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EMPORIA, KANSAS

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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
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The Effect of Weight Training on Body Cathexis

by
Jeffrey H. Bair
and
William E. Thompson*

This study describes and analyzes the effect of participation in weight training classes on body cathexis. Body cathexis refers to "the degree of feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the various parts or processes of the body" (Secord and Jourard, 1953). This particular study grew out of an earlier research project which involved nine months of participant observation in a university weight room (Thompson and Bair, 1982). In that research the authors noted a great deal of "body consciousness" among regular weight room participants. It was believed that regular weight lifting impacted upon the subjects' feelings about their bodies. In order to test this assumption, a second study was developed utilizing the nonequivalent control group quasi-experimental design (Campbell and Stanley, 1963).

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 203 university undergraduate students (120 females and 83 males). The experimental group was comprised of 96 students (42 females and 54 males) who were enrolled in weight training courses. There were 107 students (78 females and 29 males) enrolled in introductory sociology courses which constituted the control group.

Procedure

The dependent variable in this study was measured by a modified version of the Body Cathexis Scale (Secord and Jourard, 1953). The original Body Cathexis Scale was an attempt to measure one particular aspect of self esteem. The original scale listed 40 physical characteristics and subjects rated their satisfaction with aspects of their body on a five-point Likert scale. Our modification of this scale utilized 30 selected physical characteristics and the same rating procedure (See attached questionnaire).

All subjects were administered the modified Body Cathexis Scale at the beginning of the 1982 Spring semester. At the end of the semester, the same scale was readministered to both groups. It was hypothesized that there would be little or no difference in Body Cathexis scores between the control and experimental groups at the beginning of the semester. However, it was hypothesized that there would be a difference between the two groups at the end of the semester with the experimental group scoring significantly higher after completing a semester of weight training classes.

Design and Analysis[1]

The design used in this research was a nonequivalent group design without controlled selection. It was a simple nonequivalent group design with a single experimental group and a single no-treatment control group. The respondents in each treatment group were observed at the same time both prior to the treatment (a pretest measure) and after the treatment (a posttest measure).

In this research the respondents were not randomly assigned to the treatment and control groups but they were assigned by some overt or covert, uncontrolled nonrandom process (e.g., self-selection or selection based on need). Most likely, the nonrandom selection procedure produced groups that were nonequivalent.

In analyzing data from the nonequivalent group design, the purpose was not merely to describe the performance in groups of respondents, though that was desired. Rather, the purpose of the analysis was to determine the effect of an experimental treatment in contrast to a control condition. Usually this entails a comparison of the posttest scores in the two groups. But selection differences resulting from the nonrandom assignment may produce posttest differences between the groups even in the absence of a treatment effect. Therefore, to get a "reasonable" estimate of the treatment effect, the analysis had to properly recognize or control for the effects of initial differences.

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[1]This section draws very heavily on Chapter 4 in Cook & Campbell (1979).

There are a number of statistical methods available to attack the problem of separating the effect of the treatment from the effect of selection differences. Four very common methods are elementary analysis of variance (ANOVA), analysis of variance (ANOVA) with blocking or matching, analysis of variance (ANOVA) with gain scores, and analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) either with a single covariate or multiple covariates.

The statistical method used for the analysis of this study was the analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) with a single covariate. This technique extends the elementary ANOVA by including the pretest measure in the analysis in the form of a linear regression. Using the pretest ("covariate" in analysis of covariance terminology) in this way provides an adjustment for initial differences between the groups. In the nonequivalent group design, this adjustment can increase the precision of the treatment effect estimate. This adjustment usually alters the expected value of the treatment effect estimate as compared to the elementary ANOVA. The ANCOVA is generally more precise than the ANOVA. This is because the AN-COVA reduces the size of the error variance by including the pretest scores directly in the analysis.

In the ANCOVA the relevant question was whether the experimental group outperformed the control group on the posttest by more than should be expected on the basis of initial selection differences. In essence, the ANCOVA attempted to answer this question by using a matching procedure whereby for any given pretest value it took the predicted posttest values for the treatment and control groups and examined the difference between them. A statistically significant difference would suggest that one group would have significantly outperformed the other on the posttest if the groups had started with the same pretest scores.

