your opinion.

A. The word we use to describe the fact that the Second Person of the Trinity became man is . . . . .	Transfiguration . . . . .	1
	Incarnation . . . . .	2
	Transubstantiation . . . . .	3
	Immaculate Conception . . . . .	4
B. Supernatural life is . . . . .	the life we receive from our parents . . . . .	6
	sanctifying grace in our souls . . . . .	7
	our life after death . . . . .	8
	the power to work miracles . . . . .	9
C. The "mystical body" is ...	Christ's body in heaven . . . . .	1
	Christ in Holy Communion . . . . .	2
	Christ united with His followers . . . . .	3
	None of the above . . . . .	4

D. Uncharitable talk is forbidden by .....	the second commandment . . . . .	6
	the fourth commandment . . . . .	7
	the eighth commandment . . . . .	8
	the tenth commandment . . . . .	9

E. A man is judged immediately after he dies. This judgment is called .....	general judgment . . . . .	1
	natural judgment . . . . .	2
	particular judgment . . . . .	3
	final judgment . . . . .	4

F. The Encyclicals "Rerum Novarum" of Leo XIII and "Quadragesimo anno" of Pius XI both deal with.....	Christian marriage . . . . .	6
	Christian education . . . . .	7
	the condition of labor . . . . .	8
	Papal infallibility . . . . .	9

**IF YOU ARE NON-CATHOLIC, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 54.**

54. Below is a list of religious practices. (Circle the number that indicates how often you do the various things listed.)

	About once a year or less	A few times a year	About once a month	2 or 3 times a month	Every week	More than once a week.
A. Go to Church services	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. How often do you pray?	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. How often do you say grace before meals, or morning or evening prayers?	1	2	3	4	5	6
D. How often do you talk to your minister or rabbi about things that are bothering you?	1	2	3	4	5	6
E. How often do you attend a Church sponsored group, meeting, or activity?	1	2	3	4	5	6

## APPENDIX B

Department of Sociology

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

Chicago, Illinois

This questionnaire is part of a series of studies of High Schools across the country. Here, we are especially interested in the different ways students look on leadership, and the different kinds of people they regard as leaders.

We are not asking for your name, but only for the names of the girls you personally feel are really outstanding. The results will be shown only in the form of statistical summaries, such as: "110 High School girls chose 8 from among themselves as being outstanding in athletics."

There are, then, no right or wrong answers; this is not a test. Just write what you think, and go on to the next question. Feel free to use the other side of the page if you wish. Please also give both FIRST and LAST names of all the girls you name as being outstanding. When done, just hand the completed questionnaire to the monitor, who will take it directly to Loyola to be tabulated.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. I am in: (Please circle one)

\_\_\_ I                      \_\_\_ II                      \_\_\_ III                      \_\_\_ IV Academic

2. Which are, in your opinion, the really important student offices and functions in this school right now, and who are the girls currently in charge of them?

3. Are there any girls you feel will one day, almost certainly, get elected (or appointed) to one of these top offices? Who are they, and what offices or functions do you think they will hold?

4. Are any of the girls you mentioned in answer to questions two and three what might be called 'bigger than their jobs' - that is, would still be leaders, and remarkable people, even if they never held any important office at all? That is, regardless of their official jobs or offices, they would stand out. Who are they?



5. Now, among the girls who in fact hold no important offices or functions whatsoever, are there any who still always manage to stand out on their personal qualities--"born leaders", the kind of person you would almost instinctively listen to and follow?
6. What's special about the girls you named in answer to question five? What is there about them that makes them so outstanding?
7. What qualities does it take, in your opinion, to get to be a ribbon, or to be put in charge of an important activity at school?
8. So that we can use this questionnaire in comparison with the last one you took WITHOUT having to know your name, would you again please tell us your birthday? Please write out the month in full: e. g., write "October", and not "10", "March" and not "3".

---

(month) (day) (year)

9. We would like to know which girls you personally feel are really outstanding in different fields. Name as many as you wish, but please try to name those you feel are the most outstanding first, and the others in order - "best first".
- a. who are the best in studies?
  - b. those most popular with the other students?
  - c. those who show the most signs of a genuine piety?
  - d. those most active in school affairs?
  - e. those you personally admire the most?
  - f. the best athletes?
  - g. the most fun to be with - the 'live wires'?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

## APPENDIX C

Guide for interviews with the twenty emergent leaders. April, 1964.

1. People are all different, thank God. What do you think there is about you - in your personality, your reading, your hobbies, your interests, that make you different - that makes you you?

