

Continuity during Change in World War II:  
The Persistence of the Middle Class  
as Seen in the Social Life  
at Berkeley High School, California

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DID WORLD WAR II CHANGE AMERICAN SOCIETY?

No one probably disagrees with the idea that World War II was a total war in American history; the war mobilized the whole nation economically and spiritually to an extent hitherto unknown to the Americans. This total war must have brought great change, both material and immaterial, to a nation at war. Working with this assumption, many historians since the war have studied its impact on American society in regard to such aspects as the economy, women, minorities, families and communities.<sup>1</sup> These historians mostly argued convincingly that the war was a turning point in the recent development of American society.

I have no objection to their general conclusions, but as a childhood observer of the war-torn city of Tokyo where hunger and misery prevailed five or even ten years after the end of the war, I cannot altogether accept the assumption that the war brought a great change to American society. After all, the Empire State Building in New York stood intact at the end of the war whereas the old five-storied pavilion along with other old and modern buildings in Tokyo disappeared. The

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physical appearance of prewar New York was the same as that of postwar New York. Regarding nonphysical aspects, the American people after the war had the same constitution with the righteousness of its principles reconfirmed by victory. The defeated Japanese, on the other hand, acquired a completely new constitution with principles adopted from that of the United States and were going through a social revolution. If we compare America with Japan during and after the war, the change that American society experienced will appear minimal, or not total, which is to say that although there were changes affecting particular aspects of American life such as the conditions of women, minorities and the economy, society as a whole did not fundamentally change. It seems more reasonable to argue that the foundation of American society, like the Empire State Building and the Constitution, remained intact in spite of the total war.

One of the reasons for the emphasis on change in wartime America may be that historians of the home front have depended upon sources that focus on the war and impress us with certain pertinent features, especially change and unity. Among such sources are government documents, media materials, memoirs and oral history about World War II. Government and media sources are important materials left by contemporaries, but they had the special intention of inculcating the cause of democracy in the American people and uniting them for the war effort. Oral history is indispensable for studying the social history of the home front, but we tend to investigate it from the present perspective with the assumption that the war must have had a great impact upon American society. I wonder if these sources might lead historians to put too great an emphasis on the influence of the war. While not denying the significance of the war as a vehicle of social change, I should like to point out that in these traditional historical sources, it is the war—not people—that is central to their descriptions of wartime America. It would therefore be intriguing to know how wartime American society would look if we placed people in the center.

This study addresses the question of change caused by the war, and this inquiry leads to an examination of the American social structure. Eventually a conclusion is reached that the undamaged Empire State Building and the sustained Constitution, representing the physical and mental appearance of the nation, symbolized continuity in the American social structure that was dominated by the white middle class. In my investigation, I shall take a rather unusual approach of

viewing society through the eyes of children.

#### PERSPECTIVES AND SOURCES—THROUGH THE EYES OF CHILDREN

Certain events in history may intensify the interest of a society in the fate of its children. One such event might have been World War II, a total war in American history in the sense of both the scale and the quality of mobilization. Even a brief look at the contemporary media tells us that the war did bring children into focus. The children were an important element in American society not only as future citizens but also as a labor force in the war; nevertheless, in the recent proliferation of studies about the American home front, notably about the mobilization of women for the war-expanded economy, very little has been studied about the experiences of children.<sup>2</sup> I came to realize the importance of children in my previous studies that were based upon media, government and other organizational records, where children were looked at by others, namely government officials, reformers and educators. Although I was studying about children, I hardly heard the voices of children themselves. In the following study, however, I shall attempt to demonstrate how children looked at themselves and society, changing the viewpoint from that of adults to that of children.

This raises the question of sources that will enable us to see American society through the eyes of children. I have found special value in a longitudinal study known as the Berkeley Guidance Study (B.G.S.) that has been conducted by the Institute of Human Development (I.H.D.) at the University of California at Berkeley since 1928. Researchers at the Institute have examined the physical and mental state of children born in Berkeley between January 1, 1928 and June 30, 1929 from their birth to the present. They have interviewed the subjects and their family members, mostly mothers, about their lives, ideas, family backgrounds and many other things. This Study provides valuable material on the growth of children during the Great Depression and the war period and has been cited in works by sociologists and psychologists;<sup>3</sup> historians, however, have not yet referred to these sources. Even given the prejudices of the psychologists and doctors who carried out the Study, it is fair to say that the B.G.S. records let us hear directly the voices of children.

This paper will focus mainly on a part of society that was not affected by the war. We cannot, however, deny that the war caused

changes in the lives of people, and the war did indeed come to Berkeley as it did elsewhere in the nation. First I shall discuss changes caused by the war and how social changes were perceived by children, who expressed themselves in poems and essays that appeared in the column "Young Authors' Club" in a local newspaper, the *Berkeley Daily Gazette*. Their writings convey their vehement patriotism and portray the town as solidly committed to the war effort, and thus overwhelm us with the new feelings of unity to fight the war for democracy. However, we must note that children who contributed to the column were speaking publicly, and even though they were expressing their true feelings, they must have written in a way that they wanted themselves to appear to others: as children with praiseworthy or at least proper attitudes, that is as children sharing the feelings of unity. From such public records we therefore learn only half of the story, the public side of Berkeley.

The Berkeley Guidance Study, which had the entirely different aim of studying the growth of children, helps to present the other half, the private side of Berkeley during the war. In the testimonies of the Guidance Study subjects, we will discover a divided Berkeley, or more precisely a class-divided and middle-class-dominated Berkeley, that was not affected by the war. This contrasts to the war-united Berkeley we see in the "Young Authors' Club." Through what we see in the world of children, we find that Berkeley during the war was a rigidly divided society dominated by the middle class.<sup>4</sup>

The American nation was founded upon the principle that all men are created equal which of course encouraged social mobility across classes and a belief in a classless society. The nation, governed by the idea that each individual ought to make the best use of his or her ability in a society where equal rights and social mobility are assured, has however allowed a great discrepancy of wealth and power to exist among its people and has justified the social position or class of an individual to be a fair reward for the individual's ability. This relationship between one's class and one's ability could lead to a greater emphasis on class differences in American society and could give class differences a poignant significance. David Potter says that the principle of mobility, as Americans have construed it, regards a low position in society as both "the penalty for and the proof of personal failure," and he continues by saying that "The individual, driven by the belief that he should never rest content in his existing station and knowing

that society demands advancement by him as proof of his merit, often feels stress and insecurity.”<sup>5</sup>

In the Guidance Study records, we see a class structure in the world of children, afflicted with status anxiety and feelings of insecurity, parallel to that in the world of adults. This structure, dominated by the middle class, persisted in Berkeley during the war that was presumed to be shaking the whole nation.

#### WAR IN BERKELEY—AS SEEN IN THE CHILDREN’S WRITINGS

During the war years the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* is filled with war-related news, stories and even advertisements, so much so that the reader is overwhelmed by their amount and intensity. The war excited and united Berkeleyans, who, like their fellow citizens elsewhere in the nation, gave up certain kinds of food and some consumer items and saved to buy War Bonds. They sacrificed their leisure to work in the Red Cross or other defense organizations. They had their Victory Gardens, and they saved and collected scrap metal, paper, rubber and other materials needed for war.

The excitement and efforts by the citizens of Berkeley are brought home by children’s writings during the war. A high school student named “Ted” wrote that before the war, people “were driving cars lickety-split all over the country, buying the kind of clothes we wanted, eating the kind of food we liked. . . . We would have laughed if anyone had said that we would have to save toothpaste tubes or we couldn’t get any toothpaste.” That, however, came to an end as he suggested when he noted that “Our spare money must go into defense stamps instead of luxuries. . . . Our sugar is rationed, and that isn’t important. We ate too much sugar, anyway.”<sup>6</sup> Robin Harris, age nine, expressed his hope to “blast” the enemies who caused the new situation:

Once upon a time America was free  
 Not ruled by Hitler and Mooselenee.  
 Sugar rationing started in May,  
 Caused by the dictator’s [sic] foul play.  
 All our enemies, including the Japs,  
 We hope to blast right off the maps;  
 “Moose” and Hitler think they’re tough  
 And of both we’ve had quite enough.  
 Hiro-Hito is definitely a dope,

We will blast him too—I hope.  
 Now that old Hitler asks for more  
 We'll take the war to his very door.<sup>7</sup>

Eleven-year-old Sara Healy gave up playing with dolls and “now instead of sissie dolls I play with soldier boys.” She wrote:

I have an army now,  
 Of course' [*sic*] they're not of tin,  
 For our country needs the metal,  
 And to hoard would be a sin.  
 But they are made of cardboard,  
 And some I made myself; . . . .<sup>8</sup>

Metal was material that the Americans had to save. Patsy Hepfer, a junior-high-school student, wrote a personified story of a key, which realized that “I was doing my part for Victory” when it was thrown into a pile of scrap metal. Tangentially, Valla Ramey, age eleven, wrote a story of a tree that ended up in paper and pulp although it was of hard wood!<sup>9</sup>

During the summer of 1942, Bernice Smith wrote an essay about two girls, Nettie and Ellen, one of whom worked in her Victory Garden and the other for the Red Cross during the summer. Ellen complained that “I'd rather be at camp swimming and hiking and loafing and having a good time,” but after seeing Nettie's beautiful garden with “rows and rows of Kentucky Wonder beans, and beet and carrot plants, and cucumbers and squash” and “just about every vegetable you could imagine,” Ellen was reminded of her duties at the Red Cross and felt happy with her own contribution to the war.<sup>10</sup>

When the ten-year-old Dorothy Taylor visited San Francisco, she and her mother found the streets very crowded and thought that “About every other person was a soldier or sailor.” When they saw a short-wave radio station, she believed that it

broadcasts the truth about the war to the world. It is popular with the boys away from home, and is a good thing for the enemy nations to hear, as their own radios don't always tell them the truth.<sup>11</sup>

Young writers were willing to do anything they were asked to do for the war because they thought that victory meant freedom and democracy. Allan Campbell, a junior-high-school student, knew that they would win the war “By the effort we made/To win” and that they

would be united to “free the conquered slave/From Hitler and his kin.” Eleanor Parker, another junior-high-school student, wrote:

Greater than life itself is this  
 Freedom we all hold dear;  
 It’s the right to live and let live,  
 To pursue happiness without fear.  
 We’ll fight for it with all our strength  
 For our country our all we’re saving.  
 We’ll do anything we’re called upon,  
 To keep the old flag waving.

