

Exhibit P-74

THEORIES OF YOUTH UNREST IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE*

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Ever since Hall's (1916) classic work, turbulence and unrest have been accepted as characteristics of adolescence and many theories have been propounded to explain this. At one time most of the evidence regarding this unrest came either from individual cases or from data on delinquency, both difficult sources to interpret. The individual history tends to come from the person with an above-average verbal facility who is perhaps also above average in introspection. Delinquency data tend to come disproportionately from the disadvantaged classes. Recently, however, attention has been drawn to another form of adolescent unrest which has neither of these disadvantages — the youth protest movement. Such movements are not common, for some societies can run for decades without recording a single instance, but they are exceedingly widespread and they have been commoner than most people realise. Even when they occur it is only a minority of the available youth that participate, but on the other hand it is often true that a majority of the remainder sympathise and feel themselves being spoken for. They often overlap adult movements and when this occurs it may be difficult to distinguish those features which truly derive from the youth themselves, but on the other hand one finds that when one does distinguish these they have a particularly adolescent quality. They have been reported to be completely absent from traditional folk societies and this, if true, could be of considerable significance. For psychiatrists these movements have a double interest. In the first place, it is usual for other forms of adolescent unrest to be accompanied by some mental disturbance, and we need to know whether to expect that with this type also. In the second place the movements provide a possible means of testing or expanding the different theories of adolescence on which our therapeutic approaches are likely to be based. I propose, therefore, to review what we know about such movements in different types of

society, and then examine what theory of adolescence best explains them*.

Characteristics of Youth Protest Movements

Much that has been written on youth protest movements since 1968 has been more confusing than helpful, at least if one is interested in the phenomena of adolescence. One can easily get the impression that such movements are new and that they occur exclusively in highly-developed or what I am inclined to call 'over-developed' societies. The characteristics of the leaders of such movements tend to be attributed to their followers, and movements which the youth have developed for themselves are lumped together with movements which are led by adults or which adults have taken over. The facts are, however, that what one has seen in Europe in recent years is much less than could have been seen a hundred to two hundred years earlier (Altbach, 1968), that such movements are commoner in India than they are in the United States (Aries, 1960), that the goals of the leaders are often different from those of their followers, so that the latter soon refuse to follow, and that the character of a movement guided by adults is usually quite different from one which the youth have held in their own hands. An overview of the movements in a single society only, or only during a brief period in history, tends to give one false impressions which a broader view corrects. Such a broader view, also, permits certain common features to be recognised which do not occur to anything like the same extent in adult-organised movements but which equally cannot be attributed merely to inexperience.

The earliest of these features to appear is usually a readiness to switch objectives or even main goals, not only when these appear too difficult

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* For the purposes of this paper adolescence is taken as the period from the onset of physiological puberty to the social assumption of all adult roles, privileges and duties. A movement is taken as something involving 10% or more of adolescents in a community, with a minimum of 100 active members except when the adolescent community is very small as in the case of the Samburu.

to attain but when they appear too easy. A well-documented instance of this was during the Columbia protest of 1968 (Lipsit and Altbach, 1969; Spencer, 1969). Such switching does not always occur, of course, but one tends to find that in youth protests the initial objectives will be sacrificed for the sake of the movement whereas with adult-led protests the movement will be sacrificed for the sake of the goal.

The second feature, linked to the first, is a desire for power accompanied by a disinterest in using it. That was not a feature of the famous youth movement, the *Wandervögel* (Laqueur, 1961; Mosse, 1964) at the beginning of this century, but it is of most others, with the disinterest being the more striking element (A desire for power is common at all ages). I have described one very clear instance of this drive and then disinterest in a Singapore movement reported in another paper (Murphy, 1971), but one can cite many others including the Vienna revolt of 1848 (Esler, 1971). Political analysts tend to assume that the failure to use the power is due to quarrelling or incompetence among the leaders but an alternative interpretation is that the movements have been in pursuit of the sense of power rather than of power itself, symbolic victories being sufficient (Lipsit and Altbach, 1969).

The third feature which strikes me as typical is assembly or congregation. Virtually all movements must have some meeting, but with many adult protest groups such meetings are brief and the members then separate to pursue their assigned roles. In youth protest movements the occupation of a hall or city square is nearly always in view and once it is occupied it is used not merely for discussion but for living in. Moreover, assigned roles are rare, as is any formal structure, and the equality of all members is sometimes an important principle. I know of only one major youth protest movement where congregation was not a feature or an unattained goal and in that instance, the *Narodniki* in Russia a century ago, the ideas came from adult Nihilists (Esler, 1971).