2. By and large, are you satisfied with yourself as you are?

3. What would you like to do with your life? Do you have any ideas what you plan on being?

4. It's kind of a hobbyhorse of many educators, nowadays, to talk about training for leadership in high school.

- how do you feel a teenager can be a leader, in school and out, in a society that doesn't take teenagers too seriously?

- do you think there's anything in your school that makes it hard for you to develop as a person and as a leader? Things you'd like to see changed or modified, or new things you'd like to see introduced?

- are there any especially good things here that help you a lot?

Selected bibliography on leaders and leadership, alphabetically by author.

### I. Books.

- Adorno, T. W. et al. The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper, 1950.
- Berne, Eric. The structure and dynamics of organizations and groups. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1963.
- Brown, M. A. Leadership among high school pupils. New York: Columbia University Teachers' College, 1933.
- Brown and Cohen (Eds.) The study of leadership. Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers, 1958.
- Coleman, James. The adolescent society. New York: Free Press, 1961.
- Fisher, Margaret. Leadership and intelligence. New York: Teachers' College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1957.
- Fleming, C. M. Studies in the social psychology of adolescence. London: Routledge, Kagan and Paul, 1951.
- Gorman, A. H. The leader in the group: a conceptual framework. New York: Teachers' College Bureau of Publications, 1963.
- Gouldner, A. W. Studies in leadership. New York: Harper, 1950.
- Guetzkow, H. (Ed.) Groups, leadership and men. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951.
- Hall, Darl M. Dynamics of group action. Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers, 1957.
- Haroux, H. Psychologie des leaders. Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1955.
- Hemphill, J. K. Situational factors in leadership. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1949.

- Hollander, E. P., and Hunt, J. McV. (Eds.) Current perspective in social psychology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Hunter, Floyd. Community power structure: a study of decision makers. Garden City: Doubleday, 1953.
- Jennings, Helen H. Leadership and isolation: a study of personality in interpersonal relations. New York: Longman's (2nd ed.) 1950.
- Jones, Arthur J. The education of youth for leadership. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958.
- Krech, David, Crutchfield, Richard S., and Ballachey, E. L. Individual in society. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
- Laird, Donald A., and Laird, Eleanor C. The new psychology for leadership. New York: McGraw Hill, 1956.
- Petrullo, Luigi, and Bass, Bernard M. (Eds.) Leadership and interpersonal behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Eilson, 1961.
- Ross, Murray G. and Hendry, Charles E. New understanding of leadership: a survey and application of research. New York: Association Press, 1957.
- Sanford, F. H. Authoritarianism and leadership. Philadelphia: Institute for Research in Human Relations, 1950.
- Stogdill, Ralph M., Scott, Ellis L., and Jaynes, William E. Leadership and role expectations. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1956.
- Stogdill, Ralph M., and Coors, A. E. (Eds.) Leader behavior: its description and measurement. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1957.
- Tannenbaum, Robert, Wechsler, Irving R., and Massarik, Fred. Leadership and organization: A behavioral science approach. New York: McGraw Hill, 1961.
- Whitehead, Alfred North. Leadership in a free society. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

## II. Articles

- Adams, Stuart. "Social climate and productivity in small military groups." American Sociological Review XIX (August 1954) 421-25.
- Allen, P. J. "Leadership patterns." American Sociological Review XVII (February 1952) 93-6.
- Berry, Sister. "Catholic college for women and education for leadership." Catholic Educational Review, LVI (February 1958) 73-81.
- Bertrande, Sister. "Today's student, tomorrow's leader." Hospital Progress XXXVII (August 1956) 58-62.
- Borgatta, Edgar F., Bales, Robert F., and Couch, Arthur S. "Some findings relevant to the great man theory of leadership." American Sociological Review, XIX (December 1954) 755-59.
- Brown, P. "From anarchy to satrapy." American Anthropologist XLV (February 1963) 1-15.
- Carter, L. F., and Nixon, Mary. "Ability, perceptual, personality and interest factors associated with different criteria of leadership." Journal of Psychology XXVII (April 1950) 377-88.
- Carter, L. F. et al "Further investigation of the criteria of leadership." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. XLV (April 1950) 350-8.
- Carter, L. F. et al "The behavior of leaders and other group members." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. XLVI (October 1951) 589-95.
- Costello, T. J. "Responsibility of the Catholic secondary school to develop alert leaders and conscientious citizens; summary." National Catholic Education Association Bulletin. LVIII (August 1961) 246.
- Cowley, W. H. "The traits of face-to-face leaders." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. XXVI (1931) 304-13.