Many others expressed their belief in their country’s righteous stand in the war and stressed their loyalty and the importance of unity.<sup>12</sup>

To some children the war brought excitement, as suggested by their reaction to noises caused by war-related activities. When Betty Anderson, a junior-high-school student, heard them in town, she felt as if they were victory sounds. She wrote “The roar of airplanes in the skies . . . is a victory sound. . . . The hum and clack of factories is a victory sound” and that “the sound of it [the siren] may frighten us a little bit at first, but that we can think of it as a victory sound too if we try a little bit.”<sup>13</sup>

The War Bond was probably the most common way in which Berkeleyans helped the nation at war. By purchasing War Stamps and Bonds children felt that they were sharing in the war effort.<sup>14</sup> Mary Ann Bousman sent to the “Young Authors’ Club” a song to rally people to buy Bonds:

Buy bonds, my fellow citizens,  
 Buy bonds and never stop;  
 . . . .  
 To kingdom come we blast them [the enemies] far  
 With the bonds and stamps we buy,  
 By giving up our fancy car,  
 By never taking trips afar,  
 By stopping trips to the bazaar,  
 Our enemies we will mortify.<sup>15</sup>

These are only a few examples of the writings that illustrate the feelings of children and their involvement in war activities. Wartime newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area are filled with articles about war activities on the home front.

## SOCIAL CLUBS—CLASS STRUCTURE AT BERKELEY HIGH SCHOOL

Turning now to the Guidance Study, a record of voices of contemporary children that, unlike media sources, was not involved in conveying war news or inspiring people to work for it, we will discover that despite the excitement of the war, children retained their prewar life styles and the basic character of Berkeley society did not change much. The children in the Study talked to the I.H.D. researchers about their lives very often as though there were no war. In everyday life with friends, it appears that the war was not the most important subject that occupied their minds. Tables 1 and 2 show the subjects about which boys and girls aged 15 and 16 in the Study talked with their friends in 1944 in the order of frequency. Among the boys, the war was the fourth most often discussed topic. When discussed with other boys the war rated 2.62, which indicates that it was talked about fairly often, but with girls, boys seldom, or less than sometimes at most, talked about it. When the girls spoke among themselves, the war was talked about only sometimes and ranked fifteenth out of the thirty topics. On the average, boys talked more often about jokes, studies and athletics; girls, about boy friends, clothes, latest hit songs, parties, studies, jokes, athletics, clubs and several other things.

Among the children in the Guidance Study who went to Berkeley High School, studies and grades were important not only in peace-time but also during the war. To many students, however, social life was more important. It is striking to see the number, depth, length and seriousness of the stories children told the I.H.D. workers about social clubs—fraternities and sororities—at their school. When we read the remarks of the students in the Guidance Study, we quickly learn that the clubs occupied an important place in the social life of Berkeley High School and that the students in the clubs controlled school life. Some students in the Guidance Study explained in detail the social clubs of Berkeley High School, some with excitement when they were accepted and some with frustration when they were not.

Some of the testimony given by Nancy,<sup>16</sup> a senior who was not a member of a club, may illuminate the club situation at Berkeley High School. She told an interviewer from the I.H.D. that the teachers at Berkeley High School stuffed the ballot boxes in elections to get club members into school offices. She spent at least half an hour criticizing and accusing the teachers of favorable attitudes toward club



members.<sup>17</sup> Although not as extraordinary as Nancy's story, there are other testimonies suggesting that some teachers favored club members and also criticizing the club "system" at Berkeley High School. This, of course, was happening when the nation was said to be fighting for democracy and the school was taking a leading part in it, so it raises the question of the democratic nature of the club system at Berkeley High School. With this question in mind, I shall examine the clubs at Berkeley High School and consider how this club system in the children's world was related to the whole society of Berkeley.

The following explanation comes from Maria, a member of one of the sororities. In 1945 Berkeley High School had about thirteen sororities. Out of 1,300 girls in the student body, 275 to 300 were members of sororities, and a somewhat smaller proportion of boys belonged to fraternities. The clubs were ranked by prestige, the older ones being more prestigious. According to Maria's ranking, among the sororities the Adelpheans and Thebans had the highest status, and they were followed by the Spartans. Next came the the Thracians and then the Patricians, the Theta Gammas and the Yelekreb (Berkeley spelled backwards). After these came the Theta Rhos, which Maria described as "average but on the rough side," followed by the Delta Omegas, Delta Gammas, Theta Zetas, and Psirians, which she said was one of the lowest clubs but had the most expensive pin. The lowest club at Berkeley High School was called the Entre Nous. Maria, herself a Patrician, discussed the clubs in such great detail that the interviewer once doubted if all the details of the sororities should go into the record, but since her story was so full and since psychologically it seemed to have some points of interest, the interviewer decided to record it as Maria related it. Thanks to this, we have a valuable source.<sup>18</sup>

For the fraternities, Cathy, a Spartan, ranked the Athenians as "supposedly" the best and the Eunoyias as "really" the best. This was confirmed by Jim, himself a Eunoyia, stressing "really." Jim ranked the Vikings as third and the Corinthians as fourth. Cathy skipped the Vikings and placed the Phoenicians last following the Eunoyias and the Corinthians.<sup>19</sup> Ranking varied slightly with the student, but everyone agreed on the "best" ones and many wanted to "be in a good club or [in] nothing" at all.<sup>20</sup>

Not everyone was able to join the clubs since only those who were chosen became members. To be accepted as a member, one had to go through certain rituals beginning with "rushing," followed by "bid-

ding” and “pledging” and ending with “initiation.” When one was rushed, one was invited to a party or a tea sponsored by the club. The next step was to be bid, which meant to be allowed to pledge. Some girls spoke of the painful experience of not being bid after being rushed. On the other hand, for some students, being initiated into a club was the most pleasant memory in high school.

Maria was excited to be accepted by the Patricians and described in great detail her initiation. For the initiation ceremony, she wore long woolen underwear and a size 40 corset, which her mother stuffed in front and back with pillows. Her friend was also dressed in long underwear and wore one man’s shoe and one woman’s high-heeled shoe, had a flower pot tied on her head and a dead fish hung around her neck. They were blindfolded in the basement of a club member’s home and when the blindfold was taken off, they found that a dead fish was hanging by its tail from the ceiling and had been swinging in front of their faces. Next

they were given a pill to eat. Fifteen minutes later they had to urinate and they discovered with horror that their urine had been turned blue. . . . They were then . . . reblindfolded and handed something they were told to chew. She [Maria] didn’t like the taste of it, so [she] swallowed it quickly and was unable to obey the order to spit it out which was given after a few minutes. She subsequently discovered that this was a piece of raw liver.

More “physical tortures” were waiting. For example, they had been ordered to bring a can full of snails and slugs, and at the ceremony they were told to crush the snails in their hands, put one in their brassiere and crush it against themselves. For the “mental torture” each of the girls was ordered to write an essay of 500 words about “The First Time I Slept with a Boy.” After writing the essay, “the girls were seated alone on a stool in the middle of a darkened room with a bright light in their faces and they were questioned rigorously about their sex life. They were asked what they thought of necking and petting.”<sup>21</sup>

Fraternities had rituals that were oriented toward violence as exemplified by whipping. Samuel got “whacked” when initiated into the Eunoyias: “There was a group of 3 boys who really beat up the initiates and the groups you went to after that went real easy on you and didn’t hit you at all because these 3 guys were making it so hard.” Ben, a Phoenician, received 14 “swats” because he was a senior, while other initiates received 30. Fraternity boys, as were the Study boys in general,

were concerned about their schoolwork, and this was exhibited in initiation rituals. Samuel told the I.H.D. worker that the "Eunoyias have started a new rule that the members get so many whacks for a C, so many for a D and a lot for an F. When I got my report card last time, I turned sick—I felt *awful*. I thought it was because of the whacking I'd get." He soon found out, however, that he had been afraid of something else: "You know when I got home and showed the report to my folks and got that over with I felt much better. I guess it was them I was afraid of and not the whacking."<sup>22</sup> After all, parents were more frightening than physical torture by club members.

