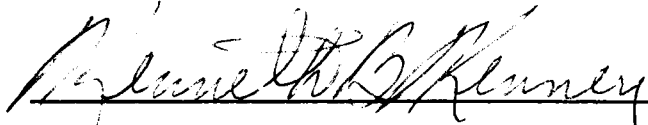
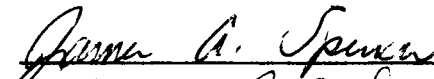


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PLANNING FOR ADOLESCENCE

***Physical and Psycho-Social Environmental Conditions to
Facilitate Positive Adolescent Development.***

A Thesis Presented

for the

Master of Science in Planning Degree

The University of Tennessee

**Teresa R. Shupp
August, 1993**

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my children

Kelly, Alexander, and Rosemary

that they may have the

opportunities for growth.

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I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Kenneth Kenney, for his patience, guidance, and commitment to details. I would also like to thank the other committee members, Professor James Spencer and Dr. Thomas Cruthids. I would like to thank my parents, William and Margaret Rowan, for their continued interest and support in my career. I would especially like to thank my husband, David L. Shupp, MD, for his friendship, inspiration, and support throughout this degree program and our lives together.

ABSTRACT

Early adolescence is a time of accelerated development comparable only to the first two years of life. As with the first two years, the speed and magnitude of changes in early adolescence makes this stage critical in determining who we are. This research was an effort to discover the physical and psycho-social conditions needed in a community to create opportunities for positive adolescent development.

Adolescent goals, objectives, and tasks that may be required for positive adolescent development were generated from a literature review in the fields of psychology, sociology, leisure and recreation, planning theory, and environmental design. Physical, social, and political conditions of the three major living environments--urban, suburban, and rural were evaluated. This investigation revealed the conditions and institutions that adolescents are confronted with in America today. The combined information was formatted into matrixes. The matrixes assisted in an evaluation that focused on the ability of environments and institutions to facilitate the tasks necessary to achieve positive adolescent development.

Adolescence is a culturally defined period of development. Our culture has established certain goals believed to be necessary to achieve positive adolescent development. It is proposed that certain environmental conditions can make accessible, to adolescents, the institutions necessary to achieve the goals of adolescence. For the early adolescent lack of access to the necessary institutions may create conflict--making adolescence more difficult than it need be. The opportunities for spontaneous

involvement, strong social ties, and a sense of belonging appear as critical characteristics of a community providing for positive adolescent development. The challenge to the planning profession is to make policies and plans, that when implemented, will provide supportive conditions for positive adolescent development.

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INTRODUCTION

We have all been there. We have all heard the casual dismissals. "You're growing up." "Everyone goes through it." "You're at the awkward age." The memories of a time mixed with fun and anxiety accurately reflect the range of emotions and changes that are a part of every adolescent's life. So what is this phase called adolescence?

Adolescence is a stage in human development that combines the physical changes of puberty and culturally determined "rites of passage". The successful completion of such "rites" prepares the individual to assume the adult roles of one's culture (Esman, 1990). In western culture there are few clearly defined "rites." Some religions do have ceremonies celebrating the move from childhood to adulthood, such as the Christian Confirmation and the Hebrew Barmitzvah, but for the most part we have moved from such ceremonial rites into a defined stage of growth, associated with specific developmental processes. These expectations for growth are defined by Erik Erikson's 'eight stages of man'. The fifth stage, known as adolescence, is a search for personal identity (Muuss, 1974). Practically all individuals at this stage are in the process of moving between childhood and adulthood, but each culture defines its own requirements.

" . . . adolescence is a unique development phase, not just a continuation of childhood . . . (it) involves a complex transformation of the self . . . a move toward increased competence, rather than autonomy, a thrust toward revised cognition, that many but surely not all adolescents achieve . . ." (Schave & Schave, 1984. p.xii).

This process is unique, filled with physical, social, and psychological changes. Western culture requires these changes be accommodated through the development of a self-concept that accepts individual responsibility.

Responsibilities for an individual's physical and psycho-social well being move from the parent and society onto the individual during this stage in ones life (Landis,1945; Manaster,1977). The success or failure and manner in which the self is realized will influence the development of the culture. Therefore this crucial stage of development is critical to the development of society; ". . . (the) recipe for evolution is for mankind to learn to enjoy doing the things it must do . . ." (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984. p. 25). Some theorists believe ". . . that if society does not provide for this transition to adulthood the adolescent group itself will generate forms of behavior and rituals to serve the same function . . ." (Manaster, 1977. p.7.). This thesis will explore the community's role in providing for this transition.

CHAPTER ONE

The Problem

In order to provide a better quality of living to youth we must create physical, social, and political environments that will create opportunities for adolescents to positively progress through adolescence.

The task of influencing the community's conditions to positively affect the quality of life in a community requires various skills and techniques. Current planning theory debates the specifics of the task. However, as Ernest Alexander tells us in *Approaches To Planning: Introducing Current Planning Theories, Concepts and Issues*, there are common components to most of the planning models and theories. These include problem diagnosis, goal articulation, design of alternatives, and evaluation. Essential to accomplishing any of these tasks is the knowledge and understanding of the many individuals and groups that make up a community.

As a result, various advocacy groups have developed that provide the diversity of information needed by planners and community leaders. Policy makers at the national, state, and local levels are continually barraged with concerns for the elderly, minorities, the middle class, low income, single parents, dual career life styles, day care needs, the emerging role of women, and the physically impaired. The scope and magnitude of literature available to the public and professionals is impressive to say the least.

It appears on the surface that every possible condition, age group, and lifestyle is being examined and considered. However, normal adolescents as a group appear to have been comparatively overlooked.

This is not to say the problems associated with adolescence have been ignored. Actually the opposite is the case. One only needs to look in the today's headlines for examples...

"YOUNGSTERS WORRY . . . the poll, conducted at malls, shows 81% feel depression, 58% 'have a lot of stress' and 16% have thought of suicide." (Wall Street Journal, 1/26/93).

"Teen Suicide topic of Thursday PTSO meeting at Farragut High . . . parents and friends interested in the growing statistics of teen suicides are urged to attend . . ." (Press Enterprise, Farragut Tennessee 1/27/93).

Numerous are the problems caused by, associated with, or feared for the youth of our communities, the nation, and the world. There are a number of theories from various fields that give explanation or hypothesis as to why the problems of adolescents exist.

The majority of opinions and studies seem to point to the shortcomings of the education system, the decline of the traditional nuclear family, poverty, and other socio-economic living conditions. Not as numerous are the proposals for solutions to the problems. It is this eclectic nature of the current investigations into adolescence that prevents implementable solutions. What is needed is a synthesizing of knowledge from the various disciplines.

Importance of This Study

Even in the best of circumstances turmoil and conflict as a part of adolescence is inevitable. Most growth and development is a product of a struggle to meet a challenge. Life is a series of challenges presenting opportunity for growth. Some of those challenges are faced head on and met. Others are confronted and the individual lacks the skills to conquer them. Some are viewed from afar and avoided.

It is also true that each of us has a unique set of traits and circumstances that has formed our personality. The makeup of an individual will play heavily in his/her style and manner in dealing with the struggles of adolescence. The presumption here is not to say that life can be easy or without problems. But certainly there are factors and environments that influence the ease and speed at which we are able to move through developmental processes. And if there is a self-concept that will develop out of those processes that will enable one to meet the challenges of adulthood, and if adolescence is the time that we are to develop this self-concept, then any opportunities or circumstances that may better facilitate this development should be known and provided by the community.

Environment alone does not determine life's success or failure. The community cannot solve all the complex problems associated with adolescence. It is the responsibility of the individual, with the support of family and friends, to confront the problems and meet the challenges. But the community can create environments that prevent or provide opportunities for various experiences. We measure the value of our community by its ability to ". . . promote the growth of the individuals who make it up."

(Haworth, 1963. p. 22). Haworth further explains that growth is dependent on the availability of opportunities to do something significant. A good community provides many opportunities for significant activity. For adolescents significant activities are those that are needed to grow into adulthood. Joan Lipsitz describes these activities as characteristics of adolescence that are threatened:

" . . . During the 1980's and as we look ahead to the next decade, the need-and-right to play, to explore, and to test limits, all characteristics of early adolescence, seem in some contexts luxurious, and worse, life-threatening. Early adolescence is in danger of being crushed by the suffocating weights of poverty and demography.

If the changing contexts within which young adolescents develop remain virtually unexplored, and if the contexts are associated with socially undesirable outcomes, then despite the increase in the volume of research about the age group, we are not gaining increased wisdom about promoting and sustaining healthy early adolescence for all children" (Lipsitz, 1991. p. 34-5)

These contexts are our communities that may or may not foster opportunities for significant activities.

In order to foster such opportunities certain answers must be sought. What are the traits of the community that need be present and for whom and for what are they provided? No one solution can be given, no model community would be appropriate. The problem is that specific solutions are not universal and invalidate themselves when set in urban versus suburban environments or various socio-economic conditions. The key to providing solutions is to construct an abstract conception of the good solution. It is only the abstract concept that can provide diversity in application (Haworth, 1963).

Planning is a logical field to take this initiative. It is the history and nature of planning to assimilate various philosophies and disciplines and propose implementable solutions. There are several reasons for planning's involvement. The existence of city

planning departments within city government reflects the acknowledgement by society that the future must be planned and goals set. There exists as a part of almost every community government a planning department equipped to undertake the task. Physical planning is the act of locating the shells or homes of our various institutions that form our culture. Physical locations for these institutions can aid or hinder their function (Hayworth, 1963). Therefore planning has the political resources with the ability to physically implement the necessary plan or action. Planning's role as a social science can be described by Robert Lynd's writings in *Knowledge For What? The Place of Social Science in American Culture*; ". . . life does not wait upon the perfect formulation. One must take one's awareness at each given moment and use it . . ." (1939. p. 191). Society knows of problems and issues surrounding adolescents but we must now determine how to use it!

Statement of The Problem

Currently there is very little planning literature that addresses adolescents and their needs. This thesis will be an exploratory undertaking to review the broad knowledge of adolescence in psychology, sociology, and leisure and recreation, and then reflect on their implications for community planning.

The intent of this review will be to search for physical, social, and environmental conditions that facilitate positive adolescent development. From these findings a theoretical framework addressing planning for adolescents will be generated. There will be a particular focus on information that may be used by planners, community leaders,

and others involved in community development so that planning for adolescents may be a more rational and conscious element in the design of our communities. Outcomes of this study will provide:

1. A better understanding of adolescents: their needs, wants, constraints, and issues.
2. An overview of existing formal and informal institutions (school, athletics, peer groups, family, etc.) and their role in facilitating the developmental needs of adolescents.
3. Identification of adolescent needs that are not being facilitated.
4. Implications for individuals and society when those needs are not met.
5. Proposals of community environmental conditions that could facilitate positive development.

Primary Research Question

What physical and psycho-social environmental conditions are needed in our communities to create opportunities for positive adolescent development?

Secondary Research Questions

What is it to be an adolescent in American society? What are the needs, constraints, issues, and goals? What constitutes positive development in this stage of life?

What implications are there for both adolescents and society when positive adolescent development is not achieved?

What opportunities (formal and informal institutions) exist in our communities to accommodate positive adolescent development?

How do the existing conditions perform in presenting opportunities for positive adolescent development?

Definitions

Adolescence: Derived from the latin root meaning to grow to maturity. "Adolescence is the transition period from childhood to self-sufficient adulthood" (Muuss, 1974 p.4.) It is marked by the onset of puberty. For the purpose of this thesis the onset of adolescence will be considered 11 years of age for two reasons; the average age of the onset of puberty in America today and the transfer from elementary school to middle school typically occurs at age 11 in America today.

Early Adolescence: A period within adolescence that stretches from 11 to 14 or 15. It is a ". . . distinct developmental stage that is quantitatively different from both latency and adolescence proper . . ." (Schave, 1989. p. 2). This age distinction will be important in this thesis because of the restrictions on driving at this age which creates complications associated with immobility.

Adolescence proper: Covers the ages 15-18. The upper limit set by the typical age of high school graduation.

Latent Adolescence: Ages 18-25 are considered the conventional boundaries. However the upper limit is undefinable due to the inconsistency of when individuals emerge as responsible adults. In some cases behavior called adolescent is present in 30,

40, and 50 year-olds (Manaster, 1977. p. 6). Persons exhibiting this behavior could be accommodated by this definition.

Psycho-social Processes: Defined by Feldman, as key processes that describe the adolescent phase of development. These processes include physical and sexual maturation, major changes with family members and with peers, growing awareness of both oneself and the wider world.

Positive Adolescent Development: Is defined as the:

" . . . period in which the individual must establish a sense of personal identity and avoid the dangers of role diffusion and identity confusion . . . answer for himself the questions of where he came from, who he is, and what he will become . . . Identity is not given to the individual by society . . . it must be acquired through sustained individual efforts . . . involving the production of a meaningful self-concept in which past present and future are linked together . . . " (Muuss, 1974 p.63.).

Formal Institutions: Physical and social endeavors for adolescents that have been formally organized by adults ie. school, work, organized sports, clubs, church groups, scouting, and various teen programs.

Informal Institutions: Physical and social endeavors for adolescents that have been organized by or spontaneously occurred due to adolescent's initiatives such as; peer groups, gangs, pick-up sports, hang-outs, and partying.

Community: In this thesis community will be defined according to *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* definition (1.c): "an interacting population of various kinds of individuals in a common location" (1991).

Methodology

The research method consists of literature reviews and interviews with various experts, mostly at The University of Tennessee. Discussion were held with other departments at University of Tennessee. Dr. Thomas Cruthids, Department of Social Work and Dr. Delores Smith, Department of Child and Family Studies offered feedback and direction in the development of this topic into a research study. Telephone contacts were made to gather further information from the Chapin Hall Center for Children in Chicago. Professional input was gained from this source.

The initial investigations were directed at investigating the questions raised. Related journal articles, books, and dissertations were reviewed in the fields of planning, social work, child and family studies, recreation, leisure, psychology, and public policy. Through this process a broad background knowledge of the subject developed.

Once a breadth of material was researched, considerable reflection and synthesizing was employed, as in the design process, to uncover recurrent themes and fundamental needs. Once these were identified, the various criteria (physical facilities and spatial relationships, personal relationships, role models, family, advisors, and peers, and activities) that will accommodate these needs were identified. Once identified, these criteria were formulated into an abstract concept of conditions that would facilitate positive adolescent development.

Examples (policies, programs, facilities and other community services) are presented that illustrate ways to apply the abstract concept within a community. It is the

goal of this study to uncover what areas and issues should be considered when the question of planning for teenagers is raised.

Limitations

There are certain limitations to this thesis due to the level of depth afforded by a masters thesis. This thesis does not entail an in-depth search of the literature; rather it provides broad overview of the various related fields. Certain areas are investigated more thoroughly than others. The decision as to depth of investigation was made by the researcher with the advice of the professional experts and committee members.

This thesis is a somewhat theoretical work and therefore does not make claims of absolute truths for any theories it may propose. It is the nature of theories not to be absolutes; only laws are absolutes. This thesis therefore strives for the most logical deductions possible, given the information available.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Prior to the late 1800's the periods of puberty and post puberty were not considered a part of childhood. The extension of childhood to include ages greater than 7 or 8 came about as a result of the industrial revolution in the west; "... 'adolescence' only emerges as a distinct life-cycle stage for the whole population in the late nineteenth century" (Springhall, 1986. p. 2).

Culture and Adolescence

Esman in *Adolescents in Culture*, refers to H. Sebald's explanation of the defining and institutionalization of the period between childhood and adulthood. The period is described as a result of the industrial revolution's requirement for a "... more extended and formal education (system) . . . " (Esman, 1990. p. 9).

Esman presents various theories of adolescent periods existing prior to this point in history as occurring in affluent segments of society only. In references to literary writings of Rousseau and Shakespeare he relates tales of behavior similar to adolescents of today. The turf wars in the street fighting portrayed in *Romeo and Juliet*, certainly do relate to the adolescent gangs of today, as well as the following quote from *The Winter's Tale*;

" . . . I would there were no age between sixteen and three and twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest, for there is nothing between but getting wenches with child, wronging ancientry, stealing, fighting."

Esman states that "then as now" time and wealth were the criteria for having an adolescent phase in one's life (Esman, 1990).

Esman's portrayals of adolescent-type periods presents three important notions. First, although only recently institutionalized, adolescent as a stage has evidence throughout history. Second, affluence appears to be a prerequisite to being afforded an opportunity for adolescent behavior. Third, adolescent behavior involved careless behavior--testing the roles of adulthood to learn the skills and boundaries.

Esman also outlines the origins of adolescence in pre-literate western cultures. All cultures have some recognition of the sexual components of puberty. It is the way that a culture institutionalizes the transition from childhood to adulthood that varies. The institution is determined by the culture and in turn determines the culture. Most of the cultures examined allowed no room for deviance from the structured "rites." It is only in western society that the ideas of autonomy and the development of a personal identity are a part of adolescence. Culture is the defining factor in adolescence. Western society's adolescence has been created as a period in the life span because of the need to extend education and prolong the entrance age of youth into the labor force. According to Esman, partial responsibility for this slowing of the entrance into the labor force is a result of the lack of employment opportunities. This theory is echoed in a recent Australian study.

In the book, No Space of Their Own author Rob White states that the youth of Australia have no physical or social place of their own. As is typical in all western cultures, problems due to the extension of childhood brought on with the industrial revolution are present in the Australian society. Mr. White notes that the lack of employment opportunities, due to a poor economy, only worsens the problem. He suggests that this combination of economic circumstances has simply prolonged the childlike status for Australian youth, even after age 18.

Similar economic conditions in this country may have contributed to findings of recent studies into the development of Vietnamese gangs in the U.S. Studies revealed that the youth were looking for support and social associations to aid in dealing with this stressful time in their lives. Their solution was to form subcultures of their own that later became the gangs of L.A. (Vigil & Yun, 1990). The existence of gangs is possibly a social structure growing to fulfill an underlying need of youth in our society--an attempt on their part to create a social space of their own.

The European ancestry of American adolescence is traced from the middle-ages in the book *A History of Youth*. The importance of the development of a self-identity and personal autonomy is seen as a direct result of the development of European culture. A lack of a singular ethnic heritage is given as the primary reason a specific rite of passage marking adolescence does not exist. The prevalent religion Christianity, a religion of conversion, had no provisions for an adolescent passage. The importance of self determination and self reflection, brought about by the protestant reformation, created the ground work for the goals of autonomy and independence.

In the book *A History of Youth*, Michael Mitterauer emphasizes the point that the most important task according to European culture was individualization. This process of individualization requires exposure to alternative modes of thinking, the opportunity to make choices and decisions, and opportunities for communication between youth and the adult world. As a result of these evolving needs during adolescence, youth began to journey away from home. Young men were encouraged to venture into the world to discover alternatives in life-style and thought. These same ideals were not held for girls; they needed to be protected from sexual exploitation. The key element then, in developing an independent personality became mobility.

Today this remains true--the more mobile an individual is the more opportunity they have to gain alternative perspectives. The ability to decide on one's own issues of religion, occupation, and leisure creates opportunities for freedom. This mobility requirement explains the relationship of adolescent experiences and the wealthier classes. Prior to modern times the freedom to travel and "find oneself" was truly dependent on a level of wealth. The author states that in today's culture the obtaining of a driver's license may be our closest thing to a rite of passage. It allows the mobility needed to gain the experiences necessary to develop the self.

The author underscores the importance of current philosophies that discourage limits on activities and segregated events according to gender for adolescents. This is adding to the lessening of a defined protocol for adolescence. Mitterauer notes that the thresholds are becoming fluid for both the individual and the community. Adolescents stay in their parents home longer but exercise independence in decisions on dress, music,

time, and values. He brings attention to a contradiction in domestic dependence while developing an autonomous personality.

The author also notes a change in our economic culture due to the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution changed the nature of the relationship within the family. Once a productive, working association, the family relationship is now an association of leisure activities. One aspect of this change is that it has put the family in a competitive mode with peer groups for the adolescent's attention.

There are many implications to be drawn from such a fundamental change in society. One, self-determinism that the culture is based on is in contradiction to the labor economy created by the industrial revolution. Two, elimination of the family based economy removed individual control over time in the work day. Three, this revolution removed women as team members of family production by limiting their ability to be in the work force. Reduction in the husbands role as an active participant in daily activities of the family occurred. A permanent labor class was created that had not existed before.

Prior to the industrial revolution the status of most adolescents was one of an apprentice/laborer, temporary in nature, until the time one mastered a trade and could create one's own place of self employment. Today's economy is not structured as such, and the opportunity for autonomy at work has been diminished. Therefore, occupational opportunities that foster the economy are in conflict with the developmental goals and definition of adulthood.

Another point made by the author is the dominance of school over the adolescent's time. He criticizes the subordination of youth in the school structure. He points to the

importance of social youth groups organized by youth to develop community responsibilities. He warns that the process of individualization that youth are engaged in brings a danger of isolation and loneliness, unless youth also learn community relations as well. He also asserts that communication across generations is necessary. Mitterauer would like to see a change from the current views of adolescence and adulthood as two distinct phases. He suggests that the development of the adult is not a completed task in a defined phase. He makes the point that adults need continued growth throughout adulthood. He asserts that adults must continue to grow because adulthood itself is not static but a state of rapid change in society, requiring adults to be continually learning. He acknowledges " . . . a redefinition of adulthood would blur the boundary between the two phases of life, but it would (also) go a long way towards bridging the 'generation gap'." (Mitterauer, 1993. p. 240). He suggests that through communication with youth, we can maintain our own growth and development as adults.

Developmental Research

According to John Springhall, in the introduction to his book *The Coming of Age*, since 1969 attention to the historiography of adolescence and the study of adolescence has been increasing. This point is evidenced by the declaration of 1990 as "the year of the child." The result has been a significant increase in developmental research and literature.