- Crockett, W. H. "Emergent leadership in small, decision-making groups." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. LI (November 1955) 378-83.
- Davis, Thurston N. "What is a leader?" Catholic Mind. LIX (August 1961) 324-27.
- DeMarch, D. F. "Superimposed leader." Sociology and Social Research. XXI (July 1947) 454-7.
- Edinger, L. J. "Political science and political biography: reflections on the study of leadership." Journal of Politics. XXVI (May 1964) 423-39.
- Ehle, E. L. "Techniques for the study of leadership." Public Opinion Quarterly. XIII no. 2 (1949) 235-40.
- Fairlie, H. "The idea of leadership." Spectator. CCX (March 1, 1963) 253.
- Fester, J. W. "Leadership and its context." Public Administration Review. XX (Spring 1960) 122.
- Fisher, J. E. "Leadership, education, and our racial predicament." South Atlantic Quarterly. LXII (Autumn 1963) 532-8.
- French, J. R. P. Jr. "A formal theory of social power." Psychological Review. LXIII (1956) 181-94.
- Gardner, G. "Functional leadership and popularity in small groups." Human Relations. IX no. 4 (1956) 491-509.
- Gibb, C. A. "Principles and traits of leadership." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. XLII (July 1947) 267-8.
- Gordon, L. V. "Personal factors in leadership." Journal of Social Psychology. XXXVI (November 1952) 245-8.
- Grundstein, N. D. "What is meant by leadership." Public Management. XLIV (November 1962) 242-6.
- Grusky, O. "Organizational goals and the behavior of informal leaders." American Journal of Sociology. LXV (July 1959) 59-67. Reply and rejoinder Shaw LXV (November 1959) 301-4.

- Gulick, L. "Political and administrative leadership." Public Management XLV (November 1963) 243-7.
- Hamblin, R. L. "Leadership and crisis." Sociometry XXI (1958) 322-35.
- Haythorn, William. "The influence of individual members on the characteristics of small groups." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology XLVIII (April 1953) 276-284.
- Haythorn, William et al "The effect of varying combinations of authoritarian and equalitarian leaders and followers." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology LIII (September 1956) 210-19.
- Hemphill, J. K. "Relations between the size of the group and the behavior of superior leaders." Journal of Social Psychology XXXII (August 1950) 11-22.
- Hodges, H. N. "Campus leaders and non-leaders." Sociology and Social Research XXXVII (March 1953) 251-5.
- Hollander, E. P., and Webb, Wilse B. "Leadership, followership, and friendship: an analysis of peer nominations." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology L (March 1955) 163-7
- "Home, school and layleaders". Ave Maria LXXXVI (July 13, 1957) 4.
- Janda, K. F. "Towards the explication of the concept of leadership in terms of the concept of power." Human Relations XIII no. 4 (1960) 355-63.
- Jenkins, W. O. "A review of leadership students with particular reference to military problems." Psychological Bulletin XLIV (1947) 54-87.
- Jensen, Gale E. "A research checklist in educational psychology." Journal of Educational Research XLVII (February 1956) 100-9.
- Kelly, J. "Study of leadership in two contrasting groups." Sociological Review XI (November 1963) 323-36.
- Killeen, J. J. "Training leaders: summary." National Catholic Educational Association Bulletin LIX (August 1962) 437-8.
- Lewis, J. L. "Leadership doctrine of the Chinese Communist party: the lesson of the people's commune." Asian Survey III (October 1963) 457-64.



- Lorge, Irving. "Groupness of the group." Journal of Educational Psychology XLVI (December 1955) 449-56.
- Lowry, R. P. "Functions of alienation in leadership." Sociology and Social Research. XLVI (July 1962) 426-35.
- Maas, H. S. "Personal and group factors in leaders' social perception." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. XLV (January 1950) 54-63.
- Mann, R. D. "A review of the relationship between personality and performance in small groups." Psychological Bulletin LVI (1959) 241-70.
- March, J. G. "Group norms and the active minority." American Sociological Review. XIX (December 1954) 733-41.
- Martin, W. F. et al "Studies of group behavior, leaders, followers, and isolates in small organized groups." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. XLVIII (July 1953) 429-32.
- Mary Adolorata, Sister. "Are we developing leaders?" Catholic Educator. XXXI (May 1961) 774-79.
- Mary Rhodes, Sister. "Looking at leadership." Today. XV (November 1959) 7-9.
- Mason, B. D. "Leadership in the fourth grade." Sociology and Social Research. XXXVI (March 1952) 239-43.
- McClintock, Charles. "Group support and the behavior of leaders and non-leaders." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. LXVII (July 1963) 105-113.
- Moseley, F. "Identifying and forming leaders." Catholic Counselor. V (Fall 1960) 19-23.
- Mulder, M., and Stemerding, A. "Threat, attraction to group, and need for strong leadership: a laboratory experiment in a natural setting." Human Relations XVI (November 1963) 317-34.
- Neill, T. P. "Better schools train for leadership." National Catholic Education Association Bulletin. LIII (August 1956) 225-28.