RESULTS

On the pretest, there was no significant difference between the means of the experimental group and the control group. The mean for the experimental group was 101.04 and the mean for the control group was 100.72. (See Table 1)

On the posttest, the experimental group had a mean of 104.35 and the control group a mean of 102.06. The ANCOVA indicated that the experimental group did not significantly outperform the control group on the posttest by more than should be expected on the basis of initial selection differences ($F(1,200) = 1.571$ $p > .05$; where $F > 3.89$ is $p < .05$).

TABLE 1

Means for Experimental and Control Groups on the Body Cathexis Scale at Pretest and Posttest.

	Pretest	Posttest	difference score
Experimental group (N = 96)	101.04	104.35	3.31
Control; group (N = 107)	100.72	102.06	1.34
ANCOVA F(1,200) = 1.57 p > .05			

It should be noted when comparing the difference between mean scores at pretest and posttest, a noticeable difference was found in the experimental group (difference score = 3.31). The difference was in the hypothesized direction with experimental subjects scoring higher on Body Cathexis after a semester of weight training. As hypothesized, the control group showed a smaller difference in Body Cathexis scores at the end of the semester when compared to scores at the beginning of the semester (difference score = 1.34). It must be reemphasized, as stated above, that the ANCOVA indicated that the experimental group did not significantly outperform the control group on the posttest.

When examining the mean scores for the groups by sex it became apparent that noticeable differences existed. (See Table 2) There was a tendency for female subjects to score lower on the average on the Body Cathexis scale than males. Given this tendency it was felt that an analysis of the experiment controlling for sex was needed.

For male subjects on the pretest, there was no significant difference between the means of the experimental group and the control group. The mean for the experimental group was 106.32 and the mean for the control group was 106.45. (See Table 2)

On the posttest, the male experimental group had a mean of 108.07 and the male control group a mean of 106.21. The ANCOVA indicated that the male experimental group did not significantly outperform the male control group on the posttest by more than should be expected on the basis of initial selection differences (F(1,80) = 0.423 p > .05; where F > 3.96 is p < .05).

TABLE 2

Means for Male and Female Experimental and Control Groups on the Body Cathexis Scale at Pretest and Posttest.

	Pretest	Posttest	difference score
Experimental			
group: Males (N = 54)	106.32	108.07	1.75
Females (N = 42)	94.26	99.57	5.31
Control;			
group: Males (N = 29)	106.45	106.21	-.24
Females (N = 78)	98.59	100.49	1.90
Males ANCOVA	Females ANCOVA		
$F(1,80) = 0.42$ $p > .05$	$F(1,117) = 0.75$ $p > .05$		

When comparing the difference between mean scores at pretest and posttest, a difference was found in the male experimental group (difference score = 1.75). The difference was in the hypothesized direction with male experimental subjects scoring higher on Body Cathexis after a semester of weight training. As hypothesized, the male control group showed a smaller difference and actually a decline in Body Cathexis scores at the end of the semester when compared to scores at the beginning of the semester (difference score = -.24). However, it must be reemphasized that the ANCOVA did not find these differences to be statistically significant.

For female subjects on the pretest, there was a difference between the means of the experimental group and the control group although this difference was not statistically significant ($t = 1.79$ with 98 d.f., $p > .05$). The mean for the experimental group was 94.26 and the mean for the control group was 98.59. (See Table 2)

On the posttest, the female experimental group had a mean of 99.57 and the female control group a mean of 100.49. The ANCOVA indicated that the female experimental and control groups did not significantly differ on the posttest by more than should be expected on the basis of initial selection differences ($F (1,117) = 0.749$ $p > .05$; where $F > 3.93$ is $p < .05$).