The need for supports and the nature of the supports is the focus of the book *Early Adolescence and the Search for Self*. The authors Douglas and Barbara Schave explain

in Chapter Two, how the most important supports come from the two-fold role of the primary caretaker (mother). The adoring attention given by the mother serves as a "mirroring" of the infant and "idealization" of the care-giver occurs. These two functions give the infant a self object from infancy throughout childhood. Through mirroring the infant sees reflected in the care-givers eye, a gleam that is internalized into a source of self pride and hope. Through the idealization of the care-giver, by the infant, the infant receives a source for ambition and goals in life.

As the infant reaches adolescence the sense of self will be altered and challenged by new conflicts and turmoil. A task now emerges for the adolescent to move away from the reflection of itself in self objects to development of a new concept of self, one that can regulate self esteem on itself. This task is one very similar to the ability of "mother" to sooth tensions away in the life of an infant. This regulation of tension by the mother, who is perceived by the infant as part of itself, teaches the infant how to sooth his/herself. If the mother can hold, through comforting, the infant's frustration the infant will slowly learn to absorb it itself.

The role of the parent in adolescence is very similar to that of the role of the mother in the infant relationship. The adolescent is being challenged by internal and external conflicts and turmoil. In order to learn to regulate their reactions to such challenges they need a facilitator or support. Adults who can act as facilitator can actually aid the adolescent in developing the skills of decision making, dealing with increases in complexity of situations, exploration of alternatives to problems, feeling in control, gaining competence, and understanding growth and challenge as inherent in

developing a self concept, as opposed to viewing the self as fragmentary. The support received during adolescence allows the adolescent to accept, tolerate, and integrate themselves, so that later, without external supports, they can cope with the challenges of adulthood. This is a state which the Schaves refer to as a firm psychic foundation.

According to Schave & Schave the early stage of adolescence is very different from the later stages because of the "quantum leap in thinking that occurs" (p. 20) involving changes in cognitive, emotional, social, and psychodynamic dimensions. The major development in cognitive abilities revolves around the progression reported to occur from concrete-operational thinking of childhood to formal-operational thinking of adulthood. Schave & Schave describe formal-operational thinking as related to a sense of calmness and greater stability, allowing the individual to rely on internal supports rather than external (family, society and teachers), and thereby creating a more solid psychic structure. The abilities to sympathize with others and to think through consequences of actions before undertaking action is evident in older rather than younger teens.

This difference in the two forms of operational thinking is also described in detail by Guy Manaster. He describes concrete-operational as a focus on the relations between objects, reflected in abilities to classify, categorize and order objects. The change to formal operational is reflected in an ability to think in the abstract, thinking about possibilities as well as real things. Formal-operational thinking is seen in abilities to draw conclusions regarding relationships. The concepts of proportions, correlations, probability, and hypothesis formulation are all dependent on formal-operational thinking.

Preferences and abilities for this type of thinking normally increase between ages 12-16. The changes in cognitive thinking are related to a new consciousness of potentials and personal faults (Schave, 1989).

Social development in adolescents is described by Diane deAnda in the *Encyclopedia of Social Work Volume 1* in terms of periods described as pre-, early, and late. The emphasis in this discussion is on social/sexual relationships. The pre-adolescent is primarily engaged in social intimacy through strong same sex relationships. Within these relationships often secret and personal thoughts are revealed. In early adolescents puberty begins and with it "psychological lust." Relationships with the opposite sex are intimate in the same way they were with the same sex in the pre- stage, by divulging personal thoughts and secrets. At this stage, they note, the need for friendship by girls is the greatest. Due to a dread of rejection and a lack of social confidence, they are particularly in need of emotional fulfillment through friends. Boy's socializing needs at this stage seek friends with whom they can focus on actions. In late adolescents the individual discovers what they like in genital behavior and how to fit it in to the rest of life. Maturity is then defined in this text in terms of intimacy, it being congruent with a lively sensitivity to the need of others. This sensitivity results in security and a lack of anxiety.

Social contexts have much to do with dictating both gender identity and gender role development at this stage. These roles are established by adapting to appropriate norms of behavior that have been perceived by the adolescent. Sexual development and resultant behavior in terms of values and relationships are dependent on two factors, the

"intrapsychic" history of the individual and the interpersonal requirements of social life or the social context. These two factors combine to generate behavior. When they agree, there is peaceful development. However, when these two factors conflict, turmoil ensues. It is from this combination that social expectations and social scripts develop. These can vary in an individual over time and are dependent on association with various groups. It is suggested in this volume that these social scripts or contexts may have some influence on current teen-pregnancy trends. The authors draw a relationship between the number of adolescents who choose to raise their babies--9 out of 10, and the societal standards that accept it--suggesting that this large majority is only possible if teen-motherhood is accepted within the social context, in this case the teen culture.

This subject of adolescent pregnancy and resultant choice to keep the babies was discussed in a recent segment on adolescents in the PBS series *Childhood* (aired Spring, 1993). The segment titled *The House of Tomorrow*, produced, written, and directed by Geoffery Haines-Stilles, focussed on the impact today's adolescent will have on the future. Among the various areas covered, they examined the increasing phenomenon of teenage pregnancy. The point was made by Marian Wright Edelman, a lawyer and child advocate, that in many teen pregnancies cases the girls actually sought pregnancy. The only logic in the choice for pregnancy, on the part of these adolescents, barely out of childhood themselves, was evident in the prevalence among girls who saw no other options for their future. The report stated that these girls had no goals and saw no future. They found that the underlying motivation for pregnancy was its potential, for the adolescent, to derive a purpose in life, a way to create their identity. It appears that the

only way these girls saw to mark their presence in the world was to reproduce. Although none of these girls would consider giving their child up for adoption, they all admitted that they wished they had not had a child so young. None had realized the time and work involved in parenthood.

Social contexts for adolescent development are described by Judith Torney-Purta in Feldman & Elliot's book *At the Threshold* as "agents of socialization" (p. 459). These agents appear as the institutions of family, school, peer groups, and mass media. A focus on political and moral development is explored that leads to the definition of a mature individual as one being able to balance self interests with support for various institutions schools, community, and national government. The author questions our current level of understanding of the relationships between individuals, political attachments, and participation. Four factors influencing adolescent's political knowledge are given. They are classroom discussions which promote expressed student opinions, higher education levels of families (explanation given for this is availability of reading materials and family discussions), being male versus female, and the amount of newspaper and TV news accessed.

Influences from or access to these areas create optimistic or pessimistic views of the future and the individual's role in that future. The author notes a general feeling of cynicism among young people, especially among African-American and Hispanic populations. Torney-Purta points out that this may be a response to their political reality and the limited opportunities available to them. She cannot explain the consistent level of un-involvement in political concerns among female adolescents.

Answers to this question may be found in other developmental research. A Harvard team of psychologists found behavioral changes, in young girls, due to societal forces. Reported in Lynn Brown and Carol Gilligan's book *Meeting at the Crossroads*, girls are going through a transformation that involves "disassociation and dislocation" from their true feelings. This occurs as they prepare for their role, interpreted as submission to men in order to accommodate creation of a family. The researchers state that the girls stopped fighting for their beliefs as they progress through adolescence.

Societal structure creates a paradox between learning the truth of women's feelings and the reality of their roles, a role described as one of suppression of true feelings, desires, and wants in order to create a family. The following quote reflects how this differs from men, who are given the task to autonomously determine their identity:

"Our studies of women's psychological development began with listening to women's voices and hearing differences between the voices of women and men. Privileged men often spoke as if they were not living in relation with other's--as if they were autonomous or self-governing, free to speak and move as they pleased. Women, in contrast, tended to speak of themselves as living in connection with others and yet described a relational crises: a giving up of voice, an abandonment of self, for the sake of becoming a good woman and having relationships." (Brown & Gilligan, 1992. p. 2)

This report suggests that women perceive that suppression of their true thoughts is required for them to assume their female adult roles of wife and mother.

Unintentionally this structure was re-created in the research design of this study.

As the researchers attempted to uncover female adolescents' true feelings the nature of the research, with its consciousness to objective non-intrusive techniques, resulted in a perceived mysterious and suspicious agenda. This perception led the girls to organize in

an attempt to discover the goals and techniques of the research. As a result, an underground culture developed to aid peers in dealing with and protecting true feelings from the researchers. Once recognized, researchers let go of the structures they had designed. They tried opening themselves directly to the adolescents and truly listening. As a result they began to learn a tremendous amount about themselves and the girls. The frustration of being judged by the researchers while not knowing what would be said was of primary concern to these adolescents.

A central issue that appeared was women's learning not to disagree with authority in public, especially on political matters. Women are encouraged to accept a standard stereotype of their lives that these researchers describe as ". . . the established story of a white, middle-class heterosexual woman's life, a story all girls in this culture--whether they are white or of color, rich or poor, heterosexual or lesbian--struggle against. . ." (p. 15). This aversion to confrontation in public is what led to the creation of the underground network the girls developed to protect themselves from the unknown of the researchers.

It is this belief, on the part of these young girls as they move through adolescence, that their true opinions must be suppressed and not revealed to authority that eventually results in their suppression of their true feelings from even themselves. The researchers noted that in the younger girls interviewed there was a remarkably honest and free discourse on conflict and disagreement. This contrasted with the responses from the older girls. The researchers were then surprised to discover, a "loss of voice" that began to occur, particularly in terms of relationship. These seemed to exist an inability in the

girls interviewed to decipher authentic from idealized relationships. In other words, these girls were less often dealing with the realities of their relationships and more often deceiving themselves concerning reality. The goals, dreams, and desires of women, then, are lost within themselves, preventing them from disclosing their true identity. The researchers describe women in adolescence in a developmental crisis. They say women give up relationship for the sake of "relationships".

In the book *Being Adolescent: Conflict and Growth in the Teenage Years*, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Reed Larson have documented the typical daily life of the American teenager. The book reports the results of a research study done on teenagers in the Chicago area. The researchers assigned pagers and a pad of self reporting forms to the teens for a period of one week. During that week any time between 7:00 am and 10:30 pm (later on weekends), the students could be paged and were asked to stop at that moment and record exactly what they were doing and their feelings or emotional state. The report form requested the following information: concentration, angry-friendly, passive-active, wish to be doing activity, control of actions, what were they doing and with whom.

From this data a record of daily life and the personal opinions about that life could be drawn from the individual. The research acknowledges the subjective nature of the methodology. The data is the adolescent's perception of the activities and events, not necessarily reflective of the actual occurrences. This is seen as an advantage because the goal was to gain insight into the what the teenager is doing and feeling. This study is

extremely interesting and establishes a real sense of understanding into being an adolescent in American society.

The authors provide some groundwork in psychology to allow the reader to better understand the evaluation of the reports. There are three conscious processes in human functioning--emotion, cognition, and will. In this study these processes were operationalized as measurable variables. The process of emotion is measured as the affect variable measuring feelings of happiness, cheerfulness, sociability and friendliness while engaged in an activity. Cognition is measured as the activation variable--measuring feelings of strength, excitement, and alertness. The will process is measured as intrinsic motivation--"How much a person wants to do what they are doing." (p.48). The level of high or low measurements of each of these variables combines to influence the state of consciousness described in this book as entropic or negentropic. These two states of consciousness are defined within the report and become critical to understanding the conclusions later drawn by the researchers. Entropy is described as the state ". . . in which effective use of attention is disrupted. . . ." (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1977. p. 23). That is, a state where adolescents have a hard time investing psychic energy and find themselves in a rivalry between forces.

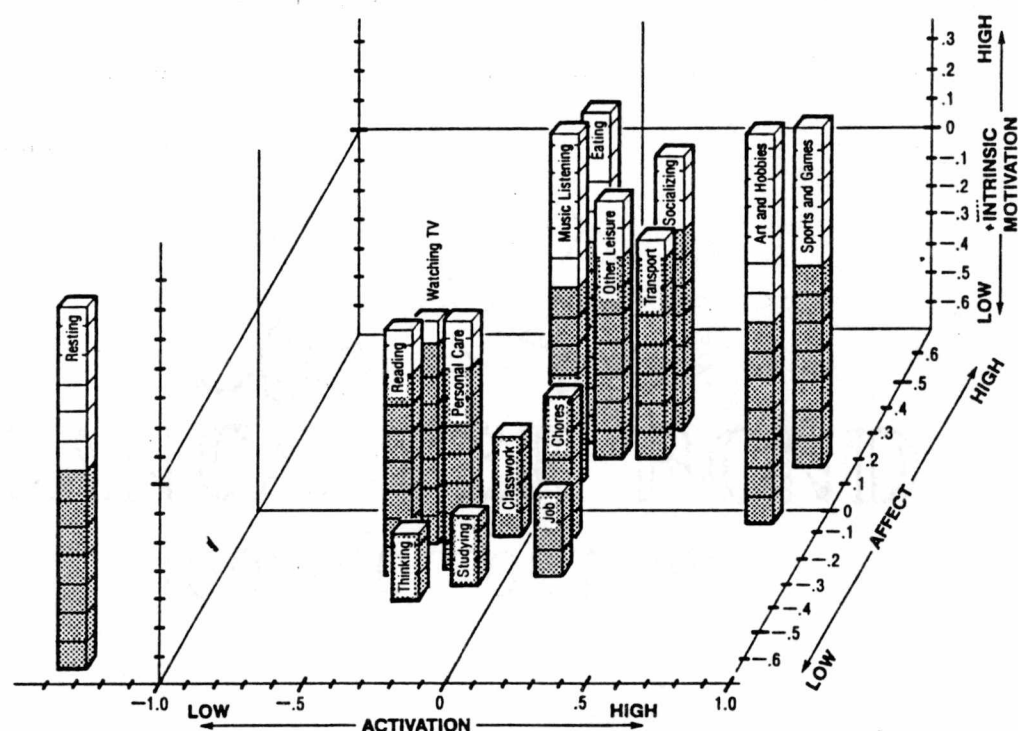
The best way to describe the feeling associated with this psychic state is as a bad mood. Bad moods are indications of sadness, loneliness, and anger. It may result from goals not being met and/or conflict with oneself or another. Entropy was also associated with feeling tired. It is suggested that this feeling is brought on in response to being overwhelmed or feeling pressure. Oddly enough the reaction to either of these two

conditions may be boredom. Boredom can result in feelings of exhaustion or weakness. A third symptom of entropy was a loss of motivation--a negative feeling that literally stands in the way of accomplishing one's goals. This state is produced when goals are unclear or externally imposed by adults. To cope, teenagers often switch their attention to daydreaming instead of concentrating on the task at hand--essentially an inability to focus their attention.

Negative entropy (negentropy) is the reverse, a psychic state where the teenager is " . . . feeling whole and acting with clarity, commitment, and enthusiasm." Negentropy is not the result of a balancing of a previously imbalanced condition, but from a " . . . new order among conflicting goals. . ." (p. 26). The author explains these entropic and negentropic experiences in depth because of their implications to growth: "Human development is ideally a process of expansion and growth, but entropic experiences can slowly extinguish the fire of dreams that give life direction and purpose" (p. 22). The point is made that negentropic experiences are easier to achieve in play but are possible to achieve in work. Work as a route to negentropy is potentially more rewarding. The goal is to be able to organize work or learning activities so that they may provide negentropic experiences. If achieved, there will be less energy or motivation required to engage in these activities.

The following graph illustrates a summary of feelings from the adolescents' reports. In this illustration the negentropic experiences are those that fall into the upper-right quadrant. The activation feelings (excitement and strength) are plotted along the x-axis. The affect feelings (happiness, cheerfulness, and friendliness) are plotted along the

y-axis. With the motivation level (intrinsic or external) plotted on the z-axis. The height of the bar reflects the level of intrinsic motivation. The authors point out that it is interesting that some of the leisure activities--watching TV, socializing, personal care, and other leisure, do not rank as high for intrinsic motivation as do some of the more difficult and challenging activities such as art and hobbies, and sports and games. A notable finding of the research was that there is a strong correlation between activities that make adolescents happy and cheerful and those that make them feel alert and excited. The activities of "Art and hobbies, in particular, appear to be done not because they make one feel happy now, but presumably because--for those willing to invest the effort--they yield long-term rewards." (Csikszentmihalyi, 1977. p. 98).¹



¹Source: Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Larson, R. (1984). *Being Adolescent: Conflict and Growth in The Teenage Years*. New York: Basic Books (p. 97).

For further discussion on the interpretations of this illustration, see Chapter Five, "The Internal Landscape: What the Teenagers' World Looks Like," in the book *Being Adolescent*. The intense period of growth in adolescence is focussed on the development of the self. The growth in self is shaped by enjoyment and satisfaction received through striving for goals that require increased skills for their achievement. The issue, then, is to identify how to attain negentropic experiences in the tasks required to become an adult.

Csikszentmihalyi and Larson make some very good points in respect to the competition for the adolescent's attention. Many competing demands are being made all at once. The adolescent is being pulled by desires to play, to study, and to socialize. The pull to listen to the inner self and go off and explore are the desires of play that will aid in creating strong self determinism. The need to study and gain the skills necessary to compete in the work force will provide economic security in the future. The need to learn socializing skills via peer groups and adult relationships will provide the preparation needed to form a family and community as an adult. All these forces are pulling at once, creating challenges to the adolescent to test and learn the patterns of thought and action they will use in adult life. The author states that these patterns are learned, and as in anything, we learn by doing: "The roles they now play as students, as family members, as friends rehearse the roles they must play as adults." (p. 28).

Patterns are described that may create many of the problems in the adolescent's experience. Being overwhelmed, countered by feeling unchallenged are two states that underly a breakdown of the individuals feeling of control over their life. This concept will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Three. This theory is expanded to explain

people's feelings of anxiety in general. These authors suggest that feelings of anxiety are needed barometers that inform us when we need additional challenges and when we are in over our head.

Other fields, such as anthropology, sociology, medicine, education, environmental studies, parks and recreation, child and family studies, social work, and psychology have also been expanding their investigations of adolescence. The variety of disciplines involved serves to underline the importance and complexity of adolescence as a stage in human development.

In a March, 1993 article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* a call is made to physicians to become aware that although the biological changes are the same and have been for a millennia, the social context in which adolescent development occurs is rapidly changing. They point out in this culture, as it is developing, that adolescents need to "find ways to develop a vision of the future, to formulate an image of what adulthood offers and demands . . ." (Millstein, et. al. 1993) this will allow them to discover opportunities and paths to implementation of those opportunities. Areas of concern that will lead to inhibiting this vision are described, including ". . . fewer opportunities for contact with supportive adults limit adolescent's abilities to weather the turbulence of growing up" (p. 1413). The author suggests that to ensure adolescent's healthy development we must go beyond the individual and consider environments, social networks, and public programs to enhance the health of adolescents. Alternatives to fast food hangouts for teens is given as an example as one way the community could directly influence options for a healthy diet for adolescents. This

ways to develop paradigms for healthy emotional development rather than focus research on the negative or absence of emotional health. It calls for research on protective environments that "foster optimal psychosocial development" with an emphasis on developing life skills such as decision making, interpersonal skills, cooperative learning, and coping behaviors. The importance of studying contextual settings in shaping the adolescent experience is underscored. The contexts with the most influence are mentioned as family, peers, communities, and the mass media. To test these, this article calls for testable theoretical models to explain contextual factors and their influence on individual characteristics of youth. Other influences such as church and youth service organizations are also recommended for further investigation, and emphasis is placed on youth contact with community-based programs. The recommendations for how this research would be incorporated into public policy pays special attention to the accessibility of certain healthy patterns of behavior. Accessibility to healthy behavior facilitators should be assured, whereas exposure to dangerous patterns of behavior should have limited access for the adolescent. The article concludes that we will need more resources allocated to adolescents and in order to accomplish this we need to ". . . place them higher on the national agenda." (p. 1415).

Public Policy

Unfortunately the connection between adolescent developmental research and public policy has been minimal. Context does impact the adolescent and their normal development. Unfortunately this has been overlooked, or possibly lost, in communication

between the various disciplines. In a 1991 article by Joan Lipsitz in *The Journal of Early Adolescents*, two trends are reported that have diminished the relevance of adolescent developmental research for policy makers. First, by focussing on the special interests or problems associated with adolescents, policy makers are missing the big picture. That picture is the impact that context plays on adolescents and their development. Lipsitz feels demographics, such as increasing numbers of children in poverty and single headed households, have impacts on adolescents and those adolescents in turn impact their environments (Lipsitz, 1991).

Second, she states that adolescent developmental researchers and public policy makers lack common ground to speak about poverty and impacts. Apparently this void is partially the result of a redirection of adolescent developmental research into the realms of studying normalcy that took hold in the 1970's and 1980's. This direction was initiated by John Hill and others in a Workshop on Youth Research held in 1976 in Washington D.C.

This re-direction received further attention in the book *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*, edited by Shirley Feldman and Glenn Elliot. As a result, many adolescent developmental researchers studied "early adolescence as a normative time . . . mainly in the middle class . . ." (Lipsitz, 1991 p.21). This middle-class focus of adolescent developmental research resulted in only glancing references to the influences of context and diversity. This re-direction was not consistent with the philosophies of John Hill. Lipsitz warns of potential dangers from this limit on adolescent research.

On a brighter note, Lipsitz refers to a model program underway in Chicago. The privately funded program at the Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago is one of the few community-level studies in existence. The program has the task of considering the current status of children's services and to make suggestions regarding alternatives that may better meet the needs of children. "Chapin Hall calls for a fundamental reconceptualization of children's services that focuses on supporting the development of all children . . ." (Lipsitz, 1991 p.33). Ms. Lipsitz emphasizes the importance of Chapin Hall in bridging between the developmental researchers and the policy makers.

Lipsitz explains that Chapin Hall proposes a new approach via three changes: a look at "primary services" which include afterschool programs, youth groups, youth volunteering, parks and other organized activities; second, they are looking at a newly defined "children services system"; third, they are proposing that communities should be at the center of planning and provision of these services. (Lipsitz, 1991)

These three concepts hold encouragement for the questions being raised in this thesis. Further investigation of the work being done at Chapin Hall has been an important focus of the study. Their declaration of the ". . . supports that every adolescent requires in order to accomplish the developmental tasks of early adolescence . . ." (Lipsitz, 1991. p. 34) generates a challenge to dig further to uncover the nature of those supports.