- Passow, A. H. "A conception of educational leadership " Teachers' College Record. LIV (March 1953) 324-31.
- Passow, A. H. "Talented youth: our future leaders." Teachers' College Record. LVII (December 1955) 164-71.
- Patterson, S. C. "Characteristics of party leaders." Western Political Quarterly. XVI (June 1963) 332-52.
- Payne, R. "Leadership and perceptions of change in a village confronted with urbanism." Social Forces XLI (March 1963) 264-9.
- Pellegrin, L. J. "Achievement of high statuses and leadership in the small group." Social Forces. XXXII (October 1953) 10-16.
- Rosaline, Sister. "Teacher and student choices of leadership traits." American Journal of Catholic Youth Work. III (Winter 1962) 23-28.
- Rose, A. M. "Alienation and participation: a comparison of group leaders and the mass." American Sociological Review. XXVII (December 1962) 834-8.
- Schoenfeld, B. N. "Psychological characteristics of leadership." Social Forces. XXVI (May 1948) 391-6.
- Schrag, Clarence. "Leadership among prison inmates." American Sociological Review. XIX (February 1954) 37-41.
- Seeman, M. "Role conflict and ambivalence in leadership." American Sociological Review. XVIII (August 1953) 373-80.
- Shils, F. "Concentration and dispersion of charisma." World Politics XI (October 1958) 373-80.
- Slater, P. E. "Role differentiation in small groups." American Sociological Review XX (June 1955) 300-10.
- Stephenson, T. E. "Leader-follower relationship." Sociological Review VII (December 1959) 179-95.
- Stogdill, R. M. "Personal factors associated with leadership: a survey of the literature." Journal of Psychology XXV (January 1948) 35-71.

- Stogdill, R. M. "Leadership, membership, and organization." Psychological Bulletin XLVII (January 1950) 1-14.
- Taubman, R. E. "Special leadership training program at the Signal Corps Officer Candidate School." Journal of Applied Psychology. XXXI (February 1947) 82-90.
- Theodorson, G. A. "Relationship between leadership and popularity in small groups." American Sociological Review. XXII (February 1957) 58-67.
- Turk, H. "Instrumental values and the popularity of instrumental leaders." Social Forces. XXXIX (March 1961) 252-60.
- Wach, J. "Master and disciple: two religio-sociological studies." Journal of Religion. XLII (January 1962) 1-21.
- Ward, N. "The problem of leadership." Sociology and Social Research. XXX (March 1946) 275-281.
- Wariner, G. K. "Leadership in the small group." American Sociological Review. LX (January 1955) 361-9.
- Webb, Wilse B. "Self evaluation, group evaluation, and objective measures." Journal of Consulting Psychology. XIX (January 1955) 210-212.
- Weinberg, C. "Family background and deviance or conformity to school expectations." Journal of Marriage and the Family. XXVI (February 1964) 89-91.
- White, J. E. "Theory and method for research in community leadership." American Sociological Review. XV (February 1950) 50-60.
- Wilkinson, R. "Political leadership and the late Victorian public school." British Journal of Sociology XII (December 1962) 320-30.
- Wolman, B. B. "Education and leadership." Teachers' College Record. XLIX (May 1958) 465-73.
- Worsthorne, P. "America's crisis of prosperity: leadership in a classless society." Twentieth Century. CLX (November 1956) 387-96.

Yager, J. W. "Who runs our town." National Civic Review. LII (May 1963) 255-9.

Yarrow, L. J., and Yarrow, M. R. "Leadership and interpersonal change." Journal of Social Issues. XIV no. 1 (1958) 47-59.

Ziller, R. C. "Leader acceptance of responsibility for group action under conditions of uncertainty and risk." American Psychologist. X (1955) 475-6 (abstract).

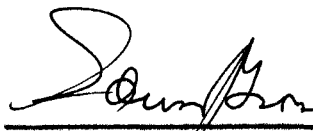
### APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Reverend Hubert James Horan, W. F. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

1/19/65  
Date

  
Signature of Adviser