The fourth feature is that there is always some appearance of a generation clash, but that this, once again, is more an abstract concept than a concrete reality. There is a protest against existing social conditions, the elder generation is perceived to have caused or to have tolerated these conditions, and therefore it is attacked. But actions often belie the official declarations. Support is usually sought from and provided by sympathising adults, and conversely the desires and needs of the older generation are regularly catered to. In Peking the Red Guards invited householders to tell them who the local reactionaries were (Asia Res. Cen., 1968); in Budapest the young students starting the 1956 revolt are reported to have said to a housewife, "If we wipe our feet properly, may we come in and shoot out of your window?" (Paloczi-Horvath,

1971); in India students demonstrated in favour of teachers whom they had but recently named as their enemies, after finding common cause with them (Singh, 1968).

A fifth feature is a seeking for allies even from sources too distant to be of real help, and the sixth and final feature which I wish to mention is an evanescence or tendency for the movements to fade away quickly once they reach their peak. In many cases this fading away is accelerated by official suppression, but one can often perceive either that the apparently effective suppression had been ineffective in the earlier stages, or that the leadership of the movement had increasingly invited such suppression once the initial impetus of the movement was exhausted (Hendin, 1971). Moreover, there are instances where suppression has manifestly failed (Murphy, 1971) but where the movement fades away rapidly all the same, something which is much rarer with adult-led movements. The *Zengakuren* of Japan were a notable exception to this rule about evanescence, but it is strongly suspected that they had hidden adult leaders and there was a special factor favouring them. Students admitted to a university in Japan are able to remain for up to ten years while producing very little academic work, so that a large core of activists is able to accumulate (Kasahara, 1971).

So much for the movements themselves; now, what is common in their backgrounds?

The most obvious fact is that such movements occur more in large campuses and schools than in smaller ones. This can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand we can say that this is merely because there are more youth gathered there and because the incidence of such movements should be calculated in terms of the number of adolescents at risk and not in terms of institutional size. That explanation, if true, could in large degree account for the rarity of movements being described in traditional folk societies, since anthropologists seldom study communities with more than one or two hundred adolescents in them, and it thus needs hundreds of studied communities to provide the equivalent of a U.S. state college. However, this explanation overlooks the fact that there are two further types of institution in which one finds large numbers of youth but which virtually never produce youth protest movements, namely military training camps and certain large industries. One does meet protests in such settings, particularly in industry, but they are not confined to youth or led by them.

The alternative explanation for the concentration in large campuses is that the size of the institution is a relevant factor, particularly where the organisation of activities within it does not favour the small-group development that is customary in most military and industrial settings. This explanation is supported by the fact that students

who come from neighbouring small towns are less likely to join protest movements than those who come from afar or from large cities (Flacks, 1970). Similarly, students who are recently arrived are more likely to join than those who have been on campus for some time (Lipsit and Altbach, 1969), regardless of age and year of study. Since adult protests, e.g. strikes, also tend to occur more frequently in large institutions than in small, this seems the more likely explanation for this characteristic.

A second point linked to the previous one is that movements seem most likely to start or to acquire members when youth have no clear image of their role or status in the larger society. We know that youths following a clear-cut professional career such as medicine or engineering are less likely to participate in such movements than youths with vaguer careers, even though the former perceive their teachers as providing them with less support (Arnove, 1969). Those that come from a working-class background and see themselves as potential contributors to their family income participate less than those whose income is not needed by their families (Flacks, 1970). First born males in India, where this birth rank carries important family status, participate less than other males (Ross, 1969).

A third point, perhaps too obvious to require mention, is that administrations which are efficient at anticipating and meeting the needs of youth experience less protest movements than others do, even though in the strictness of their rules and demands they may superficially provide the greater cause for protest. Bombay university in India boasts of being such a place and of experiencing many fewer disturbances than other Indian universities (Joshi, 1971). When I come to mention in brief youth protest in small traditional societies we will find that the same rule applies. This factor is of much greater importance than the presence or absence of specific irritants, even though it is the latter which provide the movements with their rallying cries.