Enrichment Resources

Education professionals in the United States involved with adolescents are striving to improve student skill levels to be more competitive with those of other industrialized nations. Educators are looking for ways to reverse the declining trends of the last two decades. One of the calls to change is a redirection ". . . from a focus on memorization and recall to an emphasis on thinking, reasoning and problem solving . . ." (Kennedy, 1992. p. 92). This emphasis on pragmatic needs may be naturally aided by the observations of others in education reform who are looking outside the schools for assistance with education problems. Articles in a recent issue of *Forum For Applied Research and Public Policy* called for ". . . a supportive home environment and a caring community that enjoys active church groups, youth organizations and extra-school activities (because) school success depends not only on classrooms but on families and communities . . . in providing a dynamic and supportive learning environment." (Goldberg, 1992. p. 86).

In Chapter 18 of Feldman and Elliot's book, Judith Torney-Purta makes some recommendations for the political education of youth. She asserts that political awareness and responsibility would be enhanced by classroom discussions. Forums that allow for discussions that cross age groups are advantageous. Torney-Purta reports that a higher level of understanding is achieved by individuals who are known to be at lower level of cognitive development in moral thinking when involved in discussions with others of a higher level. She suggests that even children at a concrete-operational level of thinking may incorporate extraneous information from observing and/or participating in political

discussions. Therefore open political discussions should be a part of our adolescent's education.

In a recent article in *The American Journal of Community Psychology* Marc Zimmerman and Kenneth Maton reported on their study that looked for a cause and effect relationship between substance abuse and high school dropouts. The article cites many previous studies that claim such a link. However, they debate which is the causative variable. This research questions the relationship between the two variables. The authors note that there may be other life-style factors that influence the dropout decision. They propose that there may be other environmental conditions that may even serve to counteract the perceived causation relationship between dropout status and substance abuse. The key finding of this research is the proposal that youth oriented resources and programs may compensate for other environmental factors that may be detrimental to a non-addicted life. Church organizations were found to be the most influential resource in these young peoples lives. The church organizations offered "instrumental activities." This type of activity is described as ". . . task or skill oriented experiences that have positive implications for one's psychological well-being and sense of environmental mastery." (Zimmerman & Maton, 1992. p. 122). They state that self-esteem, sense of psychological empowerment, learned hopefulness, and life satisfaction have been found to correlate to instrumental activities.

Leisure

Leisure is an institution of culture, and as such has a history of development that follows our American/European culture. In the book *A Social History of Leisure* Gary Cross describes an evolution from the sixteenth century ethnic/carnival leisure activities to what is now considered a leisure culture highly devoid of any ethnic or cultural traditions of play. Current attitudes are portrayed as a self-indulgent commercialization of leisure. Brought on by the industrial revolution, Cross explains how the separation of leisure from work, as a rule, has occurred. The result is a philosophy that sees leisure as an earned commodity in exchange or due to each individual upon completion of putting in the time necessary to achieve payment for labor/service.

This was not the case in the family-economy of eras previous to the industrial revolution. The divorce of work from intrinsic rewards has created two worlds, leisure vs. work. This division can be seen in the youth leisure culture that has emerged. Leisure is divorced from school and the wider community. We work to gain time and money to spend on leisure. Mass media has contributed to the commercialism of leisure. TV as a major source of leisure is almost universal across America in today's culture.

A youth leisure culture has been created by the industrial revolution. With parents out of the home working, lower class youth found themselves with more time on their hands and with less adult/parent supervision. These youth found themselves detached from cultural traditions of behavior and parental control. Juvenile crime rates rose, as did gangs and life on the street.

Middle-class youth who were wealthy enough to have mother at home were now exclusively under her influence. Concern by society that boys after age 10 should not be as heavily influenced by their mother resulted in moving more of the "character" development tasks to the schools. With increases in time and money available for middle-class youth, business and professional parents felt the mark of good upbringing was evidenced in the control the family had over their young boys leisure time. "In the American northeast in the 1840's, there was a proliferation of middle-class teenage clubs devoted to temperance, debating, and even publishing 'boy's newspapers'." (Cross, 1990. p. 115) The emergence of boy's clubs and youth groups at the turn of the century was in keeping with these emerging trends.

Another emerging trend to fill the leisure time of young boys was the beginning of mass entertainment. The earliest form was the serial comic book. This new avenue for leisure afforded another opportunity for youth--the formation of a youth culture not dependent on spatial relationships. The early comic books and then film were the predecessor to the MTV or Saturday Night Live youth culture of today.

With the elimination of craft labor as an avenue for occupational education and fulfillment, time involved in manual labor had to be limited and supplanted with "play for personal growth" (p. 170). As a result, leisure became public policy, a repayment to the labor force for time in labor. The labor laws restricting work weeks are a result of this growing philosophy. The people needed a guarantee to ensure freedom in leisure. There was a need for freedom over one's actions, in reaction to the newly emerging

industrial society, that created the controlled work week and has dictated the current views of leisure.

The result, Cross tells us, is an evolution of a society with a mass media homogenized leisure, freed in space and time by the automobile and media access into the home. This leisure culture has been commercialized to the point that Cross says leisure is almost synonymous with consumption. In youth the demands for leisure include demands of self expression, self determination, personal satisfaction, and sexual satisfaction devoid from responsibilities of procreation.

After World War II Cross states that the adult culture evolved due to money and cars. The youth culture was driven by fads and celebrities. In conjunction with this, the incorporation of extra-curricular activities into the high school curriculum put the accessibility to those activities in the control of teachers and administrators of the schools. A new way to discipline evolved that punished failures in scholastic accomplishment through removal from activities. This created a class segregation that, according to Cross, resulted in anti-authority and anti-intellectualism. The working class were alienated from the middle-class extra-curricular activities. He suggests this led to their withdrawal into a male-dominated society of "hot-rods, mechanics, and social/sexual rites of cruising" of the 1950's.

In Chapter 9 of Feldman & Elliott's book *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*, Gary Fine, Jeylan Motimer, and Donald Roberts investigate value issues in respect to the leisure activities of youth. They define leisure as the ". . . sum of social behaviors beyond social constraint or biological demand (*free* time). . . ." (p. 227).

Second to schools, they identify the institution of leisure as most linked to the world of adolescence. Sex roles influenced by culture are presented as determinants in leisure behavior. Boys are noted as being involved in sports and vigorous activities. The importance of sports and games in the African-American culture is noted. Music is also noted as an important part of boy's leisure pursuits in adolescence in both white and black communities. This report simply states that girl's leisure activities are less studied. The authors offer no opinions or theories as to girl's leisure activities.

Activities pursued by adolescent's in leisure seem to fulfill two criteria, activities they most enjoy doing (relaxed activities) and activities that address perceived needs and values (transitional activities). Activities are categorized as those that enable the individual to deal with aggression and the challenge of sexuality versus those that provide needed group or solitude experiences. Peer groups are a desired environment for many of the leisure activities because they offer an arena where the danger or price of failure is reduced. Also associated with peer groups is the spatial aspect when engaged in "hanging out" (p. 230). This chapter cites other research to underscore the importance of the "sense of place" to adolescents when hanging out with peers. It is suggested that the specific territory may be just as important as the activity itself. They need a place in the public territory, that is their own, to establish the existence of an adolescent community for its members.

Fine, et.al. explore the functions of adolescent parties in today's culture. It is reported that parties offers a semi-public environment for early exploration of intimacy, an opportunity for developing sensitivity to one another's feelings. (This type of intimacy

is also described in the *Encyclopedia of Social Work* previously discussed.) According to Fine, et.al., in America today leisure is the primary institution for socializing adolescents into the adult world. The major reason for this is the opportunity for leisure to be structured outside adult control. By adapting the world outside the home, the adolescent is anticipating socialization. This explains the failures of programs structured by adults for youth leisure. To be leisure it must be structured by the individual or youth group.

Recommendations are made for policy development in regards to leisure activities for youth. They describe patterns of adolescent leisure activities and look at and evaluate the connections to other social arenas where youth and adults function. It is stated that policy makers must be aware that the criteria for developing positive leisure activities are both "transient and innocuous" (Feldman & Elliot, 1990. p. 234). It is strongly stated that we owe adolescents "the presumption of trust" and warning is given for us not to view them as a social problem, because in fact they rarely are.

In Feldman & Elliot's book, a breakdown of adolescent's time is given. Leisure activities account for 40% of the typical day, 29% with production, and 31% on maintenance. Daily routines and preferred leisure activities of adolescents are also reported in the book *Being Adolescent: Conflict and Growth in the Teenage Years* by Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi and Reed Larson.

That research reveals some averages concerning waking time allocation of the group of teens studied. The average school day essentially broke down into three components. Home involved 41% the day. The time spent at home is typically spent

with either family, maintenance activities such as eating, napping, and grooming, or alone in the adolescent's bedroom. School accounted for another 32% of the day. This third is divided between two-thirds in class and one-third in the "student sub-culture." This is time in between classes in the halls, cafeteria, or other free time. The other 27% was described as time spent in public--work, friends, parks, automobile, and church.

Another way the teenager's day was broken down by the researchers was as unstructured (time alone), structured (by goals of family or school), and socialization (dependent on relationship with friends). Csikszentmihalyi and Larson note that the teens report feeling the most happy and alert with friends. They point out that this is also the time parents and teachers become suspicious and most distrusting. It is extremely important to recognize this contradiction. We want our children to become independent, but when they are in groups with peers experiencing some of the highly important emotions, as well as developing skills of socialization, adults become nervous and suspicious. Society's lack of trust in the adolescent is again expressed in this book. These authors see this as an important message in our contemporary culture that influences much of the way we view adolescents.

This distrust of youth is characterized by an attitude that views a group of adolescents as a dangerous gang. Certainly the fear of teen violence is legitimate. However, the act of congregating, in and of itself, does not have to result in violent or delinquent acts. The need for informal gatherings to learn more about themselves and others is fundamental to development of the self and development of society. Reaction on the part of the adult world has been to prevent opportunities for adolescents to gather.

The result is the obstruction of peer relationships and all too often gatherings must occur in hidden or prohibited locations.

Another opportunity for negentropic experiences for adolescents occurs while engaged in arts, music, or sports. The amount of time spent engaged in art or music differed by class association. Upper middle class adolescents spent 3.5 hours per week involved in art or music versus 1.7 hours per week for those in the lower middle class segment of the community. Most important was the finding that art, music, and sport activities were the three most intrinsically motivated activities. This is noteworthy because all three involve rules and challenges. Skill levels must be developed through practice and discipline that go beyond the ego-centric impulses of childhood. These activities that engage adolescents in cultural systems are not destructive or anti-societal, but rather are positive for adolescent growth. Nowhere in the studies did drugs, sex, or random conversation motivate these adolescents more than art, music, and sports.

The authors point out that this presents the possibility that the socializing goals of the adult world are not in conflict with the spontaneous goals of adolescents. Therefore the obvious question--why are these activities, that are spontaneous for adolescents, not consuming a greater portion of their daily activities?

Equally interesting but unfortunate are the results from this report on the dramatic entropic feelings associated with most of the time spent in class. There are drastic differences reported in feelings during class and between classes. This contrast has two important elements. First, the mood change that is occurring on a continual periodic basis in each school day is interruptive. The adolescent is continually walking in and out

of contexts that are under adult control. This creates a emotional roller coaster and interrupts concentration and "flow". The contrast of the adolescents world in the halls to the adult world of control in the classroom requires continual mental adjustment. With time available to adolescents for socialization is often only during school, much contact and catch up must be crammed into that short time in between classes. With this in mind, the primary mind set for many adolescents may be structuring that small amount of time in between classes to make it the most efficient for their goal of socialization. It is no wonder that much daydreaming goes on instead of concentration on the class work being presented.

By not providing a time and structure for adolescents to devote to peer relationships we are forcing them to divert their attention in two opposing directions during school. This presents an even more challenging circumstance for the teachers to overcome in capturing the attention of the students and gaining enthusiastic involvement. The theme of conflict and contradiction is ubiquitous in the study of the adolescent world. According to Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, the following contradictions are inherent in the daily life of an American adolescent.

1. Educational constraints vs. peer contact creates a circumstance of entropy for most adolescents.
2. Establishing and achieving one's own goals creates self-identity vs. goals of society and parents which are set to socialize adolescents.
3. Paradox of today's family is that for them to be together they must often leave home for commercial entertainment or vacation trips.

4. Higher grades usually correspond to less peer involvement.
5. Organized sports vs. informal sports; the later offers more immediate negentropic experiences while organized sports prepares them better for future negentropic experiences.
6. Peer relationships offer openness, freedom, and positive feedback. However, a potential problem exists without adult structure of ground rules--outcomes of interaction can get out of hand.
7. Allocation of time to friends vs. family appears to have influence on the future. Friends provide more immediate rewards but difficulties in the future may occur if skills for adapting to social structures have not been developed. (Note: in some cases friends or peer groups may be the only structure available to youth for support.) A second problem from allocation of time to peer groups is that without adult feedback systems to regulate the peer group, deviant behavior often develops.
8. To learn how to be alone (to feel comfortable with ourselves when we are alone), we need to time in the company of others to test and validate our actions and feelings. Alternating between integration and differentiation is required to develop individualization. We need to get feedback to learn how to give feedback to ourselves. Adult informal input on focused structured topics is a particular help in gaining feedback and learning how to give constructive feedback.

Leisure in the life of the adolescent consumes a great deal of their waking time; no wonder the manner in which that time is spent is of such great concern to those studying the adolescent. Another approach to understanding the importance of leisure in the adolescent's life is reflected in extra-curricular activities of students.

A study on the link between extra-curricular activities and effects on success and happiness later in life, by Maureen Glancy in her doctoral thesis, reveals some interesting associations. Extra-curricular membership was found to have a link with success in mid-life for men, but in women often resulted in a lower level of happiness in mid-life. The author notes that the findings in respect to women are highly suspect due to the unclear data available as to their reasons for membership in the activities. For men, the correlation between accomplishment and occupational status with membership in extracurricular activities proved significant. However, the researcher reports no significant correlation, positive or negative, between mid-life satisfaction in men and membership in adolescent activities. It was also shown that extracurricular activities confined to athletics may have a detrimental effect on continuing education for men.

The finding of the differences in reported life happiness between men and women is disturbing to Glancy. One explanation that she offers for this difference is the different roles that the men and women took on in their lives appropriate to the culture of the time. This study was begun in 1947, a time when the roles for women upon leaving college were limited. The author expressed the theory that the organization of the sport activities for men and women were similar in that they intended to prepare these students for attaining goals, a quality important to the American definition of success through

occupational status and accomplishment. The author suggests that the women, knowing their limited role upon graduation, may have been using the activities for other goal achievement.

The goal may have been to engage in athletic activities so as to open more social contacts that would better facilitate the goal of finding a husband. Once accomplishing this goal, they left school earlier without reaching their full potential. This left these individuals unsatisfied later in life. The author of this thesis feels there may be another explanation for the lack of satisfaction and happiness later in life by these females who had been involved in school athletics. It may be more linked to a legitimate frustration with the skills and rewards involved with the role of housewife not being congruent with the skills they had been taught through the athletic experience. These women would have experienced the thrills of "flow" that can be attained in athletics and is not available in the experiences of a housewife's typical duties and chores. This awareness of the exhilaration that they had once experienced may have made the role of housewife less satisfying, and therefore the women less happy in their life tasks.

In an Australian study the relationship between adolescent's participation in leisure activities is compared to their interest levels in those activities. One purpose of this study was to uncover predictors for participation of individuals in various activities. Another purpose was to determine if a relationship existed between participation and levels of interest in an activity. If interest existed but there was no participation, what reasons existed for lack of participation.

The most important predictor for level of participation in an activity was gender. Males were shown to have more interest and more participation in sports than their female counterparts. Other predictors had varying degrees of influence, dependent on the area of activity being addressed. The second finding proved very interesting. A correlation was uncovered between interest and actual participation. The respondents demonstrated a high indication that if opportunities for their preferred activities were available and if time were allotted, they would choose to participate. The final conclusion drawn is that ". . . what an adolescent does is largely determined by his or her sex and what he or she is interested in doing is determined by the availability of suitable resources." (Garton, 1991. p.320).

Other literature focused on adolescent leisure time is found in parks and recreation publications. This literature draws on the areas of environmental design, social science and public administration in developing youth programs. The goal is to provide opportunities for leisure by drawing on knowledge and techniques from human services and environmental management systems (Gold, 1980). Through this integration of various fields new programs are showing up that provide activities for teenagers with specific concerns. In a recent publication of *Parks and Recreation* magazine (March, 1992) several stories are featured that address bringing recreation to "at-risk" kids of the inner cities, linking the elderly and teenagers through recreation programs and a role for recreation in gang intervention.

Youth Employment

Employment opportunities for youth appear to be influenced by economic status in our society today. In Chapter Nine of Feldman & Elliott's book *At The Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*, Fine, Mortimer, and Robert's review of youth employment research indicates that the middle-class are the most employed group of adolescents. The higher class adolescent may start earlier but employment is not as ubiquitous as in the middle-class. They also report that adolescents from the lower socioeconomic strata, when they do find employment, work longer hours. Across the board older boys work longer hours than younger boys. There are certain advantages, as well as some disadvantages, with employment during adolescence. The most common negative to employment is that most of the jobs that youth find are not aiding youth in exploring either their identities or special interests. Typically the jobs are simple repetitive tasks in fast food restaurants or other menial chores. Therefore, actual job skills are seldom a direct benefit.

There are many other rewards for the adolescent, however. The employment environment often counteracts the isolation in the often artificial world of school (Feldman, 1990.). Employment also offers youth exposure to mature adults, increases knowledge and appreciation of both work and money, and tends to generate appreciation of education, high occupational aspirations, and positive work values. The authors state that many times the positive aspects of employment are often stressed and the positive attributes of youth employment are a bit overstated. They note the popular belief in the advantages of youth employment are a derivative of advantages felt by youth of the great

depression. The perception of self-confidence and feeling of accomplishment associated with those youth being able to provide additional income to the family was at the root of the satisfaction in the youth employment of the great depression. The authors discouragingly point out that much of the money gained in employment today is used for self-indulgent consumerism. They seem to feel the only true benefit of youth employment is the increased control the individual experiences over his time in some of the less supervised jobs. It is also noted that in only a few instances is the employment experience itself challenging.

The reality of mature adult relationships as a benefit gained through youth employment is also considered by these authors to be minimal in most youth employment experiences. They feel that most part-time jobs leave the youth alone to either clean up or operate a small business. Research also reveals that early employment in adolescence is linked with lower achievement later, particularly when employment must interfere with extra-curricular activities and schoolwork. Two findings of adolescent youth employment studies revealed that long work hours had a negative affect on grades for sophomores and juniors but not for seniors. One reference study by Feldman reports that working in menial tasks at this age can result in negative attitudes toward opportunities for the future.

In the Zimmerman and Maton study on life-style and substance abuse reference is made to limitations in school performance as a result of working. This study goes so far as to say that working while attending school may actually hinder the benefits available from school. They cite three factors that may contribute to this finding: exposure to older co-workers who have bad influencing behaviors; additional stress due

to working that may result in increase in substance abuse as a coping mechanism; the added funds made available can be used to purchase alcohol (Zimmerman & Maton, 1992). They also refer to other studies that have shown a higher incidence of cigarette and marijuana use by those students who were working while attending high school. The authors call for more research into the links between working and substance abuse.

In a study done to determine effects on self-esteem of the developing adolescent the two variables of activity participation and working were considered in their relationship to self-esteem. The results showed that for the working variable there was no relationship for the boys studied, but surprisingly showed a negative relationship for the girls studied. This was explained not as a cause and effect relationship of work causing lower self-esteem, but more possibly as a indication of the self-esteem of the girls seeking employment. It is suggested the girl's self-esteem may have been lower to begin with and through work they were seeking to bolster it.

Mass Media

It has already been noted in this thesis that Gary Cross has written that leisure in this country is almost synonymous with consumption. A large part of the desire for consumption is promoted through the mass media. Mass media includes TV, radio, newspaper, magazines, film, and recorded materials such as records, CDs, and videos. Cross makes the point that in order to keep our economy viable the leisure-consumption relationship is fundamental, and it is these economic forces that were the spur behind the commercialization of leisure. The leisure market in the economy of the U. S. is big

business. One of the largest markets is youth. It has been noted that money earned in youth employment is generally not earmarked for contributing to the family economy, but instead money for "self indulgent consumerism." Therefore, in this area alone the mass media plays a very important role in the adolescent culture.

In addition to the recognition of the mass media of the adolescent market, the mass media plays another important role in the world of the adolescent. In Feldman's book the relationship between adolescents and the mass media is explored. The authors state that mass media does, in fact, play a formative role in adolescent's lives. They criticize the research done because it tells us very little of the media's influence and mainly focuses on statistics of exposure.

Statistically, it is reported that the average adolescent spends one-third of his/her life with one or another form of mass media, as either a primary or background focus. TV alone has an average viewing time at approximately 2-4 hours per day. Viewing times peak in early adolescence and decrease in later adolescence as social and school demands pick up. Other forms of media gain in usage as adolescents approach their senior year in high school.

Families do influence media selection, as does social-economic class. Also found as an influence in the amount of TV watched was gender and race. It was reported that African-American females in early adolescence reported more TV watching than any other age/gender/race group.

Empirical research has not shown what influences occur from media exposure, but it has shown that learning does occur from mass media. One reason given for lack of

understanding of the influences of mass media is that the influences are not in isolation. That is, learning that does occur is dependent on the individual and their particular experiences.

One research compilation, *Mass Communications and Youth: Some Current Perspectives* edited by Gerald Kline and Peter Chase, attempts to uncover effects of listening to rock music. However, several studies have resulted in no evidence that either behavior or attitudes were affected by listening. As a matter of fact, most listeners were reported not to have been aware of the messages even in some of the "hit" protest songs of the era. Again it was found that what messages are received by youth are framed by the perceptions of the peer group in which the adolescent may belong.