To club boys and girls, their willingness to accept torture was the strongest proof of loyalty. Those initiation rites that had some sadistic tone implied an anxiety over sexuality among female adolescents on the one hand and an affinity with violence conditioned by realistic concern over schoolwork among their male counterparts on the other. The initiation rites of the fraternities were of an ephemeral, physical nature in that they hurt the body directly but momentarily. Those of the sororities, however, were of an enduring, psychological nature in that besides affecting the body in indirect manners, they affected the mind with long-lasting consequences as exemplified by the pills that turned urine blue. We might suggest that the different natures of the initiation rites for the fraternities and the sororities are related in some way to the difference in the degree of concern over achievement in schoolwork between boys and girls as demonstrated in Tables 1 and 2.

In fraternities, according to Wilson Carey McWilliams, the physical ordeal in initiation rites was supposed to demonstrate an ability to rise above physical pain and pleasure, and at the same time to arouse pride inside the individual and force that pride to be humbled. The humbling of pride was important in the design of the rites. Violent rites accompanied by isolation were to destroy the desire for individual self-sufficiency and bind the individual to the fraternity. The individual, after passing such initiation rites, would become a brother of those who had experienced similar ordeals and share a notion of "devotion, emulation and obedience; indeed, it is sharing these ideas, and having an emotional as well as intellectual comprehension of them, which constitutes fraternity."<sup>23</sup> When the Study subject Maria and her friend were blindfolded, according to this interpretation of initiation rites, they were put into seclusion to feel dependent on the sorority members, and when they obeyed painful orders they disposed of their pride. Thus

Table 1  
What Boys Talked About\*

Topics	With Boys	With Girls
1 jokes	2.80	1.96
2 studies, class work	2.78	2.13
3 athletics, outdoor sports	2.71	1.62
4 the war	2.62	1.49
5 mechanical things: shop work, radio, airplanes, gadgets, etc.	2.42	0.60
6 teachers	2.30	1.94
7 the armed service you would choose	2.27	1.27
8 money, things you want	2.27	1.09
9 girl friends	2.16	1.24
10 radio programs	2.13	1.67
11 movies	2.11	1.84
12 dates	2.00	1.91
13 boy friends	2.00	1.56
14 latest song hits	1.98	1.67
15 parties, dancing	1.82	1.93
16 clothes, things to wear	1.76	0.96
17 clubs	1.73	1.44
18 airplane makes	1.73	0.58
19 your family	1.64	1.11
20 dirty stories	1.51	0.33
21 what you are going to be	1.49	0.84
22 things about the government, politics	1.47	0.42
23 books you have read	1.38	0.98
24 the problem of racial minorities	1.27	0.51
25 movie stars	1.22	1.09
26 the new defense families in Berkeley	1.18	0.73
27 postwar planning	1.18	0.49
28 nature: birds, marine life, mountains, etc.	1.02	0.33
29 church, religion	0.88	0.53
30 art: painting, modeling, etc.	0.49	0.29

\*Sample group: 45 boys, aged 15-16 in 1944

The numbers are averaged: 0 designates never talked about, 1 seldom, 2 sometimes, 3 often, and 4 very often.

they were to share with the members a notion of “devotion” to what their sorority stood for or, in other words, “conformity” to middle-class lifestyle and manners as we will see below. Whether or not they

Table 2  
What Girls Talked About\*

Topics	With Girls	With Boys
1 boy friends	2.92	1.14
2 clothes, things to wear	2.92	1.13
3 latest song hits	2.75	2.35
4 parties, dancing	2.71	2.19
5 girl friends	2.66	1.63
6 movies	2.52	2.13
7 dates	2.52	1.69
8 radio programs	2.34	1.94
9 money, things you want	2.34	1.32
10 studies, class work	2.30	2.23
11 teachers	2.20	1.85
12 jokes	2.17	2.00
13 athletics, outdoor sports	2.00	2.08
14 clubs	1.95	1.43
15 the war	1.94	1.79
16 your family	1.93	1.35
17 movie stars	1.91	1.44
18 what you are going to be	1.89	1.26
19 the armed service you would choose	1.69	1.65
20 books you have read	1.65	1.25
21 the problem of racial minorities	1.40	0.81
22 postwar planning	1.35	1.07
23 church, religion	1.35	0.85
24 the new defense families in Berkeley	1.27	0.90
25 things about the government, politics	1.20	0.97
26 art: painting, modeling, etc.	1.07	0.85
27 nature: birds, marine life, mountains, etc.	0.75	0.50
28 dirty stories	0.70	0.30
29 mechanical things: shop work, radio, airplanes, gadgets, etc.	0.53	0.82
30 airplane makes	0.49	0.93

\*Sample group: 40 girls, aged 15-16 in 1944

The numbers are averaged: 0 designates never talked about, 1 seldom, 2 sometimes, 3 often, and 4 very often.

realized the significance of the harsh physical tests they were put to, the pledges, with great desire to be accepted, willingly submitted themselves to ordeals.

Table 3  
Distribution of Club Membership by Class

		Social Class	Number of Club Members	Number of Non-Club Students	Total
I	1	Middle Upper	0	1	1
	2	Lower Upper	1	0	1
II	3	Upper Upper Middle	1	4	5
	4	Middle Upper Middle	4	3	7
	5	Lower Upper Middle	8	1	9
III	6	Upper Lower Middle	3	3	6
	7	Middle Lower Middle	3	5	8
	8	Lower Lower Middle	4	4	8
IV	9	Upper Upper Lower	3	2	5
	10	Middle Upper Lower	0	4	4
	11	Lower Upper Lower	0	4	4
V	12	Upper Lower Lower	0	3	3
	13	Middle Lower Lower	0	0	0
	14	Lower Lower Lower	0	0	0
Total			27	34	61

Because not everyone could join a club, it is important to ask who could. Table 3 demonstrates that the membership was concentrated in certain social classes and tells us that out of the 61 Guidance Study subjects at Berkeley High School,<sup>24</sup> 27 were in the clubs. Out of the 27 club members, 23 came from the upper- and lower-middle classes. The percentage (85) of middle-class children in the clubs is greater than that (60.5) for the middle class in the entire set of Study subjects as shown in Table 4. Among the nine students with a lower-upper-middle-class background, eight were in the clubs. When we look at the lowest classes in the Study, the lower two divisions of the upper-lower class and the lower-lower class, we find that none of the eleven children were in the clubs. This suggests that the clubs were almost exclusively for the middle-class children, who showed the greatest excitement or anxiety about them. When we examine Tables 5 through 10, which list by class what boys and girls talked about, we find that children, especially girls, in Classes II and III (upper- and lower-middle classes) were more in-

Table 4  
Class Distribution of the Subjects in the Berkeley Guidance Study

Social Class	Number of Students	Percent	Subtotal of Percentage by Class in a Broad Sense
1 Middle Upper	1	0.8	
2 Lower Upper	4	3.2	4.0
3 Upper Upper Middle	6	4.8	
4 Middle Upper Middle	9	7.3	
5 Lower Upper Middle	16	12.9	
6 Upper Lower Middle	14	11.3	
7 Middle Lower Middle	17	13.7	
8 Lower Lower Middle	13	10.5	60.5
9 Upper Upper Lower	14	11.3	
10 Middle Upper Lower	10	8.1	
11 Lower Upper Lower	11	8.9	
12 Upper Lower Lower	9	7.2	
13 Middle Lower Lower	0	0.0	
14 Lower Lower Lower	0	0.0	35.5
Total	124	100.0	100.0

terested in the clubs than those in Class IV (upper-lower class). Upper-class and upper-upper-middle-class children did not seem to be very concerned about club membership. Although there is not a sufficient amount of data for children with these higher class backgrounds to draw a definite conclusion, their smaller proportion in club membership and their social lives as revealed in the B.G.S. records lead us to suspect they were indifferent toward the social clubs at Berkeley High School. Out of the seven upper-class and upper-upper-middle-class children, only two were in a club. Most lower-class children, furthermore, appear not to have been interested in the clubs, presumably because they were out of their reach. From what I have read in the testimonies of the B.G.S. subjects, children from the lower classes showed either no interest in or an uneasiness about the clubs unlike the middle-class children. The middle-class students, therefore, controlled the clubs, through which they dominated social life at school.