When comparing the difference between mean scores at pretest and posttest, a difference was found in the female experimental group (difference score = 5.31). The difference was in the hypothesized direction with female experimental subjects scoring higher on Body Cathexis after a semester of weight training. As

hypothesized, the female control group showed a smaller difference in Body Cathexis scores at the end of the semester when compared to scores at the beginning of the semester (difference score = 1.90). Again, it must be reemphasized that the ANCOVA did not find these differences to be statistically significant.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study was designed to analyze the effect of participation in weight training classes on Body Cathexis. Because individuals who regularly participate in weight training seem to have a great deal of body consciousness, it was hypothesized that students who spent a semester in weight training classes would experience a notable difference in attitudes toward their bodies when compared to students who did not participate in weight training classes. A nonequivalent control group quasi-experimental design was utilized to test this hypothesis.

Students from introductory sociology courses constituted the control group, while students enrolled in semester-long weight training classes were used as the experimental group. Both groups were administered a modified version of the Body Cathexis Scale at the beginning of the semester. Mean differences between the control and experimental groups were minimal and not statistically significant.

The students who took a course in weight training did inc. score higher on Body Cathexis after the weight training ($\bar{x}$ d. ference of 3.31). However, the control group of students who had not completed a weight training course also increased their mean score on body cathexis between pretest and posttest (difference score of 1.34).

Because there are no established national means on the Body Cathexis Scale, we have no way of knowing how our subjects compare relative to others on body cathexis. Obviously, our male subjects scored substantially higher on the average than did our female students. This could possibly be attributed to the nature of the items on the scale. Perhaps males would view these body parts in a more positive fashion than females. On the other hand, it is possible that males in both the control and experimental groups have more positive attitudes toward their bodies than females, because they are more likely to participate in weight training on their own. The university setting for this study has a weight room which is much more popular with male students than females. Hence, many of the male subjects not in the control group might work out

regularly on their own. There is also a private gym in the community and many male students are members who weight train regularly.

Perhaps a reason why the results of this study were not as dramatic as originally hypothesized is a result of a subjective phenomenon which might greatly affect how the subjects responded to the Body Cathexis Scale. We anticipated that after a semester of weight training, students would develop more body-consciousness. We hypothesized that this increased body consciousness would be exhibited in more positive attitudes toward their bodies which would in turn be reflected in higher Body Cathexis scores. It is quite possible that a semester of weight training did significantly increase body-consciousness, but not necessarily increase positive feelings about body parts. For example, a person who entered a weight training course might not have strong feelings at all about his arms. When asked to respond to that item he might respond moderately positive. After a semester of weight training that same student might feel that the appearance of his arms is extremely important, but because of his increased interest in his arms, he might be more critical in his evaluation of them, and hence, respond that he is now dissatisfied. Ironically, our scale did *not* measure body consciousness at all - it merely measured satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Thus, as those who took the weight training courses became more concerned about their bodies, they may have become more critical, and consequently less satisfied with their bodies. Just as the dieter becomes more conscious of weight and hence, may feel more dissatisfied with his weight after a noticeable weight loss, those who participated in weight training may have established different subjective criteria by which they evaluated their bodies.

Future studies need to attempt to measure the degree of body consciousness in addition to body cathexis. The nature of the relationship between the degree of body consciousness and the degree of satisfaction with the body needs to be examined. An evaluation of the effect of weight training on both of these dimensions warrants investigation.

BODY CATHEXIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Sex: Male _____ Female _____   I.D. #_____

Age: _____

(last 4 digits of your SSN)

Height: _____ft. _____in.

Weight: _____lbs.