This book also explores a variety of influences media may have on youth consumerism. It states that there is little evidence for anything other than parental influence in the consumer learning process of children. There was established a link between attitude formation, as opposed to attitude change, attributed to mass communication affects. A paper by Scott Ward and Daniel Wackman indicates that younger adolescents are influenced socially by the advertisements on TV. This means they are gaining information on what type of people use certain products. It was also found that young viewers were prompted by the commercials to discuss consumption practices with their parents. Recall of specific commercials seemed to be most dependent on intelligence of the individual followed by hours of exposure to TV.

Materialism was also measured in this study. By materialism the researchers mean the amount of impact the commercials have on influencing the viewer that material goods

and money are required for happiness. The related variables for influence on attitudes toward materialism were related to the reasons for watching TV, either to gain knowledge on social orientation or specific consumption reasons for watching. These were then influenced by how much money the adolescent had available (positive relationship) and the intelligence level of the individual (negative relationship). In other words, materialism and TV watching are also dependent on individual characteristics.

The authors conclude that simple exposure to commercials does not completely influence buying behavior. Commercials affect our perceptions of what type people purchase what product, but they do not directly affect our need or desire to purchase a product. The actual purchase decision is influenced by cultural inputs--spontaneous field controls from parents and peers. The point is made that consumerism is not only a stimulated response to commercialism but a social learning process. Ward and Wackman state that we should think of media advertising as ". . . shaping content and form of interpersonal perceptions and communication , rather than considering the media as dispensers of product information." (Kline, 1971. p.123)

Another area of investigation involves Mass media and its role in forming sex values of the adolescent. In A. Odesuo Alali's (Ed.) book *Mass Media Sex and Adolescent Values* a compilation of research is briefly outlined to provide a bibliographic reference to the literature in this area. Research in this area spans topics such as sex-role portrayals, sex curriculums, attitudes and values formed by the media, and information on adolescent knowledge of contraception, pregnancy, and health.

Environmental Influences on the Adolescent

In the book *Neighborhood and Community Environment*, the editors, I. Altman and A. Wandersman have compiled a series of writings concerning various aspects of neighborhood and community within our current culture. Early on, Leanne Rivlin states that the home and neighborhood environment give children their very first and powerful context for "place-identity development" (p.10). As the child ages, expansion of the immediate neighborhood may be possible. As it is explored by the child, the neighborhood provides input that will be used in the development of the self. Depending on the particular conditions and circumstances, the views of the self and the world will be affected by the specific characteristics of the neighborhood. The author states that the neighborhood is a part of the social, emotional, and cognitive experiences of the child. This results in a long-term association to the place, as well as the home, and later in life these associations bond with the people we knew to form our sense of community.

Another area explored in Sally Engle Merry's chapter in Altman and Wandersman's book *Neighborhood and Community Environment* points out the significance of planning the physical environment in the creation or prevention of a social dynamics. This essay states that through design social networks and social systems can be created in ". . . which people feel responsible for the territory in which they live and will act collectively to defend it . . ." (p. 40). Spatial design--conscious or unconscious--will influence social dynamics. Public spaces can induce a sense of protection or responsibility through their design. Defendable space is one such result. This is public space that can be viewed as personal territory by users if it has certain qualities. It is

claimed that while design must solve specific functional requirements it can also be charged with allowing for social dynamics. The point remains that the design of a space will have an impact, positive or negatively, on behavior(s) in that space, and therefore must be consciously considered.

Important to note is Merry's opinion that cities are influenced by informal social controls resulting from the personal relationships within the mosaic of the small communities that make up that city. The relationships that are possible within these small communities are dependent on people's ability to overcome their various differences and form a sense of self as a group.

As is discussed at length in this thesis in the section dealing with adolescent development, the development of self is the fundamental task of adolescence. Here, in these essays on neighborhood and community, we see the variation of inputs that the developing self has because of the community and its resources. The individual's identity is developed by both experiences and links to the collective identity of the community from which one emerges. The linking an individual acknowledges or takes on from his/her community may well affect the level of involvement that individual will maintain with his/her community in the future.

The linking mechanism between the individual and its community may take on many forms. The decision to remain in a community or return to a community is an indication of the accuracy with which that community reflects the self-place identity. A decision to move away or not return may reflect the image that a person holds of themselves as being quite different from their early environment. Organized community

action may actually reflect the desire of the residents to change or modify the image of their community as they do not feel it is reflective of themselves.

It is the neighborhood and the reflected values that so much impact the developing self. The community reflects the culture indigenous to its residents. Neighborhoods that have developed a strong sense of community and self make very strong efforts for their preservation. Neighborhoods without a sense of community look longingly at those communities where it exists. After this description of strong community definitions Merry explores some of the theories of neighborhood design that grew out of the early moves to suburban development in this country.

The premise and influence of Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit are explained. The changes in the economy and technology of the post-depression world are held responsible, in large part, for the rejection of the neighborhood unit put forth by Perry. It was professed by many, such as Steiner and Wirth specifically, that neighborhood ideals could only be saved at the expense of technology and progress. The modern city was seen as the antithesis of neighborhood; it was considered an artificial construct in the new world. The emphasis of planners and policy makers should be directed toward regional planning issues. Planning should come from the macro in, not from the micro out.

Neighborhood planning was only reconsidered after critics such as Jane Jacobs and Herbert Gans, in the 1960's, began to criticize the nature and character of neighborhood planning that was occurring as a result of urban renewal. Calls for consideration of the present residents of urban neighborhoods were voiced. Merry contends, however, that

the focus on neighborhood design has not been altogether effective due to the lack of design skills of planners and policy makers. Design, neighborhood satisfaction, and behavior modification have not been integrated in the development of neighborhoods in the U. S. In particular, architectural design influences on neighborhoods has been neglected.

The idea of the embarkation of a "post-urban era" is described as ". . . cities of lower densities, altered functions, and transitory populations . . ." (p. 253) emerging with their designs based on resident's perceptions. The main issue Merry is calling for is for us to dispel our preconceptions of urban and suburban models for neighborhood and begin looking at community development in neighborhood--issues such as lifestyle and scale that will redefine our neighborhoods in terms of the community they need to offer. The increased scale of our world that we are instantly connected to via communication systems and the decrease in scale of the nuclear family, from an extended large family of a century ago to single parent households that are so prevalent today, will all affect the evolving definition of community, and in turn, neighborhood. Increases in leisure time and its orientation to the local and home environment also hold substantial potential for the communities of the future.

In reflecting on the relationship of these essays and this thesis, it is important to recognize the impact this developing community ideal will have on the development of self-identity. This is particularly important in respect to adolescents as they form their definitions of self, and will, in turn, define future communities.

A study by Sanford Gaster investigating children in urban settings and their "access to neighborhood", through historic/empirical research, uncovered the changes in the manner children have used their neighborhoods from 1915 to 1976. Three subsets of consecutive generations were analyzed within that period. The following five criteria were compared and traced with the following results:

1. Age at which one was first "let out without supervision" showed a significant trend. An increase in age over the time period was reported.

2. The number (variety) of neighborhood sites visited by the children within each subset was compared on several levels. The greatest number of sites were accessed by the group in the middle subset. These children appear to have had the best of both worlds. This was attributed to the number of unattended lots available for free play as well as the newly created parks and activities of FDR-New Deal programs. Another comparison of site-visited data was according to age group within the subsets. It was reported that children under 8 in the most recent subset had the least range in territory away from the immediate home. This restriction in opportunity had increased steadily for this age group over the time period. The group of children ages 11-13, across all three subsets, maintained the highest number of sites visited. The highest number of sites visited by this age group, compared across generations, revealed the middle generation had almost twice the number of sites visited as the other two generations. The age group including 14-16 year olds saw a decline in number of sites visited. This was thought to reflect the desire of this age group to engage in activities that are less in the exploration realm and more of a settled socializing nature. Hang-outs were seen as popular sites

visited. School yards seemed to provide safe and accessible sites for this group across the generations.

3. Obstacles and barriers were examined in this study, as well. In the first generation studied, the prominent obstacles to variety of sites were physical or environmental barriers--streams, woods, traffic, or other physical constraints. In the second generational group the environmental barriers were mentioned, but also fears and rules or adult restrictions to access were reported. In the third generational group fears, rules, and other restrictions were expanded to inhibit access to the neighborhood sites.

4. Of particular interest was the reverse in restrictions across generations by parents. Parents were noted as putting fewer and fewer restrictions on the children. The only restrictions noted were in reference to caution over physical barriers. The researchers point out that the dangers of gangs were not pointed out to the children by parents.

5. Participation in professionally organized activities has increased dramatically over the period studied. In the first group virtually no organized activities were reported outside of schoolyard adult supervision. In the third group numerous planned activities are reported.

The conclusion the report draws is that over the century, as a result of an intention to protect children, we have taken away their opportunities to explore.

It is this desire to explore and engage in uncontrolled play that Kevin Lynch suggests creates the impact that the outdoors holds in our childhood memories. Kevin Lynch in his chapter on *Spatial World of the Child* in the book *The Child in the City*:

Changes and Challenges edited by Michelson, et. al. reveals the importance of natural images in the writings of numerous graduate students over his tenure in education. He found that the most often referred to element was the outdoor ground surface. In another research study done on the environmental perceptions of youth, adults recalled ". . . the most significant place of their childhood was with the outdoors." (Sebba, 1991. p.395).

It is obvious that the outdoor environment of the child is extremely important. Lynch also speaks of the importance of the outdoors in the early adolescent's environment. For urban youth the importance of "circulation space" was noted because it was under adult control yet legal for the adolescent to be there and they could act with freedom.

Environment and Culture

In reviewing the literature available concerning environment and culture, studies and writings referred to the general population and not to specifics of a particular group of individuals. Adolescents are members of the general population and therefore the following information applies to their concerns as members of the larger culture. In the book *Suburbia Re-examined*, edited by Barbara Kelly, several essays provide an overview of the phenomenon of suburbia in our culture. Several of the essays refer to suburbia's lack of community. In one of these essays, *The Elusive Soul of the Suburbs: An Enquiry into Contemporary Political Culture*, Philip Nicholson refers to the people of suburbia who have achieved the "American dream" as reclusive and non-community oriented. Nicholson asserts that in suburbia we have put aside social fundamentals and democratic ideals. He maintains that any discontent is turned in-ward via self-help programs. The

intent is to achieve personal fulfillment, and as such the activities reflect that goal. Nicholson illustrates this point with reference to the importance of " . . . exercise, cults, faith, diets, psychotherapies." (Kelly, 1989. p. 208).

The recurrent theme is that people in suburbia are more a group of individuals than a community. Separate paths have brought them to these "life-style enclaves". That is the name Robert Meeker used in his chapter *A More Urban Fabric*, in the book *Suburbia Re-examined*, to refer to the subdivisions which he says are not really neighborhoods. Mr. Meeker puts forth a challenge to create a sense of place that would contribute to meaning and a cultural identity.

The point is made throughout Kelly's book that the history of suburban development and suburban governments (designed to remain independent of the metropolitan governments) has created the current lack of cultural identity and cohesion. Originally the function of the suburbs as a retreat from the city worked because the city was still an integral part of everyday life. But as we have migrated away from our cities, emotionally and physically, we have not replaced or created anew the institutions that were good in the city.

How a city can be classified as good is the subject of the book *The Good City* which was referenced earlier in this thesis. Further depth into its philosophies is appropriate as a part of this literature review. This book initially sets a historical frame of reference in which to view the city. It makes the point that the major difference between the modern city and the ancient city is the sense of place within the whole experienced by its citizens. When cities were physically smaller it was possible to

visually see the whole of the city, but the modern city is far too large to visually see from within. We are only able to maintain an image of the city as an accumulation of the parts with which we are familiar. Whether as a visitor or as a resident, it is those elements with which we have a relationship that become our sense of that city.

We are, therefore, familiar with many elements in a city. Haworth refers to these elements as institutions. The diversity, extent of development, availability, and quality of institutions that a city has to offer will influence the quality of an individual's life. So it is the institutions that we both create and in turn are familiar with that define our cities, give us a cultural identity, and influence our quality of life.

Institutions create the opportunities but they also require responsibility. If the structure of the institutions precludes community and fosters only "personal gain and personal comfort" (p.39) the quality available is diminished and a new structure must be sought. It is wrong to assume that institutions must remain as they are. Institutions are created by individuals to serve the community and if they are not functioning or functioning improperly then they must be changed. Haworth describes this process as a social order that is so "natural that it is self-maintaining" (p. 46). Just as nature is adaptive to evolution's needs and constraints, so must we allow our institutions to be sympathetic to changes in our society.

What is important to recognize, in the individual/society relationship, is the interdependency of the two. The individual gathers together with others and creates society. The quality of the life within that society is dependent on the opportunities afforded the individual. The opportunities are provided by the institutions created by the

individuals. The measure of the equitableness of the society is a function of the number of individuals able to partake of the institutions. The satisfaction of the individuals is measured by their ability to gain self-realization. The founders of this country stated this ideal simply as the pursuit of happiness.

This ideal of the pursuit of happiness has unfortunately been misunderstood by our society as being only the individual's concern. The interdependency of the individual and society in providing the opportunities for the pursuit of happiness is sometimes forgotten. It is this confusion, and what some interpret a contradiction, that has lead to the lack of construction of the institutions for suburbia that are needed to maintain a sense of self within the whole.

In Volume 4 of the series, *Human Behavior and Environment*, the relationship between environmental factors and culture are explored. This book combines a series of essays that further describe the influences of the environment on human behavior and discusses the relationship to culture. Amos Rapoport, professor of Architecture at the University of Wisconsin and accomplished architectural and behavioral critic, contributes both as an author and editor to this volume. Rapoport describes culture's role, in both defining a group of people and the people's role of enculturing the members of their group. The result is a cultural influence on the viewing and shaping of their world. The "world" of a culture can be read and interpreted by the observer to better understand its inhabitants.

The world is a designed environment influenced by the culture. Rapoport defines environment as a ". . . series of relationships between things and things, things and

people, and people and people. These relationships are orderly, ie., they have a pattern and a structure. . . " (p. 11). There are four things that Rapoport tells us are being organized when environments are designed. They are **space, meaning, communication, and time.**

Space is organized at all scales reflective of the activities, values, and purpose of groups or individuals. It is the,

" . . . three-dimensional extension of the world around us, the intervals, distances and relationships between people and people, people and things, and things and things. Space organization is, then , the way in which these separations occur and is central in understanding, analyzing, and comparing built environments." (p. 11)

Rapoport emphasizes the difference between space and shape. Shape is the material that gives space meaning.

Therefore shape is **meaning** and space the organization of meaning. He is clear that space is more important than shape in the designing of the environment. People are part of the shape of the environment and since they often do not actually affect the placement of fixed shape or the development of space their individual input is expressed in their influences over their shape (dress, hair, kinesics, and other non-verbal behaviors).

Space and meaning then identify cues of identity and behavior and therefore create **communication**. This is extremely important to culture because it makes environmental relations comprehensible. The relationship between space and meaning not only creates communication it also influences the organization of communication.

Time is then the last organizing element and may be viewed in two respects. First, consider scale in understanding how we structure time. In large-scale we have a structuring influence through time, viewed as either a linear flow or as a cyclical

occurrence. In the small-scale, the way time units are broken down, and to what level, influences how we structure our time. Second, consider rhythms in how we structure time--how fast or slow the pace of the day, week, or year is set.

Rapoport draws the four elements together by describing their influence on each other. The way we structure space and time will structure communication and is accomplished in part through meaning. He in turn uses this technique to conceptualize and eventually compare various cultures.

It is the choices, in respect to these elements, that generate the laws, that in turn define the culture, and makes one recognizable from another. The result is style. It is the link between culture and the designing of the environment that results in the life-style of that culture: their family structure, social organization, cognitive schema, symbols, rituals and occasions. When occasions are linked with settings the settings take on physical cues for behavior and thus influence the behavior of the people. The built environment provides the setting for the occasion and resultant activities. Activities are a key point because they can be related to physical settings. Rapoport gives four components to analyze activities. They are: the activity (how and where it is done), peripheral activities (which become part of the activity system), and symbols and meaning of the activity.

The appropriateness of the environment to accommodate the activities of a culture is determined by the designer of the environment. The designer makes the physical world more suitable to support the life-styles and activities of people. An important question is raised: Does the environment then determine human behavior? Rapoport presents the

view that the environment is the setting for human behavior, and as such it can inhibit or facilitate human behavior by constraining choices of activities or acting as a catalyst for certain behaviors. But neither of these influences attempt to generate a type of behavior. The instigation of behavior is within the individual.

Within this framework of logic, Rapoport states that blocking of certain behaviors is possible and those members of the society that are either highly vulnerable or at periods of high stress may be critically affected by these inhibiting factors. His examples include the elderly and children, as well as institutions or organizations. In effect, Rapoport is saying that a poorly designed environment may have detrimental effects on certain individuals or groups within the culture. He makes the point that all people in situations involving stress, whether related to physical, mental, or cultural stresses, have a common reduced ability to cope, so that any increases in stress may become worse by having the additional difficulties of overcoming a non-supportive environment.

This logic leads Rapoport to conclude that designing for culture is desirable. He also states that since cultures survive by being enculturated, child-rearing is an important aspect of life-style, home selection, and conflict resolution. The particulars of the culture and its child-rearing practices must be considered in creating the supporting environments that will house children and their caretakers. Rapoport gives a list of steps necessary to accommodate life-style in the built environment.

1. Establish the group's life-style, preferences, images, space, and time.
2. Uncover communication and privacy needs, mechanisms, and defenses employed by the group.

3. Decipher symbols of status: environmental meaning, methods of establishing social identity.
4. Make cognizant activity systems and their idiosyncracies, as well as their relation in space and time, territory, and behavior.
5. Develop interrelatedness of social organizations, relations, and networks to the environment, movement, timing and settings. (Rapport, 1980. p. 32).

The most important elements of the culture system must be the most supported and longest lasting. The activities that have subordinate and symbolic functions must also be supported. Spatial organizations of neighborhoods should be related to the social stricture and organization, as well as to the elements of environmental design of space, time, communication, and meaning. The core elements of the culture must be uncovered and accommodated by the environment if the culture is to be supported by its environment. Therefore, a valid question in our culture is: What are the core elements in respect to the development of our adolescents and how can they be accommodated?

CHAPTER THREE

Goals, Objectives, Tasks, and Conflicts of Adolescence

Experts agree that the stage of growth known as adolescence involves accelerated development in four major areas. Those include physical development, emotional development, psychological (thinking ability) development, and moral development (Feldman, Schave, Manaster, Piaget, Erikson).

Physical developmental changes occur most often between the ages 11 and 15. They include maturation of the reproductive system, increases in body size, and increases in muscular strength.

Emotional changes include a new self awareness. The adolescent becomes conscious of his/her developing physical body, sexuality, and the perceived impact on others. These emotional changes, occurring as a part of normal development, are reflected in the importance of the peer group and their opinions, the emergence of the "imaginary audience" that many researchers recognize as a phenomenon associated with early adolescence, and the often self-consumed behavior of adolescents.

Psychologically the adolescent is changing in thinking ability. The adolescent's thinking is moving from what many psychologists refer to as operational thinking (object based) to formal thinking (abstract based). Due to these changes new skills and abilities are emerging in educational and recreational activities. This change, as with all other changes, progresses at an individual rate to a level unique to that individual. Although

genetic characteristics are involved that will influence the level reached and the rate at which it is reached, environmental conditions and experiences do have important impacts.

Moral development is the last area of dramatic change associated with adolescent development. This change is related to the psychological changes that are occurring as well as the particular circumstances of the environment. The adolescent is moving from a morality that is authority based with realism as its arena. The child restricts his/her behavior in conformance to direct controls. According to Dahl and Lindblom direct controls are an action taken by authority to restrict or modify another's behavior. Direct controls are fixed external reactions to an act. According to Piaget the child has moral rules with fixed external characteristics (Manaster, 1977). In other words the child has a simplistic black and white morality, with no concept of relativity. This is a result of the highly object-based thinking of the child. The change from object to abstract thinking during adolescence allows for behavior regulating forces to move from direct controls to "spontaneous field controls" (a term coined by Dahl & Lindblom, 1963. p. 96). Generally, spontaneous field controls refer to cultural influences on behavior. These are subtle influences and indirect. They involve intrinsic modifications of one's behavior in an attempt to conform to personally perceived directives from one's environment. They are subtle and representative of our desire to fit in with the crowd.

This developmental change reverberates in the individual's capacity to interact in group cooperation. With this new capability, a moral code can be developed called "mutual respect." The rules of respect result from autonomous relations with others, respective of spontaneous field controls. This is different from the child, who is subject

to a fixed set of rules, enforced by direct controls. The socialization of a child ". . . is in great part, to teach him to submit readily to spontaneous field controls." (Dahl and Lindblom, 1963. p.103).

These four areas of physical, emotional, psychological, and moral development are emerging simultaneously at individual rates. There is more and more evidence in recent research that the adolescent period is composed of distinct phases. Early, proper, and late are the adjectives used by most scholars (see Chapter One for specific definitions). In **early** adolescence developmental changes are occurring at highly accelerated rates, only comparable to the first two years of life. Individual levels will be achieved over a period of time of approximately two years at the accelerated rate, then development will continue at a rate associated with normal growth patterns.

In this thesis our focus is **early** adolescence. It is during this phase that the most radical changes take place to create conflict and turmoil, leaving individuals most vulnerable. It is also a time when individuals are most restricted in controlling their own environment. This combination of vulnerability and immobility, requires special attention by all those involved in designing the adolescent environment.