We find that the social structure of the Berkeley High School student

Table 5  
What Girls in Class II Talked About\*

Topics	With Girls	With Boys
1 clothes, things to wear	3.00	1.63
2 latest song hits	2.88	2.50
3 boy friends	2.75	1.94
4 dates	2.63	1.94
5 studies, class work	2.50	2.25
6 teachers	2.50	2.00
7 the war	2.44	2.31
8 parties, dancing	2.44	1.81
9 clubs	2.38	1.88
10 movies	2.25	2.13
11 girl friends	2.19	1.50
12 money, things you want	2.06	1.50
13 jokes	2.00	1.88
14 what you are going to be	1.94	1.69
15 radio programs	1.94	1.69
16 your family	1.88	1.63
17 postwar planning	1.88	1.50
18 athletics, outdoor sports	1.75	2.13
19 church, religion	1.75	1.13
20 movie stars	1.69	1.19
21 things about the government, politics	1.63	1.50
22 the new defense families in Berkeley	1.63	1.25
23 the problem of racial minorities	1.63	1.06
24 the armed service you would choose	1.56	1.75
25 books you have read	1.50	1.63
26 art: painting, modeling, etc.	1.13	1.13
27 nature: birds, marine life, mountains, etc.	0.88	0.63
28 airplane makes	0.69	0.88
29 mechanical things: shop work, radio, airplanes, gadgets, etc.	0.50	0.75
30 dirty stories	0.50	0.38

\*Sample group: 8 girls aged 15-16 in 1944

The numbers are averaged: 0 designates never talked about, 1 seldom, 2 sometimes, 3 often, and 4 very often.

body was highly stratified. Betty, a Theban from a middle-upper-middle-class family, divided the students into four kinds: "the members of our gang that go to all the parties; those who go in for athletics . . .; then the better class of cheap kids; and then the Okies."<sup>25</sup>



Table 6  
What Girls in Class III Talked About\*

Topics	With Girls	With Boys
1 latest song hits	3.31	2.75
2 parties, dancing	3.31	2.19
3 boy friends	3.31	0.88
4 clothes, things to wear	3.19	1.31
5 dates	2.88	1.88
6 girl friends	2.88	1.75
7 money, and things you want	2.81	1.38
8 jokes	2.50	2.50
9 radio programs	2.50	2.13
10 clubs	2.25	1.44
11 studies, class work	2.13	2.00
12 teachers	2.13	1.50
13 your family	2.13	1.31
14 athletics, outdoor sports	2.00	2.00
15 movie stars	2.00	1.81
16 movies	1.94	2.56
17 the war	1.94	1.69
18 what you are going to be	1.88	1.25
19 books you have read	1.88	1.13
20 the armed service you would choose	1.69	1.69
21 the problem of racial minorities	1.50	1.00
22 postwar planning	1.31	1.13
23 church, religion	1.31	0.75
24 the new defense families in Berkeley	1.19	0.63
25 things about the government, politics	0.94	0.88
26 art: painting, modeling, etc.	0.94	0.81
27 dirty stories	0.94	0.38
28 nature: birds, marine life, mountains, etc.	0.63	0.19
29 mechanical things: shop work, radio, airplanes, gadgets, etc.	0.50	0.88
30 airplane makes	0.50	0.88

\*Sample group: 16 girls aged 15-16 in 1944

The numbers are averaged: 0 designates never talked about, 1 seldom, 2 sometimes, 3 often, and 4 very often.

Joyce, who was not in a "gang" and came from the lower-lower-middle class, described in more detail the social hierarchy of Berkeley High School:

Table 7  
What Girls in Class IV Talked About\*

Topics	With Girls	With Boys
1 clothes, things to wear	3.18	0.73
2 boy friends	3.00	1.00
3 parties, dancing	2.82	2.73
4 girl friends	2.73	1.82
5 latest song hits	2.45	2.18
6 radio programs	2.45	2.00
7 movies	2.45	1.91
8 studies, class work	2.36	2.45
9 athletics, outdoor sports	2.36	2.09
10 dates	2.36	1.55
11 money, and things you want	2.36	1.27
12 movie stars	2.18	1.18
13 teachers	2.09	2.00
14 your family	2.00	1.18
15 jokes	1.91	1.91
16 what you are going to be	1.91	1.18
17 books you have read	1.82	1.55
18 the armed service you would choose	1.73	1.73
19 clubs	1.64	1.18
20 the war	1.45	1.55
21 art: painting, modeling, etc.	1.45	0.73
22 the problem of racial minorities	1.36	0.64
23 the new defense families in Berkeley	1.27	1.18
24 church, religion	1.27	0.64
25 postwar planning	1.00	0.64
26 things about the government, politics	1.00	0.55
27 mechanical things: shop work, radio, airplanes, gadgets, etc.	0.64	1.00
28 dirty stories	0.55	0.18
29 airplane makes	0.45	1.18
30 nature: birds, marine life, mountains, etc.	0.36	0.36

\*Sample group: 11 girls aged 15-16 in 1944

The numbers are averaged: 0 designates never talked about, 1 seldom, 2 sometimes, 3 often, and 4 very often.

There are three kinds of kids in Berkeley. There are the mountain goats [named for their residence in the hills]—they are snooty and belong to clubs and . . . they're interested in nothing but clothes and who goes with whom. They've got to wear a different dress every day and have you noticed the

Table 8  
What Boys in Class II Talked About\*

Topics	With Boys	With Girls
1 studies, class work	3.38	2.63
2 teachers	2.78	2.09
3 athletics, outdoor sports	2.69	1.56
4 jokes	2.67	2.00
5 the war	2.50	1.69
6 radio programs	2.31	1.75
7 clubs	2.19	1.88
8 movies	2.06	1.88
9 money, things you want	2.06	0.88
10 mechanical things: shop work, radio, airplanes, gadgets, etc.	2.06	0.63
11 dates	2.00	1.88
12 the armed service you would choose	2.00	1.00
13 girl friends	1.94	1.13
14 parties, dancing	1.88	2.13
15 boy friends	1.69	1.56
16 latest song hits	1.69	1.38
17 dirty stories	1.69	0.44
18 books you have read	1.56	1.19
19 things about the government, politics	1.56	0.69
20 movie stars	1.44	1.31
21 what you are going to be	1.38	0.94
22 clothes, things to wear	1.25	0.63
23 airplane makes	1.25	0.50
24 your family	1.19	0.81
25 the problem of racial minorities	1.19	0.38
26 the new defense families in Berkeley	1.13	0.81
27 postwar planning	1.13	0.38
28 nature: birds, marine life, mountains, etc.	1.06	0.38
29 art: painting, modeling, etc.	0.69	0.44
30 church, religion	0.59	0.44

\*Sample group: 16 boys aged 15-16 in 1944

The numbers are averaged: 0 designates never talked about, 1 seldom, 2 sometimes, 3 often, and 4 very often.

way they wear their hair? And they wouldn't think of wearing a pompadour the way I do but they cut this little frizz off in front and bleach it with peroxide and leave the rest of their hair the way it is. And then there's Group II and that's the group I belong in and we're the kids who haven't got as much

Table 9  
What Boys in Class III Talked About\*

Topics	With Boys	With Girls
1 athletics, outdoor sports	2.63	1.63
2 studies, class work	2.56	1.88
3 the war	2.56	1.31
4 the armed service you would choose	2.50	1.44
5 movies	2.44	2.00
6 mechanical things: shop work, radio, airplanes, gadgets, etc.	2.44	0.56
7 money, and things you want	2.31	1.00
8 latest song hits	2.19	1.88
9 teachers	2.13	2.06
10 boy friends	2.13	1.31
11 girl friends	2.06	1.06
12 parties, dancing	1.94	2.00
13 dates	1.94	1.75
14 jokes	1.88	1.88
15 radio programs	1.88	1.50
16 airplane makes	1.88	0.56
17 your family	1.81	1.19
18 what you are going to be	1.69	1.13
19 books you have read	1.56	1.06
20 clothes, things to wear	1.56	1.00
21 clubs	1.44	1.31
22 things about the government, politics	1.44	0.25
23 the new defense families in Berkeley	1.38	0.81
24 movie stars	1.31	1.00
25 dirty stories	1.25	0.06
26 postwar planning	1.19	0.63
27 nature: birds, marine life, mountains, etc.	1.06	0.44
28 the problem of racial minorities	0.94	0.25
29 church, religion	0.75	0.50
30 art: painting, modeling, etc.	0.19	0.00

\*Sample group: 16 boys aged 15-16 in 1944

The numbers are averaged: 0 designates never talked about, 1 seldom, 2 sometimes, 3 often, and 4 very often.

money and who are not as interested in clubs and clothes but who have wider interests like mine in music, for example, and we wear our hair in pompadours or any way we please. (I wouldn't give up my pompadour for any reason and certainly not to have frizz in the front of my face that's bleached). And then there's the last group—the scum and they put some fixer on it to hold it in place and they always dress very extremely and they'll do anything—mostly they come from homes where their folks don't care what they do.<sup>26</sup>

Joyce therefore divides the student body into three groups that we

Table 10  
What Boys in Class IV Talked About\*

Topics	With Boys	With Girls
1 athletics, outdoor sports	3.25	2.00
2 clothes, things to wear	2.75	1.38
3 the war	2.63	1.50
4 girl friends	2.50	1.88
5 mechanical things: shop work, radio, airplanes, gadgets, etc.	2.50	0.38
6 boy friends	2.38	1.75
7 studies, class work	2.25	1.88
8 latest song hits	2.25	1.75
9 money, and things you want	2.25	1.25
10 jokes	2.13	2.13
11 dates	2.13	2.13
12 radio programs	1.88	1.75
13 your family	1.88	1.50
14 the armed service you would choose	1.88	1.25
15 airplane makes	1.88	0.88
16 parties, dancing	1.75	1.75
17 teachers	1.75	1.63
18 movies	1.63	1.63
19 church, religion	1.50	1.00
20 dirty stories	1.50	0.50
21 clubs	1.38	1.25
22 the problem of racial minorities	1.38	0.75
23 what you are going to be	1.38	0.50
24 things about the government, politics	1.25	0.38
25 books you have read	0.88	0.63
26 postwar planning	0.75	0.50
27 the new defense families in Berkeley	0.75	0.50
28 nature: birds, marine life, mountains, etc.	0.63	0.13
29 movie stars	0.38	0.88
30 art: painting, modeling, etc.	0.38	0.38

\*Sample group: 8 boys aged 15-16 in 1944

The numbers are averaged: 0 designates never talked about, 1 seldom, 2 sometimes, 3 often, and 4 very often.

might call classes distinguished by physical appearance and behavior. Only by looking at students could one apparently tell club members from those who were not and the group to which they belonged. Club members, in the highest tier of the Berkeley High School hierarchy,

tended to dress expensively and fashionably. Sara Caldwell, who was not a club member despite her upper-middle-class background, recalls that club girls liked to wear expensive cashmere sweaters which her mother did not allow her to wear and that she could not have saddle shoes, then fashionable and popular among girls, because her mother thought that brown leather shoes were more durable. She thinks that her outmoded appearance probably was a reason that she was not invited to join a club.<sup>27</sup> While club children had a decorum for the way they dressed, children from the lowest tier had their own distinct way of dressing.

Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, drawing on Mary Douglas's anthropological study, maintains that "Hierarchical societies, concerned with the rigid maintenance of order, will act out these concerns upon the physical body" and that

Loosely structured societies—and groups who experience themselves as marginal to or inferior within a social structure, or who are in revolt against that structure—. . . will seize upon the body as a vehicle expressive of their revolt against structure. They will see bodily regulations, dress codes, physical formalities, [and] sexual restraints, as symbols of social control and political tyranny.<sup>28</sup>

Smith-Rosenberg is interested in relating bodily and sexual expressions to social and economic structures, and her ideas are valid for this study. Joyce, by not being in a club and thereby belonging to a group "inferior within a social structure," demonstrates this in that she was determined not to give up her "pompadour" and not to have "frizz in the front" as did the "respectable" group, the girls who belonged to clubs. Joyce's last group, the "scum," more radically challenged the dress codes and physical formalities established by the elite as symbols of control. In this distinction according to physical appearance among the students at Berkeley High School, we therefore detect a concern on the part of the ruling class of club members for maintaining a rigid hierarchical order.

Other than physical appearance, and more fundamentally, residence differentiated the students into groups. To be accepted in the clubs, students had to be "goats," that is people who lived in the hills where the better residential areas were located. Maria observed that "you can live as far down as Sacramento [Street] and still get invited to a good club, but if you live below Sacramento there isn't a chance." She was

Table 11  
Residence of Club Members and Non-Club Students by Area Rating

	Rating of Residential Areas					Total
	1 Highest	2	3	4	5 Lowest	
Students in clubs	15	5	4	0	3	27
Students not in clubs	7	6	6	10	5	34
Total	22	11	10	10	8	61

Table 12  
Club Membership, Residence and Class by Junior High School

School	Club Members	Non-Club Students	Class Average*	Residence by Area Rating					Average Residential Rating**
				1	2	3	4	5	
Garfield	20	9	5.45	17	8	3	1	0	1.59
Burbank	4	13	9.59	0	1	4	4	8	4.12
Willard	2	12	6.00	5	2	2	5	0	2.50
Other	1	0	7.00	0	0	1	0	0	3.00
Total	27	34	6.75	22	11	10	10	8	2.52

\*Based on the values given for the classes in Table 3.

\*\*Based on the values given for residential areas in Table 11.

not critical of such discrimination by the clubs because she agreed that “for the most part the people who live below Sacramento wouldn’t be creditable additions to a club.” She also noted that “the major characteristic of club members is that they live in homes and not apartments.”<sup>29</sup> Her observation corresponds to the figures in Table 11 which shows that most club members resided in areas that rated above average. The I.H.D. rated the residential areas of Berkeley from 1 (the highest) to 5 (the lowest), and Table 11 tells us that twenty out of the 27 club members lived in the higher-ranked areas 1 and 2, of which fifteen lived in area 1. The homes of the 34 students who did not belong to a club were scattered over all five areas, but fifteen of them lived in the lower-ranked areas 4 and 5. There were seven students who did not

belong to a club living in area 1, but this included four students from the upper and upper-upper-middle classes, to whom membership in a club did not appear to be important.

The concentration of club members in certain residential areas meant that they attended certain junior high schools. There were three junior high schools in Berkeley at the time—Garfield, Willard and Burbank—and the student body of each school reflected the character of its school district. Most children at Garfield came from the residential area in the hills and its student body was almost entirely white with a very small number of Asian-Americans. Burbank mostly comprised children with working-class backgrounds and some African- and Asian-American children, who lived in the area close to San Francisco Bay. Willard had both upper-middle-class and working-class children including some minorities. Table 12 shows the club membership, residence and class backgrounds of the students who went to these junior high schools. We see that three-quarters of the club members had attended Garfield and that there was a salient pattern of residential segregation by class. The combination of junior high school, residential area and class therefore served to create a clear dividing line between those who could join a club and those who could not.

This separation reflected inequality. Children from Burbank were almost never invited to join clubs and were looked down upon by both other students and teachers. Sheila, from a lower-middle-class family, complained that “The ‘goats’ aren’t nice to kids from Burbank. They give them dirty looks and won’t talk to them.” Maureen, another Burbank graduate from the lower-upper-lower class, said that club girls might speak to Burbank girls at school but not on the street and noted that the boys were not as prejudiced as the girls. Beth, with an upper-upper-lower-class background, was always in the company of “girls from Burbank” at lunchtime because “a damn bunch of snobs” acted as though “Anybody that goes to Burbank is no good.” Some faculty members also discriminated against Burbank graduates. Dick, who came from an upper-lower-class Greek family and was elected president of his senior class after competing against two fraternity boys, a Eunoyia and an Athenian, felt that he received lower grades than he deserved and said to an I.H.D. worker matter-of-factly “I come from Burbank.”<sup>30</sup> Another upper-lower-class child, Velda, reported a story about an English teacher openly being prejudiced against Burbank children in her class. One day when a girl could not answer a question,



the teacher asked her which junior high school she had attended, and she replied that she was from Burbank. Velda said “When the next girl couldn’t answer it either, she asked the girl, ‘Are you from Burbank, too?’ And then she asked everyone from Burbank to raise their hands and she checked us off in her book.”<sup>31</sup>

Living in a nice house in or not far from the hills was the minimum requirement to be accepted by a club, but this in itself was not enough. Children also had to maintain certain upper-middle-class standards in their ideas, physical appearance and behavior in order to attain club membership. Katherine and Sara Caldwell, mother and daughter, and Jonathan Elkus, all Berkeley High School graduates whom I interviewed, came from upper-middle-class families and lived in the hills, but they were not rushed. Katherine’s mother had divorced a minister, which stigmatized her in the community. Sara and Jonathan both attended high school during the war, their fathers were university professors, and their parents had liberal or radical ideas and lifestyles. Sara was not allowed to wear fashionable saddle shoes as was mentioned earlier and neither did she have an expensive cashmere sweater, which club girls liked to wear.<sup>32</sup>

According to Paula Fass in her study of youth in the 1920s, “fraternities maintained a solid base of continuity that depended on class, family, and prep school.” What prep school meant to college fraternities was what, as we have seen, junior high school meant to Berkeley High School sororities and fraternities. Fass also included in the criteria for selection “qualities of appearance, style, extra-curricular potential, and above all personality.” According to her, personal attributes that made an individual sociably agreeable and able to mix with others—the vital core of David Riesman’s other-directed modern personality—dominated the criteria for selection. Regarding money, a study of undergraduates in the 1920s noted that “costly clothes and a car . . . [were] at times the passport to membership in a sorority or a fraternity.”<sup>33</sup> This appears to have been valid also in regard to the clubs at Berkeley High School.

Berkeley High School was therefore similar to colleges in that conformity to the dominant style and manners that embraced sociability and extravagance seemed to be the most essential qualities for club membership. We have seen that some upper- and upper-middle-class children who did not have these qualities did not or did not want to belong to the clubs. In the cases of Sara, Katherine and Jonathan, their

manners or appearance was not congruous with the club standards symbolized by a "cashmere sweater" and "saddle shoes," and their ideas were not compatible with a conservative middle-class attitude toward life that loathed divorce or liberal ideas. Unlike the upper- and upper-upper-middle-class students in the B.G.S. who did not join a club, they were interested in becoming "somebody" while in high school, but their having liberal and frugal parents precluded them from being accepted by clubs. Being a member of a club demanded conformity and sociability, if not necessarily popularity.