INSTRUCTIONS

Listed below are a number of things characteristic of yourself or related to you. Please consider each item listed and encircle the number of each item which best represents your feelings according to the following scale:

     1. Have strong negative feelings.
     2. Have moderate negative feelings.
     3. Have no feeling one way or the other.
     4. Have moderate positive feelings.
     5. Have strong positive feelings.

	strong negative	moderate negative	no feeling	moderate positive	strong positive
1. appetite	1	2	3	4	5
2. hands	1	2	3	4	5
3. distribution of hair (over body)	1	2	3	4	5
4. physical stamina	1	2	3	4	5
5. muscular strength	1	2	3	4	5
6. waist	1	2	3	4	5
7. energy level	1	2	3	4	5
8. back	1	2	3	4	5
9. chin	1	2	3	4	5
10. body build	1	2	3	4	5
11. height	1	2	3	4	5
12. tolerance for pain	1	2	3	4	5
13. shoulders	1	2	3	4	5
14. arms	1	2	3	4	5

	strong negative	moderate negative	no feeling	moderate positive	strong positive
15. chest (or breast)	1	2	3	4	5
16. hips	1	2	3	4	5
17. resistance to illness	1	2	3	4	5
18. legs	1	2	3	4	5
19. knees	1	2	3	4	5
20. posture	1	2	3	4	5
21. face	1	2	3	4	5
22. weight	1	2	3	4	5
23. wrists	1	2	3	4	5
24. sexuality	1	2	3	4	5
25. neck	1	2	3	4	5
26. thighs	1	2	3	4	5
27. calves	1	2	3	4	5
28. ankles	1	2	3	4	5
29. exercise	1	2	3	4	5
30. breathing	1	2	3	4	5

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The Impact of College Socialization on Selected Attitudes

by William E. Thompson
and
Jack E. Bynum*

In the past few decades going to college in this country has clearly moved from being viewed as a "privilege" for some to being the "right" of all. Even in the past ten years when college enrollments have begun to plummet from their peaks of the mid-sixties and early seventies, there are still a substantial number of people attending American colleges and universities today. Obviously, higher education is still held in considerable esteem in American society.

Education and socialization have become almost synonymous terms in our society (McNeil, 1969). Swift (1976:4) saw the primary concern of education to be the fulfillment of the basic function of socialization, "the process of preparing an individual to be a member of a society." This socialization aspect of the college experience obviously focuses upon the development and improvement of a vast array of cognitive and intellectual skills. College curricula across the country clearly indicate the desire of educators to socialize students in regard to what sociologists call the cognitive aspects of culture. A college graduate is expected to have acquired a great deal of new intellectual skills and knowledge since he/she entered the academic institution some four years earlier. However, intellectual development and the accumulation of knowledge is only one aspect of the college socialization process. The socialization experience associated with college is also expected to influence student values, attitudes, and beliefs or what sociologists have referred to as the normative aspects of culture. "Colleges may be viewed as socializing organizations in which students, in varying degrees, come to accept normative attitudes and values . . ." (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969:269). Consequently, graduating seniors should also be expected to exhibit noticeable changes in attitudes and values as compared to when they first entered college.

The purpose of this study is to describe and evaluate the impact of college socialization on selected attitudinal variables. More

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specifically, the authors of this study seek to describe what changes, if any, have occurred in the attitudes of college students from four southwestern colleges between their freshman and senior years toward the social issues of: legalization of marijuana, premarital sexual activity, inter-faith marriage, inter-racial marriage, and traditional sex roles.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The attitudes of college students have been studied many times. One of the earliest and perhaps most prominent of these studies was Newcomb's study of Bennington College (Newcomb, 1943).

The campus unrest of the 1960's spawned numerous grants from government and private research institutions, to study what was happening to American college youth. An ongoing large-scale study based on a nationally representative sample of college students (surveying between 250,000 and 350,000 freshmen entering more than 300 institutions throughout the nation each fall) has been conducted each year since 1968 and has assessed the attitudes and values of entering college students (Astin, 1977).

In making a general assessment of college students' attitudes, most studies agree that college students tend to be more liberal than the general population regarding most social issues. Without attempting to debate the semantics of the liberal versus conservative ideologies, *liberal* as used in the context of this study refers to open-mindedness, tolerance of norm violating behavior, and readiness to accept social change. *Conservative* refers to less tolerance of norm violating behavior and a conscientious effort to maintain the status quo through enforcement of traditional norms, attitudes, and values. As one researcher summarized: "college students' attitudes veer toward liberal, as distinct from conservative views" (Bowen, 1978:12). Swift (1976) indicated in his study that college students tend to exhibit more liberal attitudes toward marijuana and premarital sexual activity. Yankelovich and Clark (1977) cited more liberal sexual mores as one of their findings on the attitudes of college students. Traditional sex roles have been challenged in recent decades, and college students apparently reflect that trend. Parelius (1975) found a definite trend toward feminist attitudes on the part of college females.