Goals

Before we can consider the adolescent environment we must understand the adolescent. To accomplish this, identification of certain factors associated with the changes of adolescence is needed. Change without goals is chaos. The fact that adolescence is a time of tremendous change means goals must be established. The goals

of adolescent change are established through a combination of influences dependent on nature and culture. Nature dictates the goals of physical and sexual maturity to provide pro-creation and maintenance of the species. Culture dictates the educational, professional, economic, and social goals required for the continuation of society. The family selects from cultural goals to dictate specific family goals and legacy. To a large extent, the individual synthesizes from the various goals to form a self-defined agenda for growth.

Although individual characteristics and circumstances play an important role in defining personal goals, objectives, and tasks, there are universal standards, influenced by nature and culture, that can be named as goals of adolescence. Our culture demands the accomplishment of these goals as 'rites of passage' to adulthood. It is important to identify these goals and the tasks, if we are to facilitate their attainment.

A compilation of goals was derived from various sources (see literature review and bibliography). This knowledge was synthesized to generate a catalog of goals that can be grouped into three categories--the **individual**, the **family**, and the **community**. These three units are structures in our society that are at once demanding and responsible for aiding in the accomplishment of these goals. The goals established for the adolescent to achieve the American "ideal" of adulthood are:

Individual Goals

Physical

1. Physical growth.
2. Sexual maturity with a resultant positive, realistic image of one's body and sexuality.
3. Knowledge and application of health in one's life-style.

Psycho-social

1. Establish life tasks that provide negentropic experiences.
2. Learn skills necessary for establishing and maintaining intimate relationships.
3. Be autonomous in one's physical, economic and emotional well-being.
4. Know one's self; forge a self identity based on past, present, and future perceptions.

Family Goals

1. Continue the family heritage.
2. Develop values and morals respected by the family.
3. Remain domestically dependent until the appropriate time to assume a productive role in the economy.
4. Achieve independence.

Community Goals

1. Prepare to be an economically productive member of society.
2. Maintain domestic dependency while seeking various experiences.
3. Develop civic responsibility.
4. Create an autonomous nuclear family responsible for physical, emotional, and economic well-being.

Objectives

In order to accomplish the goals outlined above, specific objectives must be identified. These objectives clearly, are not all-encompassing. Rather, these objectives assume an ecologically sound environment. They do not address unusual conditions, accidents, or specific disorders for either adolescents or their environment. Physical development occurs at individual rates for each person. The physical changes occur to a certain level left unattended, but to realize full positive development individual effort must be applied. Muscular development needs to be enhanced through proper exercise.

Good health can be realized only with proper eating and living habits. During adolescence many habits for healthy or unhealthy development are molded.

Smoking, drug, and alcohol abuse are often first experimented with during adolescence. Education has been shown to be an aid in the development of good health habits. Other substance abuse influences are not easily controlled. Several studies have investigated the relationship between parenting styles and substance abuse in adolescents. They have found that healthy attitudes and practices are affected by the parenting style. That is, certain family behaviors may contribute to substance abuse problems and thus require outside supports to compensate. The objective is to understand the implications of unhealthy vs. healthy life-styles and learn how to incorporate them into one's life-style.

As sexual development occurs all four areas of development are involved in the achievement of positive development. Physical changes are accompanied by hormonal, cognitive, and emotional changes during puberty. To develop sexual health, understanding human sexuality and associated physical changes is important. The major objectives of sexual development include knowledge and understanding of sexual physiology, reproduction, and sexuality. The behavior and beliefs one develops toward sex and reproduction are influenced by family, friends, and the personal interpretations an individual places on them. In Chapter Two empirical research concerning these influences was discussed. It is in the best interest of the community and the individual if knowledge and awareness of one's sexuality are based in reality and not fabrications of either superstition, ignorance, or fantasy. Unfortunately many adolescents are without

information, or have been given faulty information about sexual development and reproduction. This leaves them in a state of ignorance that makes them vulnerable to serious problems. One prevalent problem from lack of accurate knowledge and understanding of sex and reproduction is teen pregnancy. Achievement of these objectives may be critical to the health of society.

Emotional development in early adolescence was explored in considerable detail in Chapter Two with the review of the Schaves' book. The major objective during this phase is to move from external supports to internal supports for resolution of conflict and turmoil. This move is accompanied by the development of a sense of the self. A self concept, capable of regulating personal self esteem, is crucial to positive emotional development.

The Schaves, as well as many other experts, define psychological development as interrelated with the emotional development of the individual. The abstract thinking abilities that are developing allow abstract relationships to be drawn. This capability is necessary to perceive sympathy, consequences, potentials, and faults of people and circumstances. The recognition of growth and challenge as prerequisite to the development of a self concept is only possible with the development of abstract thinking. The ability to no longer think of oneself as fragmentary, but as a complex unified whole is integral to the development of a self-concept. However, as much as the "quantum leap" (Schave, 1989. p. xviii) in potential thinking ability occurs, the development of abstract thinking is not automatic. Increased thinking capabilities must be cultivated through striving for and achieving new levels.

The importance of developing a moral code consistent to that of one's culture is essential to successful integration into that culture. Dahl and Lindeblom refer to social indoctrination as both a requirement and result of social organization. Social indoctrination is a major task of adolescence.

A summary of compelling objectives for the adolescent during development are described. This list of objectives has been compiled from the readings done in this research (see Chapter Two and Bibliography) and through reflection on the subject. In cases where direct reference can be made to the source of the objective they have been noted in parenthesis. With the other objectives it was not possible to single out any one source for these objectives and therefore none is noted. Each objective has been assigned to a developmental area. Some objectives may aid in more than one area; these have been assigned to the area they are most directly associated. This is a judgment call and subject to discussion. The code for developmental area is:

P = physical, E = emotional, T = psychological (*thinking ability*), M = moral.

Developmental Area	Objective
P	Maintain a nutritional diet.
P	Avoid substance abuse.
P	Maintain physical fitness.
E	Have a healthy sexual attitude.
E	Develop a positive image of personal sexuality.
E	Develop internal regulation of conflict and turmoil, striving to reduce necessity of external supports (Schave).
E	Feel in control (Schave).

- E Gain independence.
- E Achieve individualization.
- E Achieve confidence in self.
- E Define the sense of self.
- T Expand world outside parental importance (Schave).
- T Gain consciousness of potentials and faults (Schave).
- T Acquire the ability to sympathize (Schave).
- T Think through consequences (Schave).
- T Mentally explore alternatives to problems (Schave).
- T Be cognizant of the pre-requisite of growth and challenge to development of self concept (Schave).
- T Learn and master skills necessary for production in the current economy.
- T Learn how to incorporate leisure, occupational, community, and family involvement as negentropic experiences into one's life-style (Csikszentmihalyi, 1984).
- M Take responsibility for personal sexual activity.
- M Develop and test morals and values in real situations (Shine).
- M Develop an autonomous self-identity that will create the basis for an independent self-sustaining family.
- M Develop a strong positive relationship with parents that can result in long term affection.
- M Learn about one's ability to influence events or circumstances.

Tasks

In order to accomplish objectives, specific tasks must be identified that when completed will aid an individual in meeting the objective. The list of tasks has been compiled in the same fashion as the list of objectives. The same method of reference is used when appropriate.

Task

Learn about nutrition.

Gain access to friends with whom you can share intimacies.

Learn about hazards of smoking and substance abuse.

Explore various physical activities that will develop physical fitness.

Learn about sex, intimacy, and reproduction.

Learn about birth control.

Obtain structure, restrictions, and responsiveness from an authority figure.

Gain adult support and guidance that is appreciative of adolescent problems and promise.

Gain freedom through participation in adult activities to "move out of the children's roles" (Shine, p.12).

Socialize (Shine).

Gain membership in a peer group.

Create one's own environment where retreat from demands and conflict is possible (Shine).

Gain recognition for unique or special qualities personally prized (Schave).

Gain "mirroring" (see chapter two for definition and reference) rewards to reinforce positive self identity (Schave).

Gain exposure to a variety of adults to gain exposure to various backgrounds and philosophies.

Gain exposure to positive role models for "idealization" (see Chapter Two for definition and reference) in adult and peer relationships to better define self ideals (Schave).

Gain exposure to adults in a variety of occupations.

Seek opportunities to debate and express opinions on morals, politics and values.

Test morals and values in real life situations.

Discover and test new skills and abilities (Shine).

Share in making decisions (Shine).

Avoid adult control or dictatorial input (Shine).

Deal with increasingly complex situations.

Engage in short term projects with tangible results (Shine).

It has been stated that in order to accomplish the goals identified, specific developmental objectives must be met. Essentially the completion of these objectives facilitates the adolescent in pursuing those goals. Tasks have also been identified that upon completion will assist the adolescent in accomplishing specific objectives. Again, it can be said that the completion of specific tasks will facilitate the accomplishment of specific objectives. Therefore to achieve positive adolescent development there are goals that must be met, and the meeting of those goals can be facilitated by the accomplishment of certain objectives through the completion of specific tasks.

To determine which tasks aid in accomplishing the objectives that will aid in meeting specific goals, a series of matrixes have been developed. Four matrixes are

shown on four pages that follow. There is one matrix for each of the four developmental areas: physical, emotional, psychological, and moral.

Relationships

Each matrix (see tables 3-1 through 3-4) can be read as a distribution from a specific goal to the facilitating objectives resulting in facilitating tasks. In the top portion of the matrix goals are compared to objectives. This section shows that the accomplishment of a goal is facilitated by the accomplishment of certain objectives. A judgment has been made by the researcher as to the necessity or ability of each objective as a facilitator to accomplishing each goal. The body of the matrix reflects these judgments in a numerical score. Each score can be interpreted through the code below the matrix. Those objectives judged to be required are designated in the matrix as (3) *required facilitator*. It is judged that the completion of some objectives, although not required to accomplish a goal, are needed to aid in accomplishing a goal. These objectives would be designated as (2) *needed facilitator*. Next the completion of certain other objectives have been judged to have potential to aid in the accomplishment of a goal. This level is noted as (1) *potential facilitator*. It is possible for some objectives to actually hinder or prevent the accomplishment of a goal. For these objectives a designation of (-1) *potential detriment* has been assigned. Finally, the completion of some objectives would have no impact on the accomplishment of a specific goal. These are designated as (0) *no relationship*.

From this matrix the accomplishment of certain objectives can be related to how well they facilitate or deter the accomplishment of each goal. Not only positive or negative relationships, but also a relative level that the meeting of that goal will be facilitated by the objective is suggested.

This same method is used in the lower portion of the matrix. Here the accomplishment of objectives are facilitated by the completion of certain tasks. The tasks are now the facilitators and are evaluated in the same manner as the objectives were above.

TABLE 3-1 TASKS FACILITATING PHYSICAL OBJECTIVES & GOALS

G O A L S	PHYSICAL GROWTH	3	3	3
	SEXUAL MATURITY	3	1	1
	HEALTHY LIFE-STYLE	3	3	3
	NEGENTROPIC LIFE TASKS	-1	2	-1
	INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS	0	1	1
	AUTONOMY-PHYS. EMOT. & ECON	1	2	1
	SELF IDENTITY	1	3	1
	ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY	3	1	1
	CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY	0	3	1
	AUTONOMOUS FAMILY	1	3	1
	FAMILY HERITAGE	1	1	1
	FAMILY MORALS & VALUES	1	3,-1	1,-1
	INDEPENDENCE	3	3	2
	OBJECTIVE: PHYSICAL DEVEL.	NUTRITIONAL DIET	AVOID SUBSTANCE ABUSE	PHYSICAL FITNESS
T A S K S	LEARN NUTRITION	3	1	3
	SHARE INTIMACIES	0	1	0
	AVOID SUBSTANCE ABUSE	3	3	3
	PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	1	1	3
	SEX EDUCATION	0	0	0
	BIRTH CONTROL	0	0	1
	AUTHORITY FIGURES	1	1	1
	ADULT ACTIVITIES	1	1	1
	SOCIALIZE	1,-1	1,-1	1,-1
	PEER GROUP MEMBER	1,-1	1,-1	1,-1
	RETREAT PLACE	-1	1,-1	0
	ADULT SUPPORT	2	2	2
	RECOGNITION	1	1	1
	MIRRORING REWARDS	0	1	1
	IDEALIZATION	0	1	1
	EXPOSURE-ADULTS & OCCUPATIONS	1	1	1
	EXPRESS OPINIONS AND DEBATE VALUES	0	0	0
	TEST MORALS-REAL LIFE	0	2	1
	EXPERIMENT-NEW SKILLS	1	0	2
	SHARE IN DECISIONS	2	2	1
	COMPLEX SITUATIONS	0	1	2
	AVOID ADULT CONTROL	2	2	0
	SHORT TERM PROJECTS	0	1	2
	ACHIEVE TANGIBLE RESULTS	1	1	1

(3) Required Facilitator (2) Needed Facilitator (1) Potential Facilitator (-1) Potential Detriment (0) No relationship

TABLE 3-2 TASKS FACILITATING EMOTIONAL OBJECTIVES & GOALS

GOALS	PHYSICAL GROWTH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	SEXUAL MATURITY	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	2
	HEALTHY LIFE-STYLE	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
	NEGENTROPIC LIFE TASKS	2	3	0	2	2	1	1	1
	INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	2
	AUTONOMY-PHYS. EMOT. & ECON	3	2	3	3	1	1	2	1
	SELF IDENTITY	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	3
	ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
	AUTONOMOUS FAMILY	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1
	FAMILY HERITAGE	0	1	1,-1	1,-1	1	1	3	1
	FAMILY MORALS & VALUES	1	2	1,-1	1,-1	1	2	2	1
	INDEPENDENCE	2	1	3	3	2	3	2	1
OBJECTIVE: EMOTIONAL DEV.		INTERNAL REGULATION	FEEL IN CONTROL	GAIN INDEPENDENCE	ACHIEVE INDIVIDUALIZATION	SELF CONFIDENCE	DEFINE SELF	HEALTHY SEXUAL ATTITUDE	POS. IMAGE OF OWN SEXUALITY
TASKS	NUTRITION	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
	SHARE INTIMACIES	1,-1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2
	AVOID SUBSTANCE ABUSE	2	3	3	0	1	1	2	1
	PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	SEX EDUCATION	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
	BIRTH CONTROL	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	2
	AUTHORITY FIGURES	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
	ADULT ACTIVITIES	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
	SOCIALIZE	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	3
	PEER GROUP MEMBER	1	1	1,-1	1,-1	1	1	1,-1	1,-1
	RETREAT PLACE	2	1,-1	1	2	0	1	1	1
	ADULT SUPPORT	3	2	2	1	2	1	2	1
	RECOGNITION	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2
	MIRRORING REWARDS	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3
	IDEALIZATION	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	3
	EXPOSURE-ADULTS & OCCUPATIONS	1	1	2	1	0	2	1	1
	EXPRESS OPINIONS AND DEBATE VALUES	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
	TEST MORALS-REAL LIFE	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
	EXPERIMENT-NEW SKILLS	1	2	2	2	3	3	2	2
	SHARE IN DECISIONS	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	0
	COMPLEX SITUATIONS	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	1
	AVOID ADULT CONTROL	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	1
	SHORT TERM PROJECTS	1	2	1	1	3	2	0	0
	ACHIEVE TANGIBLE RESULTS	1	2	1	1	3	1	0	1

(3) Required Facilitator (2) Needed Facilitator (1) Potential Facilitator (-1) Potential Detriment (0) No Relationship

TABLE 3-3 TASKS FACILITATING PSYCHOLOGICAL OBJECTIVES & GOALS

GOALS	PHYSICAL GROWTH	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	SEXUAL MATURITY	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
	HEALTHY LIFE-STYLE	1,-1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
	NEGENTROPIC LIFE TASKS	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	3
	INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS	2	1	3	2	1	1	0	1
	AUTONOMY-PHYS. EMOT. & ECON	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
	SELF IDENTITY	1	3	1	3	2	3	2	2
	ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1
	CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY	3	1	2	1	1	1	2	1
	AUTONOMOUS FAMILY	3	1	2	2	2	1	3	1
	FAMILY HERITAGE	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
	FAMILY MORALS & VALUES	1	1	2	3	3	1	2	1
	INDEPENDENCE	3	1	1	2	3	2	2	1
	OBJECTIVE: PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT	EXPAND WORLD	COGNIZANT OF POTENTIALS AND FAULTS	ABILITY TO SYMPATHESIZE	THINK OF CONSEQUENCES	EXPLORE ALTERNATES	GROWTH & CHALLENGE PREREQUISITE TO SELF CONCEPT	SKILLS FOR ECONOMIC PRODUCTION	INCORPORATE NEGENTROPIC EXPERIENCES
TASKS	NUTRITION	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	SHARE INTIMACIES	2	1	3	1	2	1	0	1
	AVOID SUBSTANCE ABUSE	0	0	0	1	1	3	2	3
	PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1
	SEX EDUCATION	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
	BIRTH CONTROL	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
	AUTHORITY FIGURES	0	1	1	2	2	2	1	3
	ADULT ACTIVITIES	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1
	SOCIALIZE	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	PEER GROUP MEMBER	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	RETREAT PLACE	1,-1	1	1	2	1	1	0	1
	ADULT SUPPORT	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	2
	RECOGNITION	0	2	1	1	1	2	1	3
	MIRRORING REWARDS	1	2	2	0	1	2	1	3
	IDEALIZATION	1	2	2	0	1	2	1	1
	EXPOSURE-ADULTS & OCCUPATIONS	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	1
	EXPRESS OPINIONS AND DEBATE VALUES	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
	TEST MORALS-REAL LIFE	3	2	2	3	2	1	1	1
	EXPERIMENT-NEW SKILLS	3	3	1	3	3	3	2	2
	SHARE IN DECISIONS	2	2	2	3	3	2	1	1
	COMPLEX SITUATIONS	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	2
	AVOID ADULT CONTROL	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	2
	SHORT TERM PROJECTS	0	3	1	1	1	2	1	2
	ACHIEVE TANGIBLE RESULTS	0	3	2	2	1	2	1	2

(3) Required Facilitator (2) Needed Facilitator (1) Potential Facilitator (-1) Potential Detriment (0) No Relationship

TABLE 3-4 TASKS FACILITATING MORAL OBJECTIVES & GOALS

GOALS	PHYSICAL GROWTH	0	0	0	0	0
	SEXUAL MATURITY	1	1	1	2	1
	HEALTHY LIFE-STYLE	1	1	1	3	1
	NEGENTROPIC LIFE TASKS	1	1	1	1	1
	INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS	1	1	1	3	2
	AUTONOMY-PHYS. EMOT. & ECON	2	2	2	2	3
	SELF IDENTITY	3	2	1	1	3
	ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY	1	1	1	1	1
	CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY	1	1	2	3	2
	AUTONOMOUS FAMILY	1	1	1	3	1
	FAMILY HERITAGE	1	1	1	3	1
	FAMILY MORALS & VALUES	3	2	2	3	2
	INDEPENDENCE	1	2	1	3	3
OBJECTIVES: MORAL DEV.		TEST MORALS & VALUES	AUTONOMOUS IDENTITY	FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES	RESPONSIBLE SEX	ABILITY TO INFLUENCE EVENTS
TASKS	NUTRITION	0	1	1	0	1
	SHARE INTIMACIES	1	1	1	1	1
	AVOID SUBSTANCE ABUSE	0	2	1	2	1
	PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	1	1	1	0	1
	SEX EDUCATION	1	1	1	3	1
	BIRTH CONTROL	1	1	1	3	1
	AUTHORITY FIGURES	1	2	2	1	2
	ADULT ACTIVITIES	2	2	2	1	2
	SOCIALIZE	2	1	1	1,-1	2
	PEER GROUP MEMBER	1,-1	1	1	1,-1	1
	RETREAT PLACE	0	2	1	1	1
	ADULT SUPPORT	2	3	1	2	2
	RECOGNITION	1	1	1	0	2
	MIRRORING REWARDS	1	3	1	1	2
	IDEALIZATION	1	3	1	1	2
	EXPOSURE-ADULTS & OCCUPATIONS	2	1	1	1	2
	EXPRESS OPINIONS AND DEBATE VALUES	2	1	1	1	2
	TEST MORALS-REAL LIFE	3	2	1	2	2
	EXPERIMENT-NEW SKILLS	1	1	1	0	2
	SHARE IN DECISIONS	2	3	3	2	3
	COMPLEX SITUATIONS	2	2	1	0	2
	AVOID ADULT CONTROL	1	3	1	2	3
	SHORT TERM PROJECTS	0	1	1	0	1
	ACHIEVE TANGIBLE RESULTS	0	1	1	0	2

(3) Required Facilitator (2) Needed Facilitator (1) Potential Facilitator (-1) Potential Detriment (0) No Relationship

Through these matrixes a path for positive adolescent development can be determined for each of the major developmental areas. This path shows that through the completion of specific tasks an adolescent can achieve positive development. The process sounds so direct, but why are so many adolescents in conflict?

Conflicts

Adolescents operate in a state of consciousness similar to adults. However, the adolescent is under greater stress due to the multitude of changes. In Chapter Two, three conscious processes were explained. Csikszentmihalyi and Larson operationalized these processes in their study of adolescents. These variables were called affect, activation, and intrinsic motivation. When affect, activation, and intrinsic motivation are all working together negentropy exists as the state of consciousness. It is at this time that people feel and perform at their best. This is often described as "flow experience" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1977. p.250). If we incorporate negentropy into the necessary tasks of adolescence, two effects will result. First, interest and involvement will occur without prodding by adults. Second, the most efficient gain in benefits from the task will be realized, and growth will occur. Thus, environments that provide the opportunity for negentropic experiences will sustain positive development.

The opposite of negentropic is entropic. This, as described in Chapter Two, results when rival forces act on the adolescent. These rival forces are acting on the three conscious processes to inhibit the positive feelings related to affect, activation, or intrinsic

motivation. When one or a combination of these processes are not positive, entropy ensues. The rival forces are said to be creating conflict. Conflict interrupts negentropy.