Club membership gave students prestige and power at school. Helen, the Burbank child mentioned above, said "You had to belong in order to be somebody at school," and Sara Caldwell recalled that "If you weren't in any of the clubs, you were nobody." Katherine Caldwell and Jonathan Elkus, in separate interviews, used a similar phrase when they talked about their high school days.<sup>34</sup>

Some girls who were not members or "goats" knew the advantage of being in clubs for their social life and not withstanding their resentment of the system, wished that they were in clubs or lived in the hills. Maria, the most anxious informant who made the Patricians despite her lower-class background, was too happy to have malicious feelings towards students from higher social ranks. She said that the "mountain goats" were really nice and that "if they are snooty they probably have a right to be." Other girls resented the discrimination but would adopt the behavior of the club girls instead of rejecting it. They organized their own clubs and in so doing copied the high-status clubs. Sheila, mentioned previously, was one such girl who with her friends named their club "Melomane" (music lady) after having found the word in a French dictionary. They chose a design for their pin and ordered, at \$11 apiece, sweaters with block letters for the name of their club. Sara also tried to organize a club which was open to everyone, but she did not succeed.<sup>35</sup> New clubs did not seem to do well because they were not prestigious enough to establish a respectable status for their members in the hierarchical structure at Berkeley High School. The club system therefore remained firmly entrenched, and although the clubs seemed to serve as organizations for social activities, in a more profound sense they functioned as the agent to place each student in a certain position in the social hierarchy of the school.<sup>36</sup>

Ambition, arrogance, vanity, anxiety and bitterness are manifest in what the children say about the clubs. We have seen that the desire to

join a club was felt most keenly by those who came from lower-middle-class or upper-lower-class families that were aspiring for full membership in the middle class and were presumed to be the most status conscious. This brings us to the question of how all this was related to the world that their parents were making.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BERKELEY  
—THE STATUS-CONSCIOUS MIDDLE CLASS

Berkeley in the 1940s was a highly stratified society. People, in varying degrees according to their class or aspirations, were very conscious of their social status. In American society residence in large part determines one's social status,<sup>37</sup> and this was more so in Berkeley probably because of its unique topography. Berkeley has hills which embrace a panoramic view of San Francisco Bay with its bridges and the city across the Bay. For many years this area was an exclusively upper-middle-class neighborhood. Closer to the Bay are level "Flats" which formed a residential area for working-class families. By standing in the lower part of a street that led up the hills, it was possible to see attractive homes higher up. Because of this topography, one was always reminded of one's social status without going far from home. Many people therefore struggled to move physically up the hill in order to move up socially.

Alicia's Russian-born mother provides a striking example of status consciousness which is expressed in changes of residence in that she steadily moved up one street toward the top of the hill. She exhibited characteristics usually ascribed to a highly status-conscious person: falsification of educational and family backgrounds and pretention to high-status tastes and life-style.<sup>38</sup> She pressed her husband who was not interested in social advancement to work hard for a higher income and tried to get her daughter to develop talents that would introduce her to upper-middle-class society. In the sixth grade Alicia's dancing lessons were replaced with horse-riding lessons with the idea that the latter would lead to more desirable contacts for Alicia.<sup>39</sup>

Alicia's mother did what she could to attain higher social status and rejected whatever would mean lowering it. For example, even though her husband had no interest in their garden, she worked in it because having a garden was an important mark of status in Berkeley. As another example, when her husband brought home a small ordinary

dog, she objected strongly because she had wanted to have a Dalmatian which would serve as a status symbol. We might add, however, that she eventually developed some affection for the dog. To try to demonstrate that she was intellectually sophisticated, she subscribed to many magazines such as *Ladies Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, *American*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Modern Priscilla*, but her selection instead exposed her mediocrity. She showed an interest only in classical music and attended concerts and operas rather than movies.<sup>40</sup> Alicia's case file shows her mother's meticulous struggle to acquire the proper attitudes and lifestyle to be accepted in upper-middle-class America.

In all her efforts to climb socially, the major concern of Alicia's mother was the location of their home, which was a correct perception of the social structure of Berkeley, and here she accomplished her goal of living in the highest-status neighborhood. This physical and social upward mobility of Alicia's family was achieved solely through her mother's ambition since her father made only a modest advance in both position and salary at his job and was not interested in climbing socially. I call this remarkable, status-conscious mother "the Woman on Rose Street" after the street up which she moved.

Another example of a status-conscious mother was Frank's. Dissatisfied with her house and its location, she wanted to move to the most prestigious Claremont district, but her husband was determined to stay where they were. Frustrated in her social ambition, she built up such a large collection of salt and pepper shakers that through it she made contacts with some members of the town's elite. In 1941 she held an exhibition of 800 sets at her home, and by 1943, when Frank was 14 years old, the collection comprised 1,908 pairs which "overflowed" into various rooms, including Frank's, in the house. Her collection came to include 2,432 pairs a year later. Frank was in a fraternity and often expressed his desire to live in a big house up on the hill. The I.H.D. psychologist who analyzed this case interpreted his mother's collection as "her major means of satisfying status needs."<sup>41</sup>

The Guidance Study is filled with remarks of parents, especially mothers from the middle class, who aspired to elevate themselves both socially and geographically. Because the children absorbed this status consciousness into their attitudes and behavior, the hierarchical relationship between the children at school reflected the stratification of society in general. The class structure of the adult world of Berkeley was

crystallized into the sororities and fraternities of Berkeley High School.

#### STATUS AS A VALUE OF THE AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS

Among the B.G.S. subjects and their parents, we find different degrees of status consciousness by sex and ethnicity. Mothers appeared to be more status conscious than fathers. B.G.S. students testified that sororities were more exclusive and discriminating than fraternities. Were women, then, more status conscious than men? I should argue that many women, more tied than men to the community that was highly segregated by class and without any work of substance except to look after their family, turned to establishing and maintaining the status of their family in the community in an attempt to identify themselves as something other than housewives. In so doing, they rewarded their husbands for their work outside the home and were fulfilling the role of housewife and mother.<sup>42</sup> To some women, their anxiety over self-identification was solved by trying to identify with the upper-middle class. Some who already had self-fulfilling work such as Thomas's mother who was a mathematician from the upper-middle class, to give one example, were not concerned about their social status or did not have time to think about it,<sup>43</sup> but there were only a few of them. Most women strived to achieve self-fulfillment and a desirable identification by, for example, engaging in voluntary activities for the Red Cross, collecting salt and pepper shakers, and giving their children horse-riding lessons. World War II, which stimulated numerous kinds of volunteer and paid work, provided opportunities for such middle-class women who sought to achieve or to gain security in their status.

Some immigrant families were more concerned with retaining their ethnic identities than adopting new cultural values and symbols. I shall provide three examples of ethnic families to demonstrate that the degree of their Americanization corresponded to the degree of their status consciousness, which was rooted in middle-class American values.

Thalia's family presents a case of the least Americanized in the B.G.S. sample set. Her parents were both raised in a Greek community in Turkey. Her father went to school in Turkey until he was fifteen and then came to the United States where he became successful in real estate. He asked for his future wife to come to the United States to marry him without having met her. His wife learned only a little

English and was always homesick. Both parents clung to Greek culture, and their companions and social life revolved around Greek functions, sponsored by Greek lodges, Greek philanthropic and educational societies and the Greek church. Thalia and her siblings were always included in the activities of Greek societies, and they were sent to a "Greek school" from four to six o'clock after school twice a week. Her father was not only concerned with his children's learning Greek culture but also very ambitious about their future. He helped Thalia with her homework because he was determined that she, an outstanding student, would become a doctor. When she was twelve she said that her most important activities were the school chorus and dance lessons. Her parents were proud of her participating in Greek pageants and costume dances. At the interviews she was one of the rare cases in which the subject did not mention anything about the clubs or the club system. On the I.H.D. scale, her family was ranked in the middle-upper-middle class which gave her the basic economic and social qualifications for club membership. That she was active in such school activities as chorus and orchestra, in which she played the piano, and that she was an excellent student would have made her acceptable to a club, but Thalia did not seem to be interested. Furthermore, despite their economic prosperity they lived in a big house in the Flats until she was eighteen, but she or her parents did not mention being dissatisfied with their working-class neighborhood. The status values shared by many in Berkeley did not interest this un-Americanized Greek family.<sup>44</sup>

Roula also had a Greek immigrant father but her mother was born in America. Roula's mother was proud to come from an established family and had intense social drives with a strong desire to move to Claremont. Her family, like Thalia's, was ranked in the middle-upper-middle class, but unlike Thalia's family, it was more American than Greek. Roula attended the Unitarian Church regularly instead of a Greek school. Like Thalia, Roula was not in a club but unlike her, she not only was aware of the class structure at Berkeley High School but also had critical attitudes toward it. Giving her opinion on the clubs, she said the club system "puts too much emphasis on social evaluations. I don't think it's good for the school. It segregates some kids. Kids get too conscious of social things and they discriminate [against] the people." Roula developed undiscriminating attitudes in regard to her friends, which was something her mother did not like.

While her mother was concerned about social status, Roula's father was interested in egalitarianism and making money. After arriving in the United States as a child laborer at age nine, he was raised by a settlement house worker in Boston and sent to a boys' school in Massachusetts. The settlement worker gave him money to go to California, where he worked his way through the University of California at Berkeley. Although he was born in Greece, he grew up as a New England Protestant and succeeded in the wholesale grocery business. He criticized the war, saying that the cause of the war was "all [the] barriers between nations and private business," and spoke admiringly of the Soviet Union which he believed stood for the equality of people.<sup>45</sup>

With a status-conscious American mother and an "egalitarian" Greek father, Roula developed indiscriminating attitudes that worried her mother and stayed out of the clubs although she identified herself with the "uplift" social group in school. It was likely that she would have been accepted if she had wanted to join a club. Both she and Thalia stayed out of the clubs, but their reasons differed: Thalia was more Greek than American and did not seem to be particularly aware of the hierarchical social structure at Berkeley High School, whereas Roula was American with New England egalitarian values acquired from her father and status values from her mother. In regard to the clubs, the former values seem to have had a stronger influence on Roula.