A final point concerns the times at which one can expect such movements to appear. Broadly speaking, there are two particularly favourable periods. The first is shortly after a patriotic but not too severe war in which the youth or their immediately preceding age-set have participated. This was the case at the birth of the German *Burschenschaft* movement in 1815, perhaps the May Fourth Movement in China in 1919, the Korean student rising in 1960, the appearance of the scholar groups in Kinshasa in 1963, the Nigerian student protests of 1971, and perhaps some of the South American movements. The participants at these times tend either to be soldiers who have returned to a state of social adolescence after occupying a full adult role, or they might be the following age-set, contrasting

their own situation with that of their heroic elder brothers. Usually, however, there is an implicit comparison between what youth had done in the war and what it is doing now. The second favourable time, sometimes coinciding with the foregoing, is when social change has been so rapid that a privileged group has grown up in ignorance of the hardships of their parents but in ignorance also of what place society has for it. This occurs relatively frequently in rapidly developing countries, where the ideals taught in high school and university may be out of harmony with the occupational possibilities which the society has to offer at the time. However, one might say that the late 1960s were such a period for the United States, and another such period was the beginning of this century in Germany.

Generational Conflict in Traditional Societies

Both in their origins and in the features which they develop, youth protest movements in under-developed but rapidly developing societies are very similar, as I hope you have gathered, to those in the most developed societies. Perhaps the former are a little less idealistic in their nominal goals; certainly they are more liable to be linked to adult political movements and to disrupt the political scene. They often have more concrete grounds for grievance within the institutions which harbour them, and they switch objectives somewhat less often in consequence. Sometimes they appear more violent, as was the case with the Red Guards; sometimes they receive harsher suppression, as has been the case in Greece; but these extremes occur when the movement is linked to an adult political movement of major concern to the society. When the movements remain in adolescent hands there is very little difference between those in large under-developed and those in large over-developed societies.

A different picture arises, however, when one turns to small traditional societies, whether these be what we would call developed or not. Adolescent protest movements are much rarer in these, and when one finds them in developed societies they frequently seem to have developed in imitation of a larger movement elsewhere. Margaret Mead (1959) has stressed the differences which exist between adolescence in one society and another (Mead, 1959), and the question arises whether youth protest movements exist at all in traditional settings, if not inspired from without.

For present purposes traditional societies can be divided into two broad categories: those in which there is no higher political organisation or centralising force such as would be likely to bring many adolescents together in one place for education or military duty, the so-called stateless societies; and those possessing that higher level

of organisation. In the latter, the evidence suggests that protest movements do occur, that they are directed against the authorities, and that they take place principally among groups of adolescents who are living in residences away from their own homes. The main difference between these protest actions and the modern ones lies with the level of abstraction of the declared goals, the more modern movements having usually but not always the more abstract programmes. Raymond Aries (1969) cites many examples of such pre-modern protest revolts in 16th and 17th century French schools, and also in Britain until about 1850, the latter differing from the movements in Germany of that same time in their more primitive nature. Still earlier there were, of course, the well-known student riots at the University of Paris in the 13th century (Dulaure, 1823). Outside of Europe evidence is more difficult to find, but it seems probable that among the various social disturbances created by Buddhist monks in China, Japan and Tibet down the ages, some were the protests of acolytes against the harsh discipline of their teachers or the lack of respect accorded them by the laity. Certainly, an association of young monks conducted a march through the centre of Rangoon in 1938, resulting in a riot (Smith, 1965), and Melford Spiro (1970) cites a Burmese conundrum to the effect that the three "*tha*" to be feared are the "*sittah*" (soldiers), "*caung:tha*" (students) and "*hpaya:tha*" (monks).

In stateless societies adolescents are not collected together far from their homes, so that the conditions which appear to have given rise to school and monastery revolts do not exist. However, in some of these societies there is a formal system of age-sets with the adolescents, after circumcision or some ritual, being forced to sleep away from home, to stay in bands of their own age group, and to serve the community in specific ways while not being accorded the right to marry or to share in community decisions. S. N. Eisenstadt (1956) has discussed this type of institution in detail, arguing that it tends to arise when the extended family is no longer a sufficient nexus within which the adolescent can learn the roles that society requires. He cites no example of youth revolt in a traditional society of this type and appears to think that such revolt only occurs in more modern societies, but a case of a youth group organising to attack their elders has been described from one tribe that uses age-sets (Spencer, 1965), and one gets the impression that such revolt could occur again among them, since other protest reactions of that youth group against its elders are also occurring. Other East African users of the age-set system, the Nandi (Huntingford, 1953) and the Red Xhosa (Mayer and Mayer, 1970), for instance, appear to do so more efficiently than the foregoing tribe, the Samburu, and Eisenstadt is undoubtedly correct in seeing the system as promoting social integration rather than social dissention; but the

Samburu example shows that a youth revolt is possible even in a primitive, stateless society.