In striving for goals, various tasks are undertaken to accomplish specific objectives. This process may result in conflict. Conflict is a result of two conditions, either being overwhelmed or being unchallenged. According to Csikszentmihalyi, conflict results when we experience a loss of control in either of these two areas. The feeling of loss of control comes from either no meaningful goals or no defined limits in activities. The underlying desire in all individuals is to "feel good"; when conflict arises the good feelings in life are interrupted. The adolescent, in a desire to feel good, must restore order to his/her consciousness. Csikszentmihalyi says this is done by exploiting chaos in order to generate order.

The adolescent has two options to restore order; engage in activities that make one feel good now, or engage in activities that will help maintain good feelings in the future. Many of the adolescent leisure activities act to fulfill the "feel good" now; for example music (listening to stereo or going to a concert), being with friends, informal sports, partying, and escape through alcohol or drugs. Those that will provide good feelings in the future are skill development tasks. Although some are still considered to be leisure for youth, some definitions of leisure could exclude them. These skill tasks can include playing a musical instrument, formalized sports, creating art, school work, homework, and job training.

The key as to whether or not these activities create conflict in the adolescent's life is determined by the perception of control that the adolescent recognizes. If they feel a

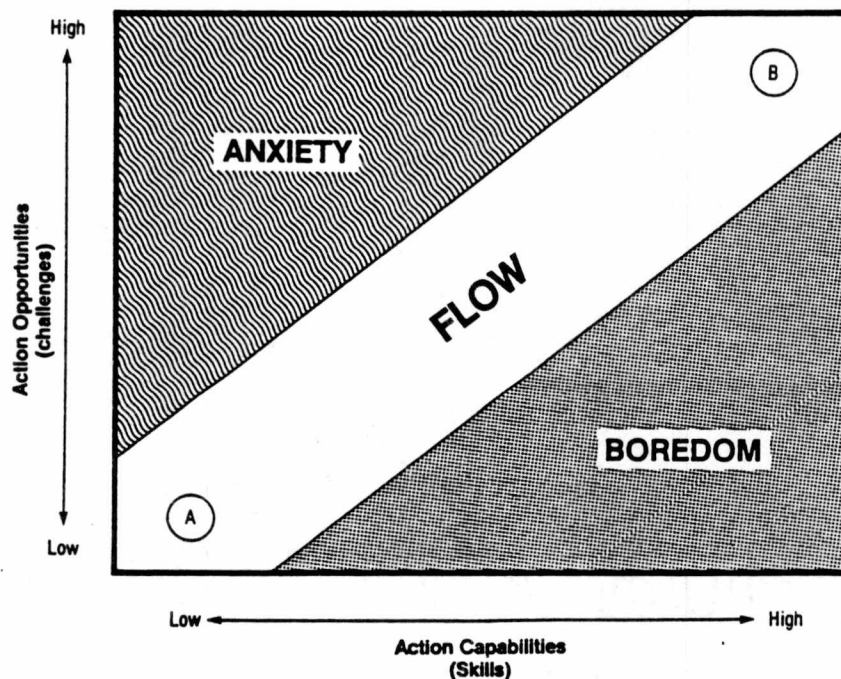
loss of control in respect to feeling overwhelmed, it is because they perceive the goals to be set by either family, school, or friends. Those goals may be set out of reach of the individual who is not capable of achieving them. In order to restore order, to relieve the feeling of inadequacy, the individual can choose to escape the situation either physically or emotionally and seek the refuge of "feel good" activities--friends, music, TV, alcohol and drugs.

The adolescent can also restore order to his consciousness by meeting the challenge placed before him and growing to a new level of achievement in that area. This would be substituting immediately "feeling good", for engaging in the challenge that will provide help in the future, resulting in individual growth. The state of early adolescence is a continual battle in choosing between conformity to other's goals and pleasing the self; that is the root of conflict in adolescence, as in adult life. The ability of the individual to absorb the internal conflicts and meet the challenges is a measure of maturity.

The other area of conflict so prevalent in adolescence is the loss of control by being unchallenged. This feeling of "boredom" is due to feeling uninterested in the opportunities available in leisure or in school. There is the perception that the individual will gain nothing worthwhile in the experience and therefore there is no reason to be involved. They may also see no possibility for their involvement to have influence. Life holds no intrigue, they do not view themselves as being an important participating member. The solutions to this bad feeling fall into the same options for relieving the feeling of being overwhelmed. The adolescent has the choice to take measures to

alleviate this feeling in a method that will make it go away "now" or can take measures to prevent it from existing in the future.

The essential element in both these scenarios of conflict is for the individual to recognize where they can control the goals and the limits of the activity that is challenging them. Eventually they need to be able to recognize this on their own, but during adolescence while these skills are being developed it is important to have support, either from friends, family, or other adult role models. These supports can act to absorb the overwhelmed or bored feeling until the adolescent has the maturity to cope. This is a skill that develops through experience and therefore the opportunities must be made available and support systems must be present or accessible during development of the skill to most efficiently make progress. In this diagram by Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, the relationship of conflicts to "flow" or negentropy is illustrated.¹



¹Source: Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Larson, R. (1984). *Being Adolescent: Conflict and Growth in The Teenage Years*. New York: Basic Books (p. 265).

To summarize, the adolescent needs certain criteria in their tasks, according to Csikszentmihalyi. He tells us they seek situations " . . . where rules, goals, challenges, and feedback are sharp and well ordered." (p.250). He continues to assert that a spontaneous choice of challenges should be provided " . . . that require concentration, a set of rules to guide psychic energy, clear goals, feedback and loss of self consciousness--these are the main elements of those experiences that people find most enjoyable." (p. 250). Culture guides us as to the activities that will fit these criteria. We choose what we perceive to be appropriate skills and clues from culture, then blend them with our own talents and abilities to develop personal goals. Accomplishing those goals is how we define what makes us "feel good". Csikszentmihalyi presents a set of criteria to design activities so as to reduce conflict and aid development. These design criteria are:

Design Criteria

1. Spontaneous involvement--individual choice to enter the activity
2. A set of rules that are clearly defined to guide psychic energy
3. Clear goals identified for specific tasks
4. Constructive feedback available that is sharp and well ordered
5. The task requires concentration
6. Involvement results in a loss of self consciousness

If the activities the adolescent has access to include these elements, then it is believed that sustained involvement will occur and growth will result. Therefore, in designing adolescent's environments we have established many tasks needed for positive

development and how they should be structured. It is now important to look to the environments and the institutions that will provide opportunities for adolescents to complete the necessary tasks.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Physical Environment and the Adolescent

Since the time of the ancient Greeks, debates have existed concerning the ideal criteria for "good cities". Opinions on optimal city size have ranged from populations of 5,000 to 500,000. A universally accepted viewpoint has yet to be generated. The variety in environments of the world today complicated by the complexity of society, exacerbates the inability to agree on either the optimal size or design. However, when we look at certain general human characteristics there are recurrent themes, indicating that there are fundamental human demands from our environment. The ways these demands are accommodated is dictated by the characteristics of specific physical and cultural worlds. Although much variety exists, certain human goals may be widely accepted within a particular culture. Therefore, an evaluation of the environment and its ability to accommodate cultural goals is appropriate. Any evaluation of the human environment is highly complex and calls for many levels of analysis. One framework for analysis is provided in Robert Aldrich's chapter in Michelson's book, *The Child in the City*, where five "ekistics" elements are considered important in the analysis of an environment. They are Nature, Man, Shells, Society and Networks (pp. 84-87). These are defined as follows:

Nature pertains to features of the natural environment, resource utilization, land use, landscape, and recreational areas.

Man in respect to physical needs, safety and security, affection (belonging and self esteem), self realization, knowledge, and esthetics.

Society and its responsibilities to public administration, participation law, social relations, population trends, cultural patterns, urban systems and urban change, and economics.

Shells refers to built structures such as housing, service facilities (hospitals), commercial facilities (shops, factories, offices), cultural, and educational units.

Networks includes public utilities, transportation, personal and mass communication, as well as computer and information technology.

While the above elements can be used as a general framework for the evaluation of human habitat, in this thesis five similar elements named segments have been developed.

They are used as environmental evaluation criteria specific to adolescents: Access, Play, Structures, Services, and Identity. These segments are defined as follows:

Access has to do with provisions for mobility, communication, and accessibility.

Play includes any outdoor activity that involves physical exercise and would contribute to increased physical fitness and/or dexterity, activities that allow involvement with nature and natural resources.

Social Structures has to do with political and social functions within a community: family, friends, neighborhoods, community, city, state, and national relations.

Services are those functions that provide for intellectual, economic, commercial, and physical needs.

Identity relates to the opportunities for personal fulfillment in respect to physical needs, safety, security, affection, self-esteem, self-realization, knowledge, and esthetics. This includes the sense of identity that can be derived from community relationships.

To evaluate the positive or negative relationship of the environment to the user, the needs and constraints of the user group(s) are used. Here, the segments of evaluation

correspond to the adolescent's goals, objectives, and tasks. Therefore these segments can be used to evaluate a specific environment's ability to facilitate adolescent development. After reviewing the cultural and physical nature of our environment, relationships to these segments can be drawn. This allows a quick evaluation of the environment's ability to facilitate adolescent development.

The primary environments to be considered are urban, suburban, and rural environments of America today. These contexts are considered by many to be the three major alternative environments that exist in America. Investigation into these environments and lifestyles may offer a better understanding of what our living environments offer the adolescent. That understanding should lead to the formulation of policies and approaches for planning to improve environments for adolescents in the future.

Urban Environments

Any evaluation of the urban environment should judge the quantity and quality of segments available to the user. The adolescent, as we have described, is developing and learning through exposure to, and testing of, new roles and abilities. The resolution of conflict, presented through challenging developmental tasks, facilitates individual growth and positive development. In order to adapt and grow the adolescent must be exposed to opportunities that challenge. Therefore, in analyzing the strength of a particular city in meeting the needs of its youth, knowing the extent of opportunities available is critical.

The urban environment can provide efficiency for the individual's pursuit of access, play, structures, services, and identity. The strength of the city is this efficiency, but the weakness of the city occurs when city size grows to a point where efficiency is no longer available.

Access. The city or urban environment that has a strong and varied mix of shells, networks, and community structures for the adult is only successful for the adolescent if the adolescent is allowed access to and interaction with their segments. Mass transit, if available, can provide good physical access to a variety of institutions in the city. Mass transit provides access to and within urban centers, a particular advantage for teens. Unfortunately, other obstacles may exist in urban areas that prevent access for adolescents. Economics, awareness, safety, and level of involvement (ability to establish a true relationship with the institution) are all potential limits to access for adolescents. The variety of opportunities, for adolescent challenge and growth, are mute if access has been prevented.

In Chapter Three the importance for spontaneous involvement was emphasized. It is an important structural requirement in the design of our institutions. Spontaneous involvement is dependent on access. Inaccessible neighborhoods are a growing problem for urban environments. Research reports indicate that access to physical neighborhoods is being cut off for inner city youth. The findings state that ". . . the degree to which the neighborhood environment was supportive of children's play and children's access . . . has declined substantially since the 1940's. . ." (Gastor, 1991. p. 70). The reasons given for this decline include increasing street crime, auto-traffic, destruction of parks,

playgrounds, and schoolyards by vandalism, neglect, and mis-management. Drug related street crime bears a large part of the blame for the inaccessibility of neighborhoods to children. This lack of access is directly responsible for another problem with urban adolescent life. It creates limits on opportunities for play.

Play. In a study done by Julia Littell at Chapin Hall two environments were compared regarding the availability and use of "community resources." The communities were quite different, one urban the other suburban. This study found that the urban environment offered considerably less variety and quantity of both formal (organized) and informal activities. A lack of tax base and private resources for money to sponsor more activities were blamed. The inner city received a larger portion of their recreational and social activities from social service agencies. The activities offered in social service agencies have less emphasis on outdoor play than those offered by park and recreation departments. This translates into less outdoor, recreational, and exploration opportunities.

Play opportunities for exercise and exploration in nature have limited availability in the urban setting for other reasons as well. Resource conservation, land use impacts, landscape treatments and recreation facilities become precious concerns within the urban context due to their scarce supply. The results of mismanagement are intensified due to population densities. The issue of quality in outdoor opportunities takes on special significance for the adolescent. The relationship an adolescent has with the natural environment is dramatically important to both enjoyment and growth (see Chapter Two--Environmental Influences on The Adolescent). Empirical research has demonstrated that

our most vivid and often fondest memories of childhood involve outdoor settings and play. It provides the best site for physical and emotional development. Another potential advantage offered by outdoor activities is the opportunity for control or influence over an adolescent's own environment. The level of control available, as perceived by the adolescent in the environment, is highly related to the satisfaction and joy that individual obtains from his/her environment.

Social Structures. Involvement in social structures renders a substantial influence over our satisfaction with a community. A study done by Richard Adams found ". . . that locally based social networks . . .(were). . . associated with neighborhood satisfaction . . . (and in turn) . . . influenced psychological well being." (Adams, 1992. p.368). It was the integration of social relationships, not specifically involvement in local activities, that had the most influence on reported personal satisfaction with a community. The ties that exist at the neighborhood level are most influential in determining satisfaction with a community. This study compared urban versus suburban environments. They found no significant influence on satisfaction associated with urban versus suburban environments. It was the number and quality of personal relationships within a community that proved significant.

This may be evidence that the neighborhood unit as a social structure within the urban environment provides opportunity for the adolescent. The city interacts with the individual at various scales. Some societal needs of the individual can be fulfilled only at certain scales. The physical neighborhood is one way to limit the scale of the city to a more cognizant entity. The neighborhood scale offers an opportunity for participation

in social responsibility. The potential for a community identity to develop in a geographically limited neighborhood opens the opportunity for the individual to place himself/herself incrementally within the vast numbers of the city.

That is why focus on the development of neighborhood and community within physically defined areas is receiving considerable attention in planning and policy development. The neighborhood unit offers the potential to integrate the adolescent into the urban environment. The sense of belonging and security from community structures, possible within well defined neighborhoods, may help absorb some of the turmoil created by the conflicts between community, family, and individual goals for the adolescent.

Services. Other variations in the urban environment are the provision of services by public schools and parks. Urban area schools offer one-seventh of the extra-curricular activities provided in suburbs. Parks in inner cities offer one-eighth of the activities compared with the suburbs in an average week (Littell, 1989). One way we evaluate the city is in its provision of services that support intellectual, emotional, and physical growth. Education, skills training programs, extra-curricular activities, entertainment, cultural exposure, and health care are necessary institutions. The inner city is weak in the first three. The provisions for the next three, although strong in urban areas, may often be inaccessible. It is through these services that we get our opportunities for challenge and learning. These services offer the best exposure for role models and adult guidance, opportunities that will aid in forming an identity and confidence.

Identity. In the Freidman's book *City Moves*, as in Haworth's *The Good City*, the scale of the modern city is compared to the scale of the ancient Greek city. The

inability to "view the city as a whole," to literally go off to the outskirts and see the boundaries, is a great loss in today's city. This lack of cognizant placement is a large part of the problem of modern culture, according to Freidman. It is this inability to see the whole that hinders a sense of belonging and self esteem. This criteria is important in forming our "identity" element. How we visualize ourselves within the city aids in our definition of who we are. Whereas geographically the physical city may no longer exist as a visibly recognizable entity within an individual's cognitive map, some alternative image must replace it. Possibly we are cognizant of it in a sociological sense. One observation noted in Littel's Chapin Hall report was that residents of the inner city community seemed to be unaware of the boundaries of their community, and in some cases they did not recognize an affiliation to their local community. Their affiliations were to the larger Chicago or other definitions, such as "west side".

This represents a change in our perception of ourselves in the city. A disaffiliation with location has resulted in an affiliation with relationships. We live in non-spatial communities that provide many of the needs previously found within the geographic neighborhood, such as cultural, economic, social, and intellectual ties. It is suggested that this may simply be a new definition of neighborhood and the wave of the future. One conclusion is that relationships will no longer be spatially linked. As much as this appears to be the direction of the future, should it be? Christopher Alexander, in his essay on *The City as a Mechanism for Sustaining Human Contact*, disputes this direction. Alexander strongly suggests that we as humans have a basic need for "intimate contact" (Ewald, Ed. 1967. p. 62). He defines intimate contact as: a relationship that

involves two individuals revealing themselves and all their vulnerabilities. Alexander states two conditions required to maintain intimate contact. First, we must see people almost every day to develop intimate contact. Second, contacts must be under informal conditions.

This spatial requirement for the development of a quality community is reinforced by the findings of Richard Adam's study. In that study, people who reported the greatest satisfaction with their community were those who had ties with a strong social network within the community.

All this suggests that the current trend of disaffiliation from location does nothing to enhance our relationships to the physical community and therefore reduces satisfaction. An additional advantage of a spatial community is implied in Kevin Lynch's findings of the importance our physical environment in our memories of childhood (see Chapter Two). The identity element calls for a relationship to aesthetics (see Chapter Three). An opportunity for aesthetic appreciation may be attained through nature. The basic proportions of classical architecture are based on a proportion system discovered in nature. Although difficult to certify, nature appears to be an important ingredient to life satisfaction and enjoyment. If we see the natural environment as an important element to a "good city" we must reclaim our relationship to it. The adolescent needs an opportunity to define his/her identity within the physical environment at a comprehensible scale.

Suburban Environments

The importance of the neighborhood unit is not exclusive to urban environments. The existence, or lack of existence, of a community within the physically defined neighborhood is present in suburbia. Studies of suburban neighborhoods and life in suburbia show even more individual isolation from community responsibility and involvement than that which exists in our cities. However suburbia, for all its faults, may be better than its urban counterpart in providing some of the environmental segments.

Access. Access to transportation, communication, and utility networks in suburbia are highly influential on development. It is the provision and capacity of the networks that forms the largest control on growth and development in suburbia. The increasing levels of service in communication and transportation will continue to have unusual influence on the culture of suburbia. With communication technology dramatically changing, the effects on suburban life are yet unknown and may be dramatic.

Certainly a large percentage of adolescents grow up in suburbia. The geography and culture of suburbia has an impact on their developmental experience. The existence of isolated enclaves may be most detrimental to the adolescent community. The dependency on the automobile for mobility in the suburbs is most detrimental to the young and the old. The mobility needs of the suburban elderly are being discussed and attempts to address them are in the works. But the virtual isolation of the latch-key twelve to fifteen year olds is rarely mentioned.

In his evaluation of suburbia Gans stresses, that "adolescents suffer in low density" (Gans, 19.. p.189). He points out the isolation from shopping centers and other services may result in boredom, which in turn leads to vandalism. Another problem with access in suburbia is the lack of spontaneous access to after school facilities and activities. Although suburbia may provide more choices for activities, those choices are dependent on the automobile. This restriction is becoming a larger and larger problem as more women enter the work force and are unavailable for chauffeuring. Accessibility, specifically spontaneous access, is being reduced for the early adolescent. Suburban children had less independent involvement in activities, according to a Chapin Hall report, and more of their informal activities were located outside their communities and involved their parents. Although this Chapin Hall study did not describe levels of spontaneous involvement, the findings of less independent involvement lead us to deduce that less spontaneous involvement is possible. Suburban restricted densities may be preventing spontaneous involvement in informal activities for adolescents.

Play. Opportunities for outdoor activities are abundant in suburbia. Some have said that this feature was the primary drive behind initial suburban development. Quantity of outdoor facilities is not a problem, however quality may be another matter. The ideal of the suburb is isolation and autonomy. In many neighborhoods available outdoor accessible space is restricted to that which is exclusively owned by the individual. In some areas that may be simply a front and back yard. This isolation concept has resulted in certain suburbs actually offering less variety of outdoor space and less quality

than in some cities. In most cases however, access is spontaneous and controllable, both important features to adolescent pleasure.

Another problem with outdoor activities is affected by what Herbert Gans refers to as society's fear of delinquents. As mentioned in Chapter Two repeatedly, many of our policies and design guides provide clearly inadequate recreational facilities or space for adolescents to gather. In some instances the motivating force behind this is probably the fear of mischief and delinquent behavior. The suburbs are particularly protective of outdoor facilities. In many parks and public spaces it appears that preventing youth gatherings is of top priority. Although there is some need to prevent dangerous hangouts, a reactionary policy appears to be prevalent. Some of our inner cities have recognized this problem and are initiating programs to deal with it. In an article in *Parks and Recreation Journal* (April, 1991), two programs are reported that allow after hours swimming and basketball activities on public property. These cities have noticed a substantial decline in vandalism. This type of attention needs to be expanded into the suburbs.

Social Structures. The relationship of the suburb to the city gave the initial identity to the suburb as a retreat from the problems of the city. Its identity and structure as an institution was founded as an escape and to provide isolation. As a contrast to the urban life of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, suburbia served a function.

Society and the development of laws in suburbia has been devoted to the preservation of isolation and autonomy. The exclusion of any ties to city government was the first indicator of this strong philosophy of the suburbs. Another indicator of the

importance of autonomy to the suburban resident is the minimal influence of government in the everyday lives of the residents. Government involvement is minimal on both ends. The individual in suburbia is rarely involved in governmental decisions and the government has played a minimal role in the provision of services or restrictions.

Historically, it has been only the fear of infringement from city ills that caused citizens of suburbia to band together in any form of societal participation. Today the organization and community voice that can be seen or heard in the suburbs is in response to protectionism. Pro active community goals are not evident, but rather organized actions to execute "NIMBY" (not in my back yard) attitudes or to institute anti-growth policies are the motivation behind the formation of many community organizations (Logan, 1990). Historically, suburbia did not serve well the human needs of societal responsibilities and sense of place. Rather a sense of isolation and retreat from the city was its foundation. But culture is changing, and many of those organizations formed in response to growth issues, are now taking on other issues such as public service or safety (Logan, 1990).

Family is the most prevalent and fundamental structure in suburbia. The nuclear family and their desire for home ownership is the essence of suburban communities. Residential uses are the most abundant land use in suburbia. In a study done by Herbert Gans determining the contrast between urban and suburban communities, it was reported that almost 40% of the respondents noted sharing more family activities upon moving to suburbia.