Alicia's family—the family of the "Woman on Rose Street"—stands in strong contrast to Thalia's. The latter was the most detached from the social hierarchy of the city and the least Americanized because of their desire to remain Greek. The status-conscious "Woman on Rose Street," however, refused to associate with neighbors of Russian descent.<sup>46</sup> When examining the different attitudes toward social status between these families, we note the difference in their attitudes toward and their degrees of Americanization. Alicia's status-conscious Russian-born mother was eager to become American and struggled to adopt "the American way" of life to the point of meticulousness, but Thalia's father endeavored to preserve the Greek way of life. On the one hand, Alicia's mother successfully sought to attain upper-middle-class status by changing the family residence eventually to a very desirable neighborhood without a substantial increase in her husband's salary and despite remaining in the middle-lower-middle class. Besides her concern with residential location, she showed other traits that were

characteristic of status-conscious people, and her efforts were rewarded by her daughter's becoming president of a sorority. On the other hand, Thalia's family continued to live in the "Flats," the least desirable area in town, even though they could afford to live in a better area and were ranked in the upper-middle class. In this family we cannot discern any trace of the desire for upward social mobility that was expressed by other people in the Guidance Study.

From these contrasting examples of Americanization and status consciousness, I should conclude that the status consciousness that we find in Alicia's mother was part of the American values she adopted. To her, Americanization meant acting and thinking like upper-middle-class Americans. Status consciousness was largely shared by middle-class Americans who, with a certain perception of social stratification, were struggling to move up socially and physically in Berkeley. In Greek culture, within which Thalia's family continued to live even in the United States, status consciousness probably was expressed differently from that in Berkeley; at least the social stratification of the city did not seem to concern this family. We might therefore argue that as immigrants became assimilated, they acquired from the American middle class the perception of social stratification and status consciousness.

#### THE ENDURING MIDDLE CLASS—CONTINUITY

Finally I should like to ask whether the war influenced the rigid hierarchical structure of Berkeley that, as we have seen in the worlds of children and their parents, was dominated by the middle class. This question has yet to be answered satisfactorily, but a supplementary question might lead us in the direction of an answer: how did the children in wartime Berkeley see themselves in the future? Tables 13 and 14 list in the order of preference what boys and girls aged 15 and 16 in 1944 wanted to be, and they raise the question of whether these preferences reveal any signs of upward or downward social mobility, that is a repositioning within the social order. In Tables 15 and 16 the average social class indices of those who chose certain occupations for the future have been calculated. Although the figures do not give us a definite conclusion since there are not enough cases, they do give us an idea. In Table 15, for example, "carpenter" (9) has a higher numeral than "architect" (7.08) which, when we compare the numbers with



those given for the classes in Table 3, means that boys who wanted to become carpenters tended to come from lower-class families, while boys who wanted to be architects tended to come from middle-class families. In Table 16 we discover that girls who wanted to become doctors (6.56) came from the upper- and middle-lower-middle classes while girls who wanted to become beauty parlor experts (7.5) came from the middle- and lower-lower-middle classes. The difference is not very large, but we can discern some correlation between the class backgrounds of children and the occupations they aspired to. Although there are exceptions, children from the lower class generally aspired to lower-status occupations and those from the middle class generally desired higher-status occupations.

In conclusion, I should like to suggest that the children in Berkeley were not ready for the structural change in society that the war threatened to bring. The justification and meaning of the war in Berkeley, as was the case elsewhere in the nation, stressed preserving democracy as the aim of the struggle. We have seen this in children's writings in the "Young Authors' Club," but this was their public face. Privately, as this study suggests, the children—and the adults as well—in Berkeley were not thinking or behaving in a socially democratic framework. In the uproar of a war for democracy, the old class divisions were untouched and seemed unlikely to prepare the children for a postwar society that was any more democratic. With the club system at the high school intact, Berkeley's middle class secured its power not only in school life but also in the social—and economic and political—life of the community for the next generation. We would have to wait at least another two decades, until a nationwide social and cultural revolution came to Berkeley, to see changes in this social structure based on class—and race.

Table 13  
Occupations That Teenagers Might Choose\*  
(Preferences of Boys)

Occupation	Average Rating	Number who Marked 2
1 aviator	1.40	25
2 engineer	1.37	25
3 chemist	1.07	18
4 machinist	1.05	18
5 forest ranger	1.00	17
6 explorer	1.00	16
7 farmer or rancher	0.98	16
8 doctor	0.95	17
9 Marine	0.95	16
10 draftsman	0.91	16
11 auto repairman	0.91	13
12 sailor	0.88	16
13 architect	0.88	13
14 detective	0.81	14
15 football player	0.79	14
16 athletic coach	0.77	11
17 soldier	0.72	11
18 radio announcer	0.72	9
19 builder	0.70	8
20 lawyer	0.67	11
21 instructor in physical training	0.60	9
22 cartoonist	0.60	7
23 newspaper reporter	0.53	7
24 astronomer	0.51	7
25 policeman	0.49	8
26 scout leader	0.47	5
27 editor	0.47	3
28 carpenter	0.47	2
29 comedian	0.44	4
30 life guard on a beach	0.44	4
31 artist	0.40	4
32 writer	0.40	3
33 dentist	0.37	6
34 musician	0.37	6
35 chef	0.37	5
36 taxi driver	0.37	5
37 college teacher	0.37	4
38 fireman	0.37	3
39 jazz orchestra leader	0.35	4

Table 13 (cont.)

40	movie director	0.33	4
41	naturalist	0.33	4
42	storekeeper	0.30	4
43	actor	0.30	3
44	swimming instructor	0.30	3
45	salesman	0.30	2
46	gas station operator	0.30	1
47	playground director	0.28	3
48	chauffeur	0.28	3
49	movie star	0.28	3
50	bookkeeper	0.28	2
51	household decorator	0.26	2
52	school teacher	0.23	3
53	social worker	0.21	2
54	concert singer	0.19	2
55	dancer	0.16	1
56	gardener	0.16	0
57	telephone operator	0.14	7
58	WAVES	0.14	1
59	librarian	0.14	1
60	minister	0.14	0
61	office clerk	0.14	0
62	nurse	0.12	1
63	tailor	0.12	0
64	missionary	0.12	0
65	private secretary	0.12	0
66	WAAC	0.09	0
67	waiter	0.09	0
68	beauty parlor expert	0.07	0
69	plumber	0.07	0
70	Spar	0.07	0
71	stenographer	0.07	0
72	circus performer	0.05	0
73	costume designer	0.05	0
74	dressmaker	0.05	0
75	kindergarten teacher	0.05	0
76	poet	0.05	0

\*The sample set comprised 43 boys aged 15-16 in 1944.  
 For this survey 2=preferred, 1=ambivalent and 0=not preferred.

Table 14  
Occupations That Teenagers Might Choose\*  
(Preferences of Girls)

Occupation	Average Rating	Number Who Marked 2
1 costume designer	1.23	20
2 household decorator	1.13	19
3 nurse	1.13	19
4 artist	1.08	18
5 aviator	1.05	17
6 WAVES	1.05	16
7 newspaper reporter	1.03	15
8 private secretary	1.00	15
9 dancer	0.92	12
10 detective	0.87	12
11 musician	0.85	11
12 dressmaker	0.82	11
13 writer	0.82	9
14 farmer or rancher	0.79	10
15 cartoonist	0.79	10
16 actor	0.79	9
17 explorer	0.77	9
18 chemist	0.74	10
19 WAAC	0.72	11
20 comedian	0.72	10
21 swimming instructor	0.72	7
22 stenographer	0.69	11
23 doctor	0.67	9
24 movie star	0.67	8
25 jazz orchestra leader	0.64	9
26 kindergarten teacher	0.62	8
27 telephone operator	0.62	7
28 radio announcer	0.59	6
29 Marine	0.56	8
30 Spar	0.56	7
31 movie director	0.56	7
32 architect	0.56	6
33 school teacher	0.54	6
34 editor	0.54	4
35 social worker	0.51	6
36 librarian	0.51	5
37 bookkeeper	0.51	4
38 office clerk	0.51	3
39 astronomer	0.49	7

Table 14 (cont.)

40	chef	0.49	4
41	college teacher	0.46	6
42	gardener	0.46	6
43	instructor in physical training	0.44	6
44	poet	0.44	5
45	life guard on a beach	0.44	3
46	concert singer	0.41	6
47	beauty parlor expert	0.41	4
48	lawyer	0.41	3
49	athletic coach	0.38	4
50	playground director	0.36	5
51	forest ranger	0.36	4
52	missionary	0.36	4
53	naturalist	0.31	4
54	policewoman	0.28	3
55	waitress	0.28	2
56	circus performer	0.26	3
57	draftsman	0.26	2
58	football player	0.26	1
59	sailor	0.23	3
60	soldier	0.23	3
61	scout leader	0.23	1
62	salesman	0.21	2
63	taxi driver	0.21	1
64	tailor	0.21	1
65	dentist	0.18	1
66	chauffeur	0.18	1
67	minister	0.18	1
68	engineer	0.18	0
69	auto repairman	0.18	0
70	builder	0.18	0
71	carpenter	0.18	0
72	fireman	0.15	1
73	machinist	0.10	0
74	storekeeper	0.10	0
75	gas station operator	0.05	0
76	plumber	0.03	0

\*The sample set comprised 39 girls aged 15-16 in 1944.  
For this survey 2=preferred, 1=ambivalent and 0=not preferred.