In stateless societies which do not use the age-set system, on the other hand, I can trace no example of a similar group action extending across families, although action by the younger generation against the older within families is common enough (Skinner, 1961). Apparently, unless a primitive society so structures life that the youth are set apart in a group, they virtually never band themselves together to make a joint protest against their elders or society under traditional conditions. In African cities, of course, youth gangs exist much as they do in other cities (La Fontaine, 1970), but in these instances the traditional life has been broken down.

Psychiatric Concomitants

These observations indicate that adolescent protest movements are more widespread than has usually been realised, but they do not indicate that they are so common as to be considered normal, and if we regard them as abnormal then the obvious question for the psychiatrist is: Does this abnormality of behaviour imply a mental abnormality which in turn might imply a need for treatment, or should it be regarded as a purely social phenomenon?

One has to search quite hard to find the evidence that would enable one to answer this, but some does exist and points to fairly definite conclusions. In the first place it can be stated that in those instances for which we have data, there are signs of increased mental disturbance in youth prior to a movement erupting. I have shown this for Singapore and for Bordeaux (Murphy, 1971) in a previous paper and have since found further evidence from Africa and Czechoslovakia. In the last-named country Engelsmann reported in 1966 that students aged 16-18, females particularly, had among the highest rates of all subgroups within the population on a neuroticism questionnaire, whereas working apprentices of about the same age had the lowest rate (Engelsmann, 1966). As we know, it was the Czechoslovak students who started the protest movement in 1968 which led to the Russian intervention in that country, whereas the young apprentices only joined the movement later as part of the general working-class protest (Spencer, 1969). In Africa the evidence does not relate specifically to the time before a protest erupted but instead it concerns the general mental health of one youth group among which such a mass protest has been reported. These youth suffer quite extensively from a disorder which their tribe, the Samburu, calls "goat-madness" and which does not afflict their elders (Spencer, 1965). The disorder consists of restlessness, irresponsibility and a sense of purposelessness. The young men brood, leave their home villages without warning, wander away on fruitless errands, take no notice

of what others are trying to say, quarrel pointlessly, and fail to intervene in a fight among their friends even though their culture strongly adjures them to do so. In addition, they suffer from a hysterical shaking at times, though this is something which their society does not regard as really abnormal. An association between mental disturbance and the outbreak of a protest movement is thus highly probable, even though the association may be very weak if the movement is part of a temporary wave of protests and has become a popular thing to join.

During the movement, judging from the Singapore and Bordeaux data, and also from my general reading, the sense of distress diminishes, but the relief is probably temporary and there is quite likely to be even more distress afterwards. Lincoln (1968) has stated that there is a sharp increase in the number of students seeking counselling and therapy after a period of dissent ends, in the U.S. In Holland a sample of students surveyed in 1971, after several relatively successful movements, reported significantly more symptoms and dissatisfaction than an equivalent group surveyed in 1967 when the movements were starting, the same instrument being used each time (Kraijer, 1971). In Canada informants have told me that students at the University of Montreal displayed marked apathy and listlessness for more than six months after the dissolution of one movement. In the U.S.A., again, a survey of persons active and inactive in politics revealed that left-wing activists, mainly Negro, scored significantly higher on a well-known symptom check-list than either non-activist Negroes from the same districts or persons, Negro and White, who were active within the more traditional political parties (Marcus, 1968). For the mass membership the main type of symptom which is reported before and after such movements is apathy or purposelessness. I have mentioned this with respect to the Samburu youth and the Montreal students, and Engelsmann found it in the Czechoslovak ones. The most frequent complaint among his young subjects was a "reluctance to do anything" whereas this symptom did not appear nearly so often among the adults (Engelsmann, 1966). For the leaders the main symptoms, if they had any, are different, consisting in my own experience of paranoid projections, a desire for punishment, aggressiveness towards even their own friends, and depression.* Hendin (1971) has noted similar features.

* My own observations were made in Singapore on students who sought to arouse movements but who nearly always failed to do so, other factors being unpropitious. However, a recent study by Berns at Berkeley (1972) arrived at very similar conclusions although employing quite a different approach.