In a democracy we decide what government will provide and what it will protect. It is our involvement in government that results in the governing action. Therefore, in order to have access to the things we need, we need to access the government. But first we need not to be overwhelmed or bored with government. We must see it charged with goals and objectives in which we believe. We need to know how we will make a difference. These are lessons learned over time, with support and guidance, until we feel confident in ourselves to influence society. This experience can be gained at the local community level. Adults need be cognizant of their role in society, and to pass the responsibility on to our children during adolescence. Involvement of adolescents in local government and public services will provide them with both the understanding and the skills to meet the challenge and responsibility for managing social structures.

Services. Notwithstanding the original intent of isolation and escape from the city, for many of us suburbia has become the "city." As such, there are institutions that suburbia needs to provide in its new role as city. Historically, services have been very limited in much of suburbia. They are more homogeneous and restricted. Housing is relatively uniform in both aesthetics and features.

One area of service that is superior in the suburbs, compared to urban areas, is in community resources. The Chapin Hall discussion papers noted the disparity of provisions for school extra-curricular and recreational activities between urban and suburban areas. The suburbs have a definite edge in numbers of both public and private offerings to adolescents. Variety in suburban resources is far greater than in the inner city. The Chapin Hall study on availability and awareness of community resources

reported a greater number of activities provided by public non-profit and private non-profit organizations in suburban when compared with urban areas. Also, awareness of available activities is higher, for both adults and children, in suburban areas.

Identity. Geographic isolation reinforces the cultural isolation that is described in the essays in *Suburbia Re-examined*. At a time when peer and adult feedback is so important to development of the self-concept, adolescent development may be particularly hindered by the isolation of suburbia. Parents may also be suffering from isolation in suburbia. In child rearing a struggle exists for parents in understanding the adolescent's behavior and knowing the appropriate guidance needed. Without other adult feedback and support at the neighborhood level, a parent's ability to assist the adolescent may be hampered. It may be in our attainment of the American dream that we have lost some fundamental conditions for adolescent growth. We need to identify them so we can accommodate them in the suburbs.

The major goal for the adolescent, development of a self-concept, shows a striking similarity to adult goal attainment of a self-realization. Haworth defines self-realization as the good life: "The good life is one where the person is developing his potentialities, realizing an ordered self." (p. 58). Haworth underscores the need for a variety of high quality institutions. They are to be provided to facilitate growth of the individual. If in adolescence growth is accelerated, then the importance of quality institutions should be magnified. In addition, the opportunity for "free" spontaneous access to institutions that will aid in growth is all the more crucial. The isolation and homogeneous development of suburbia may not be providing the necessary criteria for quality adolescent

environments. The lack of sociological community or physically defined neighborhood to generate a self-concept may be preventing the completion of tasks necessary for growth, creating unresolvable conflicts in our adolescents that may carry into adult life. The "good life" is only attainable in small groups according to Dahl and Lindeblom. It is up to government to ensure the opportunity for small groups.

Small Towns and Rural Environments

The small town and rural environments of America's past are disappearing. Similarities between urban living and rural life-styles are growing. However, the availability of some evaluation segments is limited in rural areas, in contrast to suburbia and the inner cities.

Access. Access to communication and transportation networks have had the most dramatic effects on the blurring between urban and rural life. It is hard in America today to be remote from information. News from around the world is transmitted as it happens. But access from rural areas to services is dependent on the automobile and often is quite inconvenient. Low densities that characterize the rural settings also create large distances between many resources and opportunities, making independent access difficult or impossible for the adolescent.

Play. Outdoor activities are abundantly available in rural areas and small towns. Unfortunately, recreational parks and land use planning may be lacking in rural settings, restricting some outdoor activities in comparison to suburban locations. During early adolescence the small town may offer a well rounded environment. The establishment

establishment of the nation was on the concept of the small town providing for the surrounding rural community. That relationship still remains in many locations today. This relationship to the surrounding countryside may be the biggest advantage in providing quantity and quality play activities for rural adolescents.

Social Structures. The relationship of the people of the small town to the actions of government are stronger than in the other environments outlined. There is accessibility and responsibility for civic duty. This responsibility is readily passed on to the youth of these communities. The rural community is a strong institution that gives a very strong sense of definition to the individual, the family, and culture. It is probably no coincidence that all U. S. presidents this century, except President Kennedy, have been reared in small towns (Michelson, 1979). In respect to the adolescent's development, the rural community seems to offer an adolescent experience most similar to pre-industrial society. There remains a well defined community and strong family ties within many small towns, providing the basics for strong social structures to develop.

Services: The limits on facilities or services may offer problems to the late adolescent as they seek skills for employment. Highly limited employment opportunities and other services may encourage leaving or prevent return to the small town for permanent residence. The likelihood of travel to gain outside experiences in late adolescence is high.

Identity. Robert Aldrich, in Michelson's book, praises the effects of small town rearing, asserting that a " . . . person is better able to grasp both his own identity and relationship of self to community when reared in a small town . . . " (Michelson, 1979.

p.87). This ability to grasp his/her one's relationship to the whole and see their responsibilities clearly may provide a clue regarding how we need to design our communities. The scale of the small town and its relationship to the rural environment aids the individual in being cognizant of his position and responsibility within it. This may be a model for planners as we design training grounds for future citizens. The small town offers quality (although sometimes limited) opportunities for personal fulfillment and development of the adolescent identity in a safe secure environment.

Relationships

To summarize the relationship between the various segments and general environments a matrix has been included on the next page. This matrix represents personal judgments made by this author after review of the information gathered in readings and analysis.

This matrix has been developed along lines similar to the matrixes in Chapter Three. The judgments made reflect this authors evaluation regarding the three environments' (urban, suburban, and rural) ability to facilitate the segments important to a quality adolescent environment. Here the measurements are **excellent facilitator, adequate facilitator, and poor facilitator.**

**TABLE 4-1 ENVIRONMENTAL EVALUATION
AS FACILITATOR OF ADOLESCENT SEGMENTS**

ENVIRONMENT		URBAN	SUBURBAN	RURAL
S E G M E N T S	PLAY	1	2	3
	IDENTITY	2	2	3
	SOCIAL STRUCTURES	1	1	3
	SERVICES	2,1	3	1
	ACCESS	2	1	1

(3) Excellent Facilitator (2) Adequate Facilitator (1) Poor Facilitator

Designing Environments

In the article *Is Happiness a Home in the Suburbs?: Influence of Urban versus Suburban Neighborhoods on Psychological Health*, two models for environmental satisfaction are outlined. They are used to evaluate the impact of environmental design on community satisfaction and resultant psychological health. The specifics of the models and the results of this study are of interest to this thesis.

The first model is based on Wirth's linear-development theory. It proposes that community satisfaction is a result of informal social controls, a stable and homogeneous population, clear social norms, and low levels of social organization. These conditions are all evident in rural communities, and it is proposed that this facilitates their " . . . strong, extensive social networks, participation in local activities, and good psychological health." (Adams, 1992. p.354). The essence of this model proposes that as communities

grow in population density and diversity, they suffer reduced satisfaction, individual isolation and poor mental health.

The second model is called the systemic model. It suggests that urbanism is only indirectly related to psychological well being. Length of residence is the controlling factor in community satisfaction and resultant psychological health. According to the systemic model social structural factors play a larger role in the quality of peoples lives than density or heterogeneity of the population. It gives length of residency as a crucial factor, suggesting that "People establish strong ties over time and may require numerous interactions in order to feel comfortable with their neighbors." (p. 356). The critical factor to community satisfaction is the establishment of strong ties to neighbors. The conclusion is that time (length of residency) determines the building of strong ties. This model gives no recognition to the environment's role in the development of relationships. It is surprising that the authors do not consider the design of space to be important in the development of social ties, a position in contrast to Christopher Alexander's essay referenced earlier in this chapter. Alexander emphasizes the importance of casual contact in relationship development. He explains that design of the environment can have a great influence over the opportunity for casual contact. Alexander has done extensive development in his book *A Pattern Language* on the design guides for environments and architecture that accommodate human functioning.

Another finding in the Adam's article regards the effect of personal involvement in local activities on neighborhood satisfaction. He found that people's level of involvement was not significant in their satisfaction. This finding furnishes support for

Alexander's belief that a need for casual informal contact exists. It appears that informal contact is a foundation to building strong social ties. This theory of informal casual contact relates directly to the need for spontaneous involvement identified in Chapter Three. Contrast these informal needs with the abundant organized services provided for adolescents and a conflict emerges. We are providing minimal access to spontaneous informal activities in today's adolescent environment.

From this research the failings of our environments are obvious. One, there exists very little opportunity for informal spontaneous spatial contacts. This has resulted in a disassociation with place and community. Disassociation was related to lack of satisfaction with community and is linked with poor psychological health in the Adams article.

The ideal environment is one that provides for all the institutions the human condition desires. Adolescents need a variety of services and structures accessible in space to develop an identity. That identity is achievable only through a sense of belonging within the city at a scale we can comprehend. This is possible if we consciously design in increments that are at once complete and a part of a larger whole. As in the details of any good design, there exists an independent integrity of the parts while they contribute to the whole. Our neighborhoods can be the structural units of our communities. Neighborhoods could be the units that when combined would create and support the city. This hierarchy can be applied at any scale. As planners we need to consciously design each neighborhood unit as we plan and design the whole of the city.

CHAPTER FIVE

Institutions Providing Resources for Adolescents

In Chapter Four, the "ekistics" elements of man, nature, society, shells, and networks were described and re-defined for adolescents as identity, play, social structures, services, and access. These segments are related to the institutions referred to by Haworth in the *Good City*. The quality and quantity of institutions is considered by Haworth to determine the measure of the good city. Those institutions important to adolescent development will be outlined in this chapter. Relationships between the institutions and evaluation segments will be depicted in a matrix. The matrix will show the institutions that will best facilitate the achievement of the tasks outlined in Chapter Three.

The institutions that make up a city can be grouped in a variety of ways. In this thesis two classifications of institutions are developed: **informal** (non-organized) and **formal** (organized). Their potential to facilitate adolescent development will be described.

Formal Institutions

In designing and evaluating a community, provisions for formal institutions are important. In the Chapin Hall report on current children's services in Chicago, by Harold Richman, Joan Wynn, and Joan Costello, these institutions are called primary

services. The authors tell us that primary services are currently thought of as simply recreational and social activities. They say that an opportunity exists for institutions to play a part in promoting healthy development in all children.

"It is important for policy makers, planners, and providers to understand that primary services can form an infrastructure of resources for children that operate more effectively if they are viewed, planned for, and provided in relation to each other and to specialized services." (Richman, 1990. p.16).

Although the Chapin Hall discussion papers recognize that special services are necessary for special needs children, they suggest that healthy children also have developmental needs. The development of healthy children should also be accommodated within a community. This report stresses the necessity for primary services that accommodate children of different ages. Adolescents are singled out as a neglected group: "Adolescents are often overlooked on the assumption that they prefer informal activity with peers." (p.17).

All communities have some institutions to provide opportunities for adolescents. Whereas the number and variety are certainly important, quantity is not the only measure necessary to evaluate provisions for adolescents. The variety of tasks provided for and the structure of the organization influences enjoyment and interest levels for adolescents. In this thesis matrixes for analyzing the quality and variety of institutions will be presented. In the following paragraphs descriptions of formal institutions are presented.

Schools. Traditionally, schools were developed to provide academic training for youth. Training for higher level skills became necessary as a result of the industrial

revolution. The extension of the school day led to athletic programs being incorporated into schools. Opportunities for extra-curricular sports were developed and often eligibility was linked to scholastic performance. Education has developed in this country to include a variety of vocational training opportunities and clubs. Essentially the role of the school has been expanded into ". . . the universal, developmentally-oriented institution for children in communities." (Richman, 1990. p.12).

Churches. Throughout history organized religion has provided both worship and social opportunities for its congregations. Youth groups within various religions are one of the most active providers of formal activities for adolescents.

Youth centers. In a study done by Chapin Hall, children and parents alike requested a youth center in the community. A significant percentage of parents in the two communities placed a youth center as the number one priority for their community.

Non-profit youth organizations. Many of the non-profit youth organizations were founded in the early part of this century as a way of dealing with the increased leisure time of middle class adolescent boys. From this start the Boy Scouts, Girls Scouts, YMCA/YWCA, Young Democrats, hobby groups, 4-H clubs, and many ethnic and locally organized groups have developed over the years.

Transportation. For the early adolescent, transportation services or accessibility may be a very large problem in certain communities. In our automobile-dependent society, the pre-driving adolescent is dependent on either public transit, family or friend chauffeurs, walking or the bicycle for mobility. Organized solutions to this problem

should be a top priority. Failure to recognize this need may be the most deficient area in the design of communities for adolescents. For many institutions to function properly, freedom of accessibility is essential.

National, state, and local youth service programs. Since the 1930's public policies have been implemented to provide government service programs. There have been many initiatives, the latest include the Job Corps and Citizen Volunteer Corps. The most successful have been those programs that incorporate job skill training and community service programs and are administered at the local level. Programs such as youth tutoring, crisis intervention, day care and elderly care involvement, youth corps, and environmental awareness and clean-up projects are being experimented with across the country. Volunteer service programs are helping to reduce unemployment of inner city youth by giving them skills that are more marketable. In addition to jobs training, these programs provide training in civic responsibility (Wynn, 1987). Most of these programs are restricted to 18-25 year olds, although some are high school age based. Currently most of the high school based programs are limited to 16 plus years. There are a few reports of some programs that have integrated middle school children into volunteer programs (Schine, 1982). These are reported to be successful but difficult to operate. The promise of rewards should be an incentive to further development of this type community involvement for early adolescents.

Parks and Recreational Activities. Currently in park and recreation programs the major emphasis is on organized sports i.e.; soccer, football, baseball/softball league play. Other programs such as swimming, golf lessons, and tennis are offered in some

areas. Various other programs are being incorporated into services that parks departments offer. In the park and recreation literature the importance of play as a developmental aid is emphasized. Both discipline and enculturation are cited as gains from organized games (Haywood, 1989. p.19).

A new trend in the park and recreation field is the development of recreation programs that involve youth in recreation activities as well as in service to the community (see Chapter Two). In Knoxville, Tennessee the city Parks and Recreation Department has a program under development intended to draw teenagers into the recreation centers. The City is helping teens to form "teen clubs." These clubs will be organized and controlled by the youth members, with only guidance from recreation personnel. The goal is for the teens to establish their own rules and agendas. Teen control is considered imperative for their success.

According to Sam Anderson, Director of Parks and Recreation for the City of Knoxville, they currently have three clubs formed and intend to add one per quarter. The goal is to form ten clubs. Once formed, representatives from each club will be chosen to create a teen council. It is intended that the teen council will report to the Knoxville City Council in an advisory nature on park and recreation needs for youth programming and facilities in the city. The teen clubs offer membership to youth ages 13-21. The age was extended to 21 due to the interest of residents who attend community colleges but still reside in their original neighborhoods. Activities include golf, tennis, volley ball, gardening, aerobics, and field trips for hiking and camping, and community service projects. One such project had youths working with the elderly over the Christmas

holidays. Mr. Anderson noted how good the teens were with the senior citizens and how good the seniors were with the teens. Mr. Anderson has been surprised at the enthusiasm with which this program has been received by the young people, as well as by their parents. He said it was originally thought that this age group would be very difficult to work with, but that has turned out not to be true. The clubs are located in the recreation centers and youth are encouraged to use the facilities for "hanging out." Some of the centers are located near schools, which has proven to be a big advantage. Mr. Anderson is also working with the school board to try and make the schools, as he calls it, "more user friendly" so that school facilities may be used in off school hours for recreation activities.

Another success story from the teen club project is the ability to involve those youth who are rarely noticed in the schools. Mr Anderson has found that they have attracted these students, who are often uninvolved in either scholastics or athletics, to the centers. As he described it, the kids who are not a part of the school are now a part of a "gang". He said he feels all kids need to be a part of a gang, and gangs can be directed to accomplish good things as much as they can be involved in delinquency.

This is an urban program for the City of Knoxville. There is no comparable program in the surrounding suburban communities of Knoxville. According to Mr. Anderson, a more rural mind set remains when programming and planning is undertaken in suburban areas. The direction that this program appears to be taking is very exciting and should prove interesting for detailed study after further development.

Support Groups. Many drug and alcohol addiction, suicide counseling, family counseling, sex education, and pregnancy counseling support groups are offered through community and education services. These special services are intended to aid adolescents and adults with specific needs in physical and social functioning.

Private Lessons. In many communities, especially middle to upper middle class suburban areas, a variety of arts and performance classes are available i.e.; dance, music, karate, baton, and other art or cultural training. These are normally private businesses offering services on a for fee basis. In some areas the local Y may have contracted with one or more of these private providers to offer classes at their facilities. (Separate fees are usually required.)

Fitness Clubs. In our society today, health has become synonymous with fitness (Godbey, 1991). As a result, health clubs (which are actually private fitness clubs) are a large private offering to upper middle class residents. These facilities cater to young singles, married professionals, and the elderly population. There are few, if any, that encourage use of fitness facilities and activities by adolescents.

Cultural Facilities. Variety and quality of libraries, museums, public concerts, plays and celebrations (festivals) is highly dependent on proximity to larger population areas. In respect to early adolescents, the amount or quality of these offerings are undermined if accessibility or transportation is not provided. One large advantage of urban life has historically been the variety and accessibility of these institutions. Limited opportunities do exist in the suburbs, but unfortunately transportation is usually non-existent and therefore they are not independently accessible to the early adolescent.

Health Care Facilities. A growing trend in the health care industry is community based health care facilities. Locating clinics and small medical complexes in smaller communities may offer better access for adolescents to information and care in nutrition, health, and sex education.

Informal Institutions

Analysis of the quantity and quality of informal institutions within a community is a difficult task. One reason is that they may be easily overlooked. Informal institutions, however, prove to be very important to the quality of the environment for the adolescent. Informal institutions are those that are not structured by adults, but rather are under the control of the adolescent. These informal institutions are usually associated with leisure. Although many of the formal activities may fall into the leisure category, informal institutions by definition may be more linked to leisure. A definition of leisure by Christine Howe and Gaylene Carpenter states that leisure is related to a state of mind and perceived freedom. The motivation for involvement in an institution in large part determines whether it qualifies as leisure. Leisure institutions require no incentive outside their own motivation (not for economic or status gain). This is not to say other gains may not result from the institution, but in order to be leisure the motivation is intrinsic. The exploration of leisure and adolescent opportunities for leisure is important because of the importance leisure plays in our lives. As was discussed in Chapter Two, since the industrial revolution leisure has been a primary motivation for work. With many of the intrinsic rewards of work being removed, our society has made work a means for the

provision of leisure time and money. Therefore, how we structure leisure and what we learn to value in leisure as adolescents will no doubt influence what life-style we may pursue as adults.

As much as it has been stated that leisure is an end in itself, it must also be recognized that other gains are possible from many leisure activities. That is, the opportunity for variety in leisure activities is important because we may be gaining exposure to a variety of benefits while we "play." A description of informal (primarily leisure) institutions that are important to adolescents is presented below.

Family: Although we may not think of family as leisure it is certainly the environment where much of our leisure time is spent. It is an informal institution because the structure and form are determined by the individual family as a unit, not by some externally applied organization. Parents, siblings, grandparents, and relatives create the informal institution. Throughout adolescence a major goal is to move from the world of the family into the larger world, so that we may someday be autonomous. The early supports and strengths received from our family will greatly influence the ease of transition into adulthood that must be made (see Chapter Two). The importance of the stability of this institution is ubiquitously recognized. It is the basic unit of our culture. One of the conflicts that occurs in adolescents is the competition for time between family and peers.

Friends. In early adolescence one move from childhood is the change in peer relationships. Interaction with a few local friends moves to interactions with groups of the same sex friends. This progresses from same sex groups to heterosexual groups as

one moves further into early adolescence. Later, as individuals move into the proper and late stages of adolescence, groups dissipate into heterosexual dating and steady relationships. These gradual progressions appear to be very important in adolescent development.

Many myths exist about peer group involvement. According to B. Branford Brown, in Chapter Seven of Shirley Feldman and Glenn Elliott's book, the theory that peer groups push adolescents into deviant behavior is an inaccurate perception. The more recent opinion of peer group functions is that they are a ". . . substitute source of psychological dependence . . ." (Feldman & Elliott, Eds. 1990. p.180) as the adolescent moves from family in a quest for identity in the world. Brown continues to extol the advantages of peer groups while acknowledging that some individuals do falter and choose a dysfunctional crowd with maladaptive consequences. He states that there is a ". . . potential for peer groups to serve as a crucial context for personal growth during adolescence." (Feldman & Elliott, Eds. 1990. p.196).

Unfortunately, some peer group relationships do have negative effects on their members. It is suggested that more studies be undertaken to uncover the causes of delinquent behavior in these groups or gangs. In Felix Padilla's study of gangs in south Chicago, he concludes that many of the gang members join in gangs after being rejected or labeled as bad in elementary school. After continual failures and an inability to communicate their feelings to their parents these youths eventually find support in the youth gangs of their neighborhood. Even after joining gangs and engaging in criminal behavior many of the gang members interviewed expressed a desire to work with adults

rather than against them. According to Francis Ianni in *The Search for Structure*, the juvenile gang provides:

" . . (the) certainty of a structure of social control which for some reason is missing in their (adolescents) contacts with the more conventional social structure of their communities. Youths seek the support of street gangs because they did not have the 'good enough' socialization from family and community institutions which would facilitate their seeking more conventional bonds and relationships." (Ianni, 1989. p 211)

The perception or linking all youth groups to deviant gang behavior, as was stated in Chapter Two, has resulted in a philosophy of preventing adolescent gatherings. If peer groups offer a context needed by adolescents for positive development this philosophy may be extremely detrimental to their development. According to Brown, although adolescent groups appear to function autonomously, society controls may be prevalent, because the groups are often anchored in the schools and therefore heavily influenced by the schools. In most communities the only environment where adolescents can establish relationships that cross neighborhood boundaries is in school. In Csikszentmihalyi and Larson's study the amount of socializing in the halls was a distraction to the primary function of the school--learning. It may be that the current spatial isolation that we have created in our early adolescent's world has left schools as the only space available for necessary socializing tasks. The conflict this creates for the adolescent may well be substantial and requires specific attention.