Not only is there considerable evidence that college students tend to have a liberal view toward most social issues, but there is also strong evidence to indicate that one of the effects of college socialization is the development and reinforcement of these liberal

attitudes. Various studies have attempted to assess changes in college students' attitudes and values as a result of college attendance. Virtually all studies note that marked changes in attitudes occur between the freshman and senior years (McNeil, 1969; Havice, 1971; Feather, 1973; Nosow and Robertson, 1973; Solmon and Taubman, 1973; Sewell and Hauser, 1975; Rich, 1976; Astin, 1977; Bowen, 1978; and Scully, 1978).

A serious weakness of all of these studies has been that none of them has been longitudinal in nature, and no researchers have measured the attitudes of the same students as beginning freshmen and four years later as graduating seniors. While some have had large randomly selected samples, which might possibly have contained some of the same students at two different points in time, none has systematically studied the same students as entering freshmen and again as graduating seniors. Consequently, the precise impact of the college experience is somewhat left to conjecture. This study is an attempt to correct that weakness by surveying entire freshman cohorts at four colleges and universities and then surveying these same four cohorts (those who remain in college) during their senior year. Thus, noticeable changes which occur in expressed attitudes can more readily be attributed to the college socialization experience since the same people are being surveyed at two different points in time.

METHOD AND DATA

The research method employed in this project was that of longitudinal cohort anaylysis utilized with survey research. In the Fall of 1977, instead of using a sampling technique, the entire freshman classes of four colleges and universities in the southwest completed a self-administered questionnaire as part of their freshman orientation process. The schools were selected because of the diversity in their student populations. Two of the schools were private church-related colleges; one maintained a rather loose affiliation with a moderate Protestant denomination, while the other maintained close ties with a conservative, fundamentalist denomination. The other two schools were state-supported universities; one was comprised mainly of white students who were largely from rural areas, while the other was predominantly comprised of black students who came from two large metropolitan areas.

At the time of college entrance, a total of 1120 students were surveyed on a multitude of demographic, attitudinal, and behavioral variables (Thompson, 1979). The questionnaire includ-

ed items designed to ascertain attitudes toward selected social issues including: the legalization of marijuana, premarital sexual activity, inter-faith marriage, inter-racal marriage, and the traditional sex role for women. Students were asked to respond to statements on each of these issues by indicating either: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree. In order to simplify tables, the categories of strongly agree and agree were collapsed into an "agree" category. Likewise, strongly disagree and disagree were combined into a single category labeled "disagree."

Four years later, in the last part of their senior year, the survivors of these four cohorts were again surveyed to ascertain their attitudes about the same social issues. The attrition rates approximated the national average thus underscoring the representativeness of these four colleges. Data were collected from a total of 277 of the 1120 students, who had participated in the project four years earlier. Due to the smaller population surveyed after four years, comparisons with the inital freshmen class responses must be descriptively integrated rather than statistically interpreted.

In order to guarantee the anonymity of individual respondents and participating institutions, the four schools are referred to simply as Colleges A, B, C, and D. College A refers to the private school which was the more liberal of the two Protestant denominations in the study, while College B has been used to represent the other private school of religious affiliation. College C represents the predominantly white state-supported university, and College D refers to the mostly black public university.

If, as the literature indicated, four years of college socialization tends to have a liberalizing influence on students' attitudes, it is hypothesized that there should be noticeable changes in attitudes on these selected social issues between the freshman and senior years. Furthermore, these changes are hypothesized to reflect more liberal attitudes on each of these selected variables.