The broad conclusion from this evidence, therefore, is that although the outbreak of a protest movement may relieve symptoms and certainly does not generate them, we should regard the circumstances under which such movements arise as moderately pathogenic and we should be on the look-out for psychiatric casualties both among those of the same adolescent set who do not join the movement — Halleck (1967) has noted that the most disturbed are not able to participate — and among the joiners once the movement is over.

Theories of Adolescence

That last conclusion was an empirical one, but if we are properly to learn from these movements we must attempt to move beyond the empirical to the theoretical. Table 1 offers a rough summary of the main features which I believe to distinguish most adolescent protest movements from most of their adult counterparts, virtually regardless of the society in which they develop, and which therefore ought theoretically to be connected in some way with the processes of adolescence. For the rest of this paper I propose to examine how far existing theory appears to explain this picture.

The obvious starting-point for any theory on adolescence is the activation of physiological sexuality at puberty, and there have been many attempts to explain all the other features of adolescence on this basis, including the protest movements. A direct connection is missing, for the protest movements have maintained a wide gamut of attitudes towards sexuality; from prudery, as during the Singapore Chinese High School movement (Murphy, 1971), through indifference flavoured with homosexuality as among the Wandervögel (Laquer, 1961), to enforced heterosexual promiscuity as among some branches of the Students for a Democratic Society (Powers, 1971). If one sees the upsurge of sexual drives as necessitating secondary changes such as detachment from the family of orientation, a renewal of the struggle between Ego and Id (Freud, 1948) or a reawakening of oedipal conflicts (Freud, 1953), however, the protest movement features that can be explained are greatly increased. The search for a common cause away from the family, the attack on authority figures and the self-defeating character of some activities could all be explained on the basis of such secondary reactions. Oedipal theory in particular has been used to explain youth protest movements, and as long as one concentrates on the declared objectives of the movements and the behaviour of leaders (Endleman, 1970) it fits well. Where the leaders have symptoms these often have an oedipal character, as I noted earlier, and a number of the apparent paradoxes (viewed from this angle) might be explained by the need for oedipal conflicts to find expression in a way that will not disrupt family stability, for instance by taking place away from home.

When one looks at other features of modern movements and at less modern societies, however, the relationship of oedipal conflicts to youth movements becomes more problematic. Father-son conflicts can quite often be found in traditional societies, for instance among the Gisu (La Fontaine, 1960) and the Messi (Skinner, 1961), but these do not correlate well with either the development of adolescent group movements or the early childhood conditions which should most often, in theory, lead to oedipal problems. In his cross-cultural study of oedipal situations Stephens (1962) states that although the expected associations appeared in relation to mother-son

attachments, father-son rivalry could not be analysed in this fashion. Schiamberg (1969) similarly found that the oedipus theory did not well explain adolescent-parent conflict in the societies she reviewed (Schiamberg, 1969). Finally, in the picture we obtain from over-developed countries there are quite a number of facts which do not fit the theory well, for instance, the association between attacks against authority in adulthood and attacks on the mother in childhood (Kagan and Moss, 1962). Therefore although the oedipus complex theory, and others based at one remove on the concept of awakened adolescent sexuality, explain part of the picture, we must look further to explain the rest.

The further theories on adolescence best known to psychiatrists are those concerned with identity formation. Here we also have the means of accounting for some of the features distinguishing adolescent movements, and the approach has appealed to those who have treated young protest participants (Moeller, 1969). Taking the ideas of Erikson (1956), Friedenberg (1962) and others it appears relatively easy to see why movements should attract those without definite family roles and career lines rather than those with such anchors for identity. Similarly we would expect, if identity diffusion or search were the goal, to find more involvement from those living in over-developed or rapidly changing societies than from those in traditional settings. Blos (1962) has noted that a collective battle against authority figures facilitates the attainment of identity and the resolution of oedipal conflicts without arousing either super-ego or social anxiety. Also, he states that "adolescents brought up by benign and permissive parents exhibit the more severe . . . problems of unresolved ambivalence" (p. 210), and this could help explain both the concentration of the movements in the middle classes and the need to find 'bad' authority figures who can be attacked through an identification with parental values, as Keniston (1968) has described.