Table 15  
Average Class Index for Occupational Preference\* (Boys)

Occupation	Average Class Index for Boys Who Marked "Preferred" on an I.H.D. Questionnaire
musician	5.33
doctor	5.82
builder	6.00
engineer	6.44
lawyer	6.55
auto repairman	6.69
jazz orchestra leader	7.00
aviator	7.00
comedian	7.00
architect	7.08
machinist	7.11
draftsman	7.88
Marine	8.25
athletic coach	8.50
football player	8.64
carpenter	9.00

\*See Table 3 for the numerical values of the classes, 1 being the highest and 14 being the lowest.

Table 16  
Average Class Index for Occupational Preference\* (Girls)

Occupation	Average Class Index for Girls Who Marked "Preferred" on an I.H.D. Questionnaire
social worker	5.50
architect	5.83
circus performer	6.33
athletic coach	6.55
doctor	6.56
comedian	6.60
movie star	6.63
Marine	6.88
nurse	6.89
WAVES	7.00
lawyer	7.00
aviator	7.08
concert singer	7.13
jazz orchestra leader	7.33
college teacher	7.50
beauty parlor expert	7.50
musician	8.09
draftsman	9.00

\*See Table 3 for the numerical values of the classes, 1 being the highest and 14 being the lowest.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> On the wartime economy, see Gerald D. Nash, *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1990). Works on the home front in general include Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America During World War II* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1986); John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); and Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1972). There are now numerous works on women, which include Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981); D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); Susan Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne, 1982); Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class Gender and Propaganda During World War II* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984); Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Reila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); and William H. Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). On African-Americans, see Lee Finkel, *Forum for Protest: The Black Press During World War II* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975); Neil A. Wynn, *The Afro-American in the Second World War* (New York: Homes & Meier, 1976); Mark V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's Legal Struggle against Segregated Education, 1925-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); and Harvard Sit-coff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," *Journal of American History* 58 (1971), pp. 661-81. Recently there has been a number of works that focus on particular communities or regions during the war; these include Alan Clive, *State of War: Michigan in World War II* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980); Marc Scott Miller, *The Irony of Victory: World War II and Lowell, Massachusetts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Gerald Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Charles Wollenberg, *Marinship at War* (Berkeley: Western Heritage Press, 1990); Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (New York: The Free Press, 1993); and Marilyn Susan Johnson, "The Western Front: World War II and the Transformation of West Coast Urban Life," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Recently William Tuttle published a comprehensive work on children, "*Daddy's Gone to War*": *The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). Other works include Richard M. Uglund, "Education for Victory": The High School Victory Corps and Curricular Adaptation During

World War II," *History of Education Quarterly* 19 (Winter 1979), pp. 435–51; Natsuki Aruga, "'An' Finish School': Child Labor During World War II," *Labor History* (Fall 1988), pp. 498–530; and Robert William Kirk, "Hey Kid! The Mobilization of American Children in the Second World War," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1991.

<sup>3</sup> The best-known may be Glen H. Elder Jr., *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

<sup>4</sup> In this study, a nontheoretical reconstruction of the past, I use a broader definition of "class" than that based on the ownership of the means of production in a capitalist society. I have used the categories of class that the researchers at the I.H.D. applied to each subject based on those formulated by sociologists A. Lloyd Warner and August Hollingshead who conducted community studies during the 1940s. The I.H.D. researchers adapted Warner's Index of Status Characteristics to identify the class position of each family and established five major classes (upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower classes). The five classes are divided to make fourteen subclasses: the upper and lower divisions of the middle and lower classes are divided into subdivisions of upper, middle and lower to create, for example, upper-upper-middle, middle-upper-middle and lower-upper-middle subclasses; this makes twelve such categories, and the upper class is divided into two subclasses of middle-upper and lower-upper. Each subclass is given a numerical value—the middle-upper being 1 and the lower-lower-lower being 14—which facilitates quantifying the class background of the subjects and enables us to recognize rather specific class patterns in the behavior of the Study subjects. See Table 3.

<sup>5</sup> David Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> Ted, "Geared for War," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, July 7, 1942.

<sup>7</sup> Robin Harris, "Yesterday and Today," *ibid.*, October 1, 1942.

<sup>8</sup> Sara Healy, "My New Toys," *ibid.*, July 16, 1942.

<sup>9</sup> Patsy Hepfer, "The Life Story of a Key," *ibid.*, October 16, 1942; and Valla Ramey, "The History of a Tree," *ibid.*, August 20, 1942.

<sup>10</sup> Shirley MacFarlane, "Summer Hours," *ibid.*, July 16, 1942; and Bernice Smith, "Gardens and Bandages," *ibid.*, August 26, 1942. Other writings on Victory Gardens include Fio Dean, "The Victory Garden," *ibid.*, June 4, 1942; Valla Ramey, "What Victory," *ibid.*, July 2, 1942; and Patsy Dean, "Prince Hal's Victory," *ibid.*, June 11, 1942. Doris MacMaine, "Active Duty," *ibid.*, June 15, 1942, describes the difficulties of people who sacrificed their pleasures to attend Civilian Defense meetings or to buy defense stamps.

<sup>11</sup> Dorothy Taylor, "A Visit across the Bay," *ibid.*, October 8, 1942.

<sup>12</sup> Allan Campbell, "I Know We Will," *ibid.*, May 19, 1942; and Eleanor Parker, "Freedom's Flight," *ibid.*, July 20, 1942. Other examples include Thurlow Wilson, "Victory," *ibid.*, July 21, 1942; Maurice Price, "Thunder in the West," *ibid.*, May 18, 1942; and Joy Service, "We Will Finish the Fight," *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Betty Anderson, "Victory Sounds," *ibid.*, June 8, 1942.

<sup>14</sup> Articles on the purchase of War Bonds by school children appeared almost every day in the *Berkeley Daily Gazette*. For example, see the issues of May 29, October 22, December 7 and 8, 1942, and January 7, 1943.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Ann Bousman, "Buy Bonds," *ibid.*, January 19, 1943.

<sup>16</sup> Because the identities of the subjects in the Guidance Study are to remain confidential, the names used here are not real.

<sup>17</sup> Berkeley Guidance Study (hereafter B.G.S.), case file on Nancy.



- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, case file on Maria.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, case files on Cathy and Jim.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, case file on Maria.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, case files on Samuel and Ben.
- <sup>23</sup> Wilson Carey McWilliams, *The Idea of Fraternity in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 21. See also William Graebner, "Outlawing Teenage Populism: The Campaign against Secret Societies in the American High School, 1900-1960," *Journal of American History* 74 (September 1987), pp. 419-20.
- <sup>24</sup> Out of the original 124 B.G.S. subjects, 63 dropped out of the Study, left Berkeley or went to private schools, so only 61 actually attended Berkeley High School or, in the case of two, went to other schools near Berkeley but retained close relations with Berkeley High social life as members of clubs.
- <sup>25</sup> B.G.S., case file on Betty.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, case file on Joyce.
- <sup>27</sup> Sara Caldwell, interview by author, Berkeley, California, October 7, 1991.
- <sup>28</sup> Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), pp. 48-49; and Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), pp. 65-70.
- <sup>29</sup> B.G.S., case file on Maria.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, case files on Sheila, Maureen, Beth and Dick.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, case file on Velda.
- <sup>32</sup> Katherine Caldwell, Jonathan Elkus and Sara Caldwell, interviews by author, Berkeley, California, respectively July 2, August 14, and October 7, 1991.
- <sup>33</sup> Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 154-55.
- <sup>34</sup> B.G.S., case file on Helen; Sara Caldwell, Katherine Caldwell and Jonathan Elkus, interviews by author.
- <sup>35</sup> B.G.S., case files on Maria and Sheila; Sara Caldwell, interview by author.
- <sup>36</sup> See Graebner, "Outlawing Teenage Populism," pp. 411-35, which emphasizes the nonconformist aspect of high school social clubs rather than the close ties of youth culture to the social structure of the adult world.
- <sup>37</sup> W. Lloyd Warner et al., *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 35-36, 38; W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 84; and James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 120.
- <sup>38</sup> The discussion of Alicia's family is based on a paper written by the I.H.D. researcher B.H.J., "Alicia Thomas—A Case Involving Upward Mobility," and the records in her B.G.S. case file.
- <sup>39</sup> B.G.S., "Alicia Thomas," p. 55.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 9.
- <sup>41</sup> B.G.S., case file on Frank.
- <sup>42</sup> Stuart Blumin writes in *The Emergence of the American Middle Class; Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 191, that "middle-class formation was woman's work."
- <sup>43</sup> B.G.S., case file on Thomas.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, case file on Thalia.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, case file on Roula.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, case file on Alicia.