B. Bradford Brown's chapter of Feldman & Elliot's book makes the point that in the period of early adolescence, although cognitive development is occurring, psychosocial development is far more dramatic and therefore more influential in demanding the

adolescent's attention. Particular attention to the institutions dedicated to psycho-social development is needed if we are to reduce environmentally induced conflicts in the adolescent's life. In the Chapin Hall studies numerous references are made to the diverse expectations of our school curriculums--scholastic, athletic, artistic, and moral. Schools are held responsible for too many areas of development. It certainly appears that the institution of friends should be provided with its own space in the community so that adolescents can pursue important socializing tasks outside the realm of the education facility.

Role Models. Numerous role models exist, such as teachers, employers, coaches, older adolescents, local business and store owners, public servants, group sponsors, and advisors. The problem again is one of accessibility. The world of the early adolescent is often isolated from the real world so that role models from outside education are minimal. In addition to this are the current expectations we have of the education system, which have left many of our middle school teachers burned out and unable to spend time with students, reducing their effectiveness as role models. It is important for adolescents to have exposure to various of philosophies and life-styles. This is expressed numerous times throughout Chapter Two. However, without access to a variety of people and their occupations exploration of various roles is difficult.

Parks and Natural Resources. According to Howe, leisure activities can be critical in obtaining feedback for role learning and realizing one's potential. Leisure activities can allow feelings of freedom and perceived competence, allowing adolescents to realize their potentials and limitations. In accessible parks and recreation facilities the

opportunity exists for a variety of exploration and athletic leisure activities. The community has a responsibility to see that the natural resources in a community are available and accessible to adolescents. If given the opportunity, adolescents will be highly creative and energetic in using natural resources. By nature the early adolescent seeks spontaneous physical activity and play. The opportunity need only be provided.

Sidewalks and Paths. Transportation opportunities are listed as both an informal and formal institution because both forms of transportation are needed. A recurrent theme in this thesis is the need for accessibility in the adolescent's environment. It cannot be stressed enough and is so frequently overlooked at present. Sidewalks, bike trails, and other safe, accessible avenues for adolescent mobility are essential to quality adolescent environments. Formal modes were itemized earlier, but the provisions of these informal modes must not be overlooked.

Hangouts. There is a need for public spaces, in view of adults, but adolescent defined (space for retreat or reflection). In Chapter Two, of this thesis, Kevin Lynch's study of children in the city were discussed to have revealed that adolescents often gathered in the streets. Lynch concluded this is due to their need to be in the adult world but acting under adolescent's control. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Alexander tells us there is a need for informal frequent meetings in order to build relationships; therefore it is logical that the need exists for casual, spontaneous, regular gathering places (a place to be seen and observe). We need further study on community provisions for teen hangouts.

Commercial Recreation. The variety of commercial entertainment opportunities continues to grow as we move even further into the consumer leisure economy described in Chapter Two. Adolescent leisure activities in many communities are entirely dependent on movies, arcades, miniature golf, and malls. The role and way these opportunities are integrated into the adolescent world should be a conscious planning decision rather than dictated by chance or economics alone.

Pick-up Sports. Unorganized sports activities that allow for spontaneous involvement offer a tremendous opportunity for informal socialization and physical activity. The accessible world of the adolescent should provide many opportunities for these forms of leisure activities.

Youth Center. The idea of a youth center needs further development and holds the potential to accommodate many of the informal and formal activities described here. The existence of a facility accessible and vital to the adolescent community may offer tremendous potential for community development as well as adolescent development. This institution is listed in both formal and informal institutions because of its potential dual role in the adolescent's life. The opportunity to establish a physical "space of there own" (discussed in Chapter Two) can aid in establishing a social space for the adolescent within society.

Own Room. The need for a personal space or room that allows for private and alone time is believed to be very important to the positive development of the early adolescent (Schave, 1989).

Parties. In Csikszentmihalyi and Larson's book the importance of partying to the older adolescent was expressed numerous times. In Chapter Nine of Feldman & Elliot's book Fine, Mortimer, and Roberts note that parties offer an opportunity for early adolescents to begin the type of interpersonal behavior that will develop into intimate relationships for the later adolescent. "The presence of peers in a semipublic situation puts a brake on excess intimacy and provides a moderately painless way for individuals to become sensitive to one another's feelings." (Feldman & Elliott, Eds. 1990. p.230). Adolescent organized parties, with adult guidance but not control, offer experiences in social and intimate skills development.

Hobbies. Practicing music or creating art were noted by the adolescents in the Csikszentmihalyi and Larson study as a time when the adolescents felt the best. The ability to loose oneself in creative endeavors is engaging in negentropic experiences. These endeavors help develop the adolescent's sense of competence and enjoyment in experiences that will result in growth.

Relationships

In this chapter informal and formal institutions have been linked to the needs and tasks of adolescent development. Specific relationships can now be drawn and are illustrated in the following tables. The matrix has been set up to show which institutions are required or potentially helpful in completing the tasks previously enumerated. This matrix is similar to those matrixes previously presented. However, this matrix demonstrates the facilitating relationship of the institutions to specific tasks in the lower

half of the matrix. The upper portion of the matrix shows the facilitating relationship the institutions have to the five evaluation segments important to adolescent environment. The body of the matrix has been filled in with numbers reflecting preliminary judgments made by the researcher. The evaluation rating of the facilitating relationship an institution has with a task or segments is a subjective judgment and therefore open to discussion and debate.

TABLE 5-1 FORMAL INSTITUTIONS FACILITATING SEGMENTS & TASKS

S E G M E N T S	PLAY	0	1	2	2	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	0
	IDENTITY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	SOCIAL STRUCTURES	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
	SERVICES	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
	ACCESS	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
FORMAL INSTITUTIONS		SCHOOL	CHURCH	YOUTH CENTER	NON-PROFIT YOUTH ORG.	TRANSPORTATION	YOUTH SERVICE	PARK & REC. ACTIVITY	SUPPORT GROUPS	PRIVATE LESSONS	FITNESS CLUBS	CULTURAL FACILITIES	HEALTH CARE FACILITIES
T A S K S	NUTRITION	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	2
	SHARE INTIMACIES	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	AVOID SUBSTANCE ABUSE	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	1	1	2	2	0	1	3	1	1	1	0	0
	SEX EDUCATION	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
	BIRTH CONTROL	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	3
	AUTHORITY FIGURES	3	3	2	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	ADULT ACTIVITIES	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1
	SOCIALIZE	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0
	PEER GROUP MEMBER	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
	RETREAT PLACE	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
	ADULT SUPPORT	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	1
	RECOGNITION	3	2	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
	MIRRORING REWARDS	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
	IDEALIZATION	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	EXPOSURE-ADULTS & OCCUPATIONS	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2
	EXPRESS OPINIONS AND DEBATE VALUES	2	2	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
	TEST MORALS-REAL LIFE	2	2	2	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
	EXPERIMENT-NEW SKILLS	2	2	2	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
	SHARE IN DECISIONS	2	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
	COMPLEX SITUATIONS	2	2	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
	AVOID ADULT CONTROL	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
	SHORT TERM PROJECTS	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
	ACHIEVE TANGIBLE RESULTS	3	1	1	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	0	0

(3) Required Facilitator (2) Needed Facilitator (1) Potential Facilitator (-1) Potential Detriment (0) No Relationship

TABLE 5-2 INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS FACILITATING SEGMENTS & TASKS

S E G M E N T S	PLAY	2	3	2	3	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	1
	IDENTITY	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
	SOCIAL STRUCTURES	3	3	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
	SERVICES	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	1
	ACCESS	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	0	1	1
INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS		FAMILY	FRIENDS	ROLE MODELS	PARKS & NATURAL RESOURCE	SIDEWALK & PATHS	HANG-OUTS	COMMERCIAL RECREATION	PICK-UP SPORTS	YOUTH CENTER	OWN ROOM	PARTIES	HOBBIES
T A S K S	NUTRITION	3	1	3	0	0	2,-1	2,-1	0	1	0	1	0
	SHARE INTIMACIES	2	3	1	0	1	2	1,-1	1	1	1	2	1
	AVOID SUBSTANCE ABUSE	2	1,-1	2,-1	1,-1	0	1,-1	1,-1	1	1	1,-1	1,-1	1
	PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	2	3	2,-1	3	3	1,-1	2,-1	2	2	0,-1	1	1
	SEX EDUCATION	3	1,-1	1,-1	0	0	1,-1	1,-1	0	1	1	1,-1	0
	BIRTH CONTROL	2,-1	2,-1	2,-1	0	0	1,-1	2,-1	0	1	0	0	0
	AUTHORITY FIGURES	3	1,-1	3	0	0	1,-1	1,-1	1	2	0,-1	1,-1	2
	ADULT ACTIVITIES	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2
	SOCIALIZE	1	3	1	1	1	3	3	2	2	0,-1	3	2
	PEER GROUP MEMBER	1,-1	3	1	1	1	3	1,-1	1	1	-1	1	2
	RETREAT PLACE	1,-1	1,-1	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	3	0,-1	1
	ADULT SUPPORT	3	0	3	1	0	1	2	1	2	0	1,-1	2
	RECOGNITION	3	3	3	0	0	2	1	1	2	0	2	2
	MIRRORING REWARDS	3	1	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
	IDEALIZATION	3	3	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
	EXPOSURE-ADULTS & OCCUPATIONS	1	0	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	2
	EXPRESS OPINIONS/DEBATE	2	2	2	0	0	1	1,-1	1	1	0	2	1
	TEST MORALS-REAL LIFE	1	1	2	0	0	2	3	2	2	0	2	1
	EXPERIMENT-NEW SKILLS	1	2	3	0	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	2
	SHARE IN DECISIONS	3	3	3	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
	COMPLEX SITUATIONS	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
	AVOID ADULT CONTROL	2,-1	3	2,-1	1	3	2	1,-1	2	1	2	1	1
	SHORT TERM PROJECTS	2	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
	ACHIEVE TANGIBLE RESULTS	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1

(3) Required Facilitator (2) Needed Facilitator (1) Potential Facilitator (-1) Potential Detriment (0) No Relationship

Additional matrixes have been provided (see Tables 5-3 and 5-4) that involve another level of evaluation of the institutions. The first matrix attempts to correlate the design criteria of Chapter Three (see Conflicts) with the institutions presented in this chapter. The intent is to establish when the various design criteria should be or could be incorporated into the institutions. Matrix-Table 5-3, correlates each design criteria to each institution.

The second matrix presents a format to begin an analysis of how the institutions relate to each other. In the matrix in Table 5-4, a hierarchy of spatial linkage judgments can be made. From this analysis bubble diagrams revealing spatial relationships could be generated. This may offer a way to begin conceptual design goals for adolescent institutions and their relative locations in space. In Table 5-4 only the first column has been completed to serve as an example of judgments that need to be made. The remainder of the table has been left blank, due to the nature of the decisions that need to be made. That is, spatial linkages are specific to the needs and geographic conditions of an individual community. It is felt that, general assumptions by this researcher would not be useful to the reader in this matrix.

The matrix concepts outlined here need further development outside the scope of this thesis. These have been presented as food for thought and possibly further study.

TABLE 5-3 NEGENTROPIC CRITERIA FOR INSTITUTIONS

INSTITUTIONS		NEGENTROPIC CRITERIA					
		SPONTANEOUS INVOLVEMENT	CLEARLY DEFINED RULES	CLEAR GOALS	CONSTRUCTIVE FEEDBACK	REQUIRE CONCENTRATION	LOSS OF SELF CONSCIOUSNESS
F O R M A L	SCHOOL	1,-1	3	2	3	3	1
	CHURCH	1,-1	3	2	2	1	1
	TRANSPORTATION	3	0	0	0	0	0
	NON-PROFIT YOUTH ORGANIZATION	2	3	2	2	2	1
	YOUTH CENTER	3	3	1	2	2	3
	YOUTH SERVICE PROGRAMS	3	3	3	3	2	1
	PARK & REC ACTIVITIES	3	1	3	3	3	2
	SUPPORT GROUPS	3	2	2	3	2	3
	PRIVATE LESSONS	2	3	3	3	3	3
	FITNESS CLUBS	3	2	1	1	1	2
	CULTURAL FACILITIES	3	2	1	2	2	1
	HEALTH CARE FACILITIES	1,-1	3	2	3	0	0
I N F O R M A L	FAMILY	2	3	3	3	0	2
	FRIENDS	3	1	1	3	1	3
	ROLE MODELS	2	2	2	3	2	1
	PARKS & NATURAL RESOURCES	2	1	1	1	1	2
	SIDEWALKS & PATHS	3	1	0	0	1	1
	HANGOUTS	3	2	1,-1	2,-1	1	2
	COMMERCIAL RECREATION	2	3	1	1	1	2
	PICK-UP SPORTS	2	2	1	1	1	1
	YOUTH CENTER	3	1	1	2	1	2
	OWN ROOM	3	0	0	1	1	1
	PARTIES	3	1	0	2	1,-1	2,-1
	HOBBIES	3	2	3	2	2	1

(3) Required Criteria (2) Needed Criteria (1) Potential Criteria (-1) Potential Detriment (0) No Relationship

(See Chapter Two, pages 27-28, for definition of negentropic.)

TABLE 5-4 HIERARCHY OF SPATIAL LINKAGES

INSTITUTION		SCHOOL	CHURCH	TRANS	YOUTH ORG	YOUTH CENTER	PARK & REC	SUPPORT GROUPS	PRVT INSTR	FITN ESS	CULT FACIL	HEALTH CARE	FAMILY	FRIENDS	ROLE MODEL	PARKS & NAT	SIDE-WALK	HANG OUTS	COMM'L RECR'N	PICK-UP SPORTS	YTH CTR	OWN ROOM	PARTY
F O R M A L	SCHOOL	-----																					
	CHURCH	1,0																					
	TRANSPORTATION	2																					
	NON-PROFIT YOUTH ORGANIZATION	1																					
	YOUTH CENTER	2,1																					
	YOUTH SERVICE PROGRAMS	1																					
	PARK & REC ACTIVITIES	2																					
	SUPPORT GROUPS	1																					
	PRIVATE INSTRUCT	1																					
	FITNESS CLUBS	2																					
	CULTURAL FACILITIES	1																					
	HEALTH CARE FACILITIES	1																					
I N F O R M A L	FAMILY	1																					
	FRIENDS	2																					
	ROLE MODELS	2,1																					
	PARKS & NATURAL RESOURCES	2																					
	SIDEWALKS & PATHS	2																					
	HANGOUTS	2																					
	COMMERCIAL RECREATION	1																					
	PICK-UP SPORTS	2																					
	YOUTH CENTER	2																					
	OWN ROOM	0																					
	PARTIES	1																					
	HOBBIES	1																					

(2) Direct Link (1) Indirect Link (0) No Relationship

CHAPTER SIX

Summary and Conclusions

Summary

The intent of this thesis was to uncover the physical and psycho-social environmental conditions important to positive adolescent development. A broad cross-discipline investigation ensued. It was shown that adolescence is a critical and evolving distinct phase of development that is culturally defined. The primary goal of adolescence is to develop a self identity that will allow for an autonomous and fulfilled individual who recognizes civic and family responsibilities (see Chapter Three).

Many other goals and objectives that will contribute to the adolescent's culturally defined positive development were itemized. Numerous tasks were identified that will facilitate the accomplishment of the goals and objectives. At the end of Chapter Three the relationships between the goals, objectives, and tasks was illustrated in a matrix form showing that a set of tasks can be developed for each goal.

Evaluation of the physical environment in relation to the adolescent was presented in Chapter Four. This evaluation focused on the specific characteristics of urban, suburban, and rural environments and their impacts on the adolescent. A matrix showing the relationships between the five evaluation segments of adolescent environments was also developed at the end of Chapter Four. This illustrated the general strengths and

weaknesses of particular environments to provide for the re-defined segments of adolescent environments.

In Chapter Five an examination of various institutions that provide opportunities, or could provide opportunities, is provided. These institutions are then compared with the tasks identified in Chapter Three, and a judgment is made concerning the necessity or potential of each institution in facilitating those tasks which can accommodate positive adolescent development. Those judgments are given in the body of the matrix.

From a review of these matrixes one can discern the tasks necessary to achieve the various goals of adolescents. It is then possible to establish the importance of the various institutions in facilitating the accomplishment of those tasks. Once it has been established which institutions a community needs, another level of evaluation has been applied to both the development of the tasks and the development of the institutions (see Chapter Five). By analyzing the tasks and institutions in respect to their ability to accommodate the six structural criteria outlined in Chapter Three, we are able to set guides regarding the design of the institutions. With these guidelines met, it is hypothesized that conflicts may be minimized in the completion of the adolescent's tasks. If conflicts are reduced, then it is hoped that the adolescent will be engaged in the tasks needed for growth and positive development.

Each community must evaluate itself for its own strengths and weaknesses in facilitating positive adolescent development. This thesis has created a framework for such an evaluation. It is not a tried or proven technique but it is one possible approach to analysis of a community's performance in making provisions for positive development

adolescent. It is hoped that planners can use this as an evaluation tool as they begin to give specific attention to adolescent needs as they plan for their communities.

Conclusion

Adolescence is notable as a stage of development and is a culturally defined evolving phenomenon. Our western culture expects the development of a self concept, a good self image, and individualization. Our culture believes that through meeting many challenges for individual growth and development positive adolescent development will result. Those challenges are defined in this thesis as goals, objectives, and tasks.

To achieve the goals and objectives of positive adolescent development many tasks must be completed. It is through tasks that increased capabilities are achieved that will aid the adolescent in achieving new levels of competency. With higher competency, adolescents feel better about themselves and begin to generate a strong sense of themselves and their capabilities--important criteria for the generation of a self concept, good self image, and individualization.

These challenges are presented at the same time many radical physical, emotional, and psychological developmental changes are occurring. Because the development of the adolescent is occurring at highly accelerated rates this time is a critical stage in one's life. During this period of accelerated change and development stress, conflict, and turmoil are inevitable. For the adolescent to meet the challenges within this framework of turmoil external guidance and support are required. Until they are able to internally regulate there emotional and psychological states supports are essential. In optimal

conditions adults can offer the best source for support during this period. Unfortunately the necessary feedback and support from adults is not always available. At those times adolescents often seek and find the support they need in peer relationships.

The importance of feedback and support for the early adolescent cannot be overemphasized. It is only through feedback and support that they can begin to understand and establish who they are. It is through the structure and security of the supports available that adolescents find the strength to confront their challenges. Therefore, if we are to provide for our adolescents an optimal environment it would be one in which free spontaneous access to highly supportive, structured, and caring people exists.

The opportunity for personal contact with this type of support is contrary to much of the manner in which we have designed the current adolescent world. Today's world for the adolescent consists of spatial separations--school, home, work, and play are often isolated from each other and from adults. This has created barriers to community and family relationships. This breakdown has not only removed adult structure and supports but has also left a void in learning opportunities--observation and experimentation. Without exposure to adults as a resource in the everyday world, we have made transition from the world of childhood into adulthood more difficult. This void may be creating a large interference to positive adolescent development. In many ways the world of the adolescent is hidden and isolated from the adult world. In current planning and policy we are extremely conscious of the needs of both the elderly and the small child, yet there does not appear to be much concern over the specific needs of the adolescent.

If we are to consider the early adolescent in our planning, then there is a tremendous challenge being set before educators, policy makers, and planners. That challenge is for government to create communities where adolescents play a **visible** and **vital** part, where they have a physical and social place, where they can observe and practice the roles they will need to assume in our society. If we do not provide appropriate space within the adult world for their development they may not achieve positive development. They may be left to create their own supports and structures that, without adult guidance, result in dangerous activities or misguided lifestyles in later adolescence and adulthood. Many of the adolescent problems today are a result of a lack of quality adult feedback, mirroring, and idealization.

Somehow the enculturation of our adolescents must be given more attention and higher priorities if we are to expect the next generation to carry forward our dreams. Within every neighborhood community there should be freely accessible multi-functional places where the culture flourishes and grows through indoctrination. Urban design plans should provide for these places where the varieties of activities and people that are a part of the community are visible--places that encourages the crossing and interplay of the members of the community on an informal routine basis. In such places each adolescent needs to receive both a sense of self within the community and an opportunity to gain from the other members of the community, thereby achieving a multi-sided relationship with a community identity. Informal and formal institutions should cross in this place so adolescents recognize their interdependency. The creation of such places may benefit

everyone's need for community and relationship, but it is essential in order to teach our adolescents about themselves and the place they can take in the world.

As in all planning there is no magical answer to all situations. Each location and community must be independently evaluated and understood. The basic needs and wants of the user must also be evaluated and understood. This thesis has addressed some basic necessities and fundamentals that are a part of the adolescent in our culture and has shown their relationship to the environments and institutions that are parts of that culture. It is hoped that this may be a beginning for further study into the adolescent environment and how it should be planned. It is important, as was stated in the Introduction of this thesis, that a cross-discipline approach be taken so that the complexities of adolescent development may be more fully understood and accommodated.

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VITA

Teresa R. Shupp was born in Philadelphia, PA on February 21, 1955. She attended elementary school in Havertown, PA and Bethel Park, PA (Pittsburgh area). Her adolescent years were spent in Severna Park, MD where she had access to a wide variety of recreational activities and responsibilities. That experience greatly influenced her life and the topic for this thesis. She graduated from Gateway High School, Monroeville, PA (Pittsburgh area) in June 1973. The following September she entered The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA and in May, 1977 received a Bachelor of Science in Architecture. In August, 1977 she married David L. Shupp, MD, they have since settled with their three children in Knoxville, TN. In August, 1991 she entered The University of Tennessee and in August, 1993 received a Master of Science in Planning.

She is currently residing with her family in Knoxville, TN where she will pursue her career combining talents in planning and architecture.