But the features of congregating, avoidance of specific roles, evanescence and the apathy syndrome preceding the movement are difficult to account for on this basis or even through a combination of identity theory and the theory of sexual or oedipal conflicts. The evanescence might perhaps be accounted for if one said that the movements permitted a crystallisation of identity and thereafter were unnecessary (a possibility suggested by Redl (1942)) but one would expect an identity search to promote the exploration of roles and a testing out of different situations rather than the "reluctance to do anything" which Engelsmann (1966) recorded. Furthermore, although the formation of groups is necessary in order to achieve collective support in the battle for independence, one could imagine that this would then be better served by a scattering in

Table 1
Characteristics most strongly differentiating adolescent protest movements from their adult equivalents

A. Backgrounds
1. Times of rapid social change
2. Post-war periods
3. Large educational institutions
4. NOT times of economic stringency
5. NOT industrial institutions
B. Participants (mass)
1. Living away from home
2. Lacking clear family role
3. Lacking clear career goal
4. Complaining of purposelessness
5. NOT economically disadvantaged
C. Processes (early)
1. Rapid build-up
2. Congregation & remaining together
3. Idealisation of goals
4. Attack on elders as class
5. Drive for power
6. Rejection of differentiating roles
D. Processes (late)
1. Evanescence
2. Search for allies
3. Switching of goals & objectives
4. NO attack on elders as individuals
5. NO systematic use of acquired power
6. Divergence of activists & masses
E. Psychiatric Concomitants
1. Apathy and vague neuroticism among mass participants before movement starts
2. Disappearance of these symptoms during early phase of movement
3. Recurrence of symptoms (in lesser degree?) as movement fades
4. Paranoid projection and self-destructiveness in some leaders

pursuit of individual tasks (as occurred with the Narodniki) rather than by the anonymity of the crowd. We must look still further for an explanation of the phenomena, therefore, and it is appropriate to turn to the other main source of theories regarding adolescence, the sociological.

Sociology has three main bodies of theory that have been used to explain the movements, those on role, on anomie and on alienation. Role theory is the most directly applicable, for adolescence can be seen as a time for trial and error in role perception and adoption (Barker and Wright, 1954), and the movements might be viewed as one type of role testing. Moreover Spiegel's (1960) important and well-known analysis of role-conflict, with its display of the possible discrepancies between ascribed, achieved, assigned and adopted roles is still more relevant. If youth protest movements are seen as an attempt to switch from assigned roles to adopted ones and if the main aim is to achieve a new role-position for the whole adolescent group, then this could explain both the easy abandonment of nominal objectives (which would then be essentially irrelevant) and the absence of role differentiation within the movements. Furthermore, this view gets us over the problem of having to explain the presence of adolescent protest movements in traditional societies where, as I think I remember Erikson admitting, identity is usually not in question, since the struggle could be seen as directed at role change and not at identity. Thus, the young Burmese monks could be seen as wishing the laity to accept them in a different role from that recently assigned to them, and young Samburu as questioning the traditional role of 'morán' or youth now that it was no longer identical with that of warrior. Role theory can also explain most of the features which identity-formation theory was able to explain — the concentration in the middle classes, in those away from home and in those without clear career goals ahead of them, but it does not succeed any better than the latter in explaining the evanescence, the congregating and the pre-movement apathy. Perhaps that apathy might be explained by an absence of roles within which to act, but one might have then expected more signs of trying out of roles, even inappropriate ones.

In contrast to the role theory, the sociological concepts of anomie and alienation are regrettably weak at explaining the noted features of the adolescent protest movements, even though they are more popular for this purpose than the former. Certainly, the concept of alienation appears highly appropriate when one reads the pronouncements of the movements' leaders and writings of their sympathisers, but when we turn our attention from what is said to what is done relevance becomes very difficult to detect. Possibly this is why almost none of these writings from 1966 to 1970 foresaw correctly the developments during 1971 to 1973. Alienation theory as propounded by

Marx (1964), Fanon (1961) and Marcuse (1955) should, in my opinion, predict a quite different set of characteristics from that which the movements themselves display — a concentration in the lower rather than in the middle class, persistence rather than evanescence, use rather than neglect of power, etc. Alienation theory may apply to the struggle for Black power, to certain nativistic movements in rapidly changing societies and perhaps to some of the 'opting-out' movements among youth (Seeman, 1971), but it does not fit the phenomena I have been reviewing.