FINDINGS
Legalization of Marijuana

The first social issue explored involved the legalization of marijuana. Entering freshmen at each of the four schools were asked to respond to the statement, "marijuana should be legalized." Four years later, the remainder of each original freshman cohort (then college seniors) were asked to respond to the same item. The results of these two diferent surveys are depicted in Table I.

As can be seen in Table 1, at each of the four schools the largest percentage of the original entering freshmen indicated negative at-

TABLE 1

RESPONDS TO STATEMENT: "Marijuana should be legalized."
(N and %)

		Agree	Undecided	Disagree
College A	As Entering Freshmen	18 23.1%	12 15.4%	48 61.5%
	After 4 yrs. of College	10 14.5%	18 29.0%	35 56.5%
College B	As Entering Freshmen	3 5.0%	6 10.0%	51 85.0%
	After 4 yrs. of College	2 4.2%	7 14.8%	39 18.2%
College C	As Entering Freshmen	26 12.4%	43 20.4%	142 67.2%
	After 4 yrs. of College	28 17.7%	29 18.3%	101 64.0%
College D	As Entering Freshmen	7 28.0%	6 24.0%	12 48.0%
	After 4 yrs. of College	0 0.0%	3 37.5%	5 62.5%
TOTAL	As Entering Freshmen	54 14.5%	67 17.9%	253 67.6%
	After 4 yrs. of College	39 14.1%	57 20.7%	179 65.2%

titudes toward the legalization of marijuana. One of the private, church-related schools (College B) voiced strongest disagreement to marijuana legalization and one of the state schools (College C) indicated the next largest percentage of students opposed to marijuana legalization. Apparently, the most liberal freshman cohort toward the legalization of marijuana was at College D (the predominately black state university) where the smallest percen-

tage (48%) of the students of the four schools opposed the legalization of marijuana. Entering freshmen at College D did not indicate strong support for the legalization of marijuana however, as only 28% of the students supported the legalization of marijuana. When the entering freshmen at all four schools were combined, approximately two-thirds of them disagreed with the proposition that marijuana should be legalized while only 14.5% indicated agreement. Overall, as entering freshmen the students at all four schools tended to express conservative attitudes on this issue.

When examining data collected from persisters four years later, an interesting trend can be seen. Rather than students developing more liberal attitudes toward the legalization of marijuana, no noticable changes were found in three of the four schools studied. The most noticeable change in attitude toward this issue was found among the students at College D where 62.5% of the persister students indicated disagreement with the legalization of marijuana and no (0) students indicated support for legalization. Obviously, the small group of persisters surveyed at College D may help explain the dramatic shift in attitudes, but the shift was still definitely toward more conservative rather than more liberal attitudes on this issue. When all four groups of students who remained in college after four years were combined a total of 65.2% of the students opposed the legalization of marijuana while only 14.1% favored it. These percentages differed little from figures given four years earlier when the same students were entering freshman.

Pre-marital Sexual Relations
As shown in Table 2, as entering freshmen a total of 53.4% of the students at the four schools indicated they felt that "sexual relations before marriage were morally wrong for women." A little over one-fourth of the entering freshmen (27.1%) disagreed with the statement. Clearly, the most conservative attitudes toward premarital sexual relations for women were expressed at one of the church-related schools (College B). The most liberal attitudes on this issue were expressed by the entering freshmen at College D.

When these same students were asked to respond to the statement four years later, at three of the schools the students indicated more liberal attitudes toward premarital sexual activity for females (Colleges A, C, and D). However, at one of the church schools (College B), a larger percentage of the students (89.6%) agreed that premarital sex was morally wrong for women.

On this issue, overall, students appeared to have become more liberal in their attitudes. The most noticeable change was at College D where none (0) of the senior respondents agreed with the immorality of premarital sex for females. Still, even after four years of college, 48.5% of students at all four schools indicated they felt sexual relations before marriage were morally wrong for women.

TABLE 2

RESPONDS TO STATEMENT: "Sexual relations before marriage are morally wrong for women." (N and %)

		Agree	Undecided	Disagree
College A	As Entering Freshmen	35