Durkheim's anomie concept does not fit better. The protest movements do not represent either the straining after the impossible or the search for new norms which I think he would have predicted had he seen the situation of the relevant youth as anomic. Anomie as defined by North American sociologists (McIver, 1950; Merton, 1957) fits the pronouncements of the movement leaders somewhat better, but not the mass behaviour. It is my opinion, based on a cross-cultural study of delinquency (Murphy, 1963), that the concept of anomie does not explain adolescent behaviour nearly as well as it does some other social phenomena. The one feature which either of the latter theories might help explain is the symptom of apathy or purposelessness, but I think that this can also be explained on other grounds which have a stronger connection to the whole picture.

The other classical approaches to adolescence which I know about — those of Remplein, Piaget, Spranger, etc. — all appear to me to fit the protest movement picture less well than the theories discussed earlier. Stanley Hall's (1916) historic theory of 'ontogeny recapitulating phylogeny', even though resurrected recently by Konrad Lorenz (1970) with his statement that the young are "indulging in the archaically instinctive pleasure of tribal warfare, waged against the parent generation" does not really explain anything either. On the other hand, Maslow's theory of the "hierarchy of needs" does appear to me to offer an explanation for the main outstanding features even though Maslow himself did not seem to have applied it to adolescence. The essential parts of that theory, for present purposes, are a) that higher needs only make themselves felt when more basic needs are satisfied, b) that when a higher need expresses itself the methods of need-satisfaction hitherto used are often felt to be inadequate, and c) that inversions of the hierarchic order sometimes take place, with resultant unconscious conflicts or neurosis (Maslow, 1954). As I have argued in my previous paper on this subject (Murphy, 1971), adolescence is a time when the higher needs for social esteem and self-actualisation tend to make themselves felt for the first time, and when prior modes of need-satisfaction tend therefore to be felt inadequate. Pursuit of means of serving the new needs can result in more basic needs being neglected — we know how hippies can disregard

the needs for food and health — and that which tends most to be overlooked is the need for what Maslow (1954) calls belongingness and what I prefer to call affiliation. The groups to which the adolescent has hitherto belonged — family, neighbourhood, club — are often left behind and in his pursuit of self-actualisation or esteem he may fail to realise that he needs to replace them. Seen from this point of view the adolescent protest movement can often be described as a means whereby affiliation is temporarily served under the guise of self-actualisation or the acquiring of group esteem. By the same token, the sense of purposelessness can be interpreted as an indication that an unmet need exists which the subject does not know how to satisfy; the congregating can be seen as a concrete manifestation of affiliation; and the relative neglect of nominal goals and of power is to be expected since these are usually irrelevant. Finally, the evanescence which has always been the most provocative of the movements' features can be understood relatively simply on this basis, since although these movements all give a strong sense of belongingness — participants in the Burschenschaft's Wartburg meeting remembered the feeling for the rest of their lives (Esler, 1971) — it is an elusive experience not providing the concrete object relations which the healthy psyche needs. The participants therefore tend to break up into smaller groups for whom the wider cause is now less important (see the history of the Kent State movement (Michener, 1971)) or to drift into their former dissatisfied state, perhaps seeking counseling for the latter as Lincoln (1968) has claimed to have observed. Moreover, in some instances the disappearance or non-appearance of movements can be accounted for by another central aspect of Maslow's theory, namely that when a basic need is threatened higher needs tend to be forgotten. In Canada in 1971, the decline in student movements appeared definitely linked to the spread of anxiety concerning the scarcity of jobs for new university graduates, and the rarity of such movements in economically marginal societies could be explained by the unrelenting threat to basic needs.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of my survey is that most adolescent protest movements cannot be explained on the basis of any one theory of adolescence, but that their behavioural aspects can be quite well explained by a combination of three theories, namely the psychoanalytic theory of adolescent sexuality, sociological role theory, and the theory of the hierarchy of needs. These theories, although sometimes placed in opposition to each other, do not appear to be incompatible in this area. In specific instances a full explanation may be possible with less than the three theories and in other instances one may have to refer to special

local conditions in one's explanation. If the subjective aspects are added to the phenomenological perhaps still a fourth theory, such as that of identity confusion or of alienation, may have to be added; I have not examined that point. In general, however, it can be said that adolescent protest movements do have certain features which distinguish them from adult movements, regardless of what culture one finds them in, and that the three cited theories explain why this should be.

The question now is whether the same theories can explain the other types of unrest which one finds particularly in adolescence. In my opinion they can, but again I must confess that I have not examined the question properly. That has to be the subject of another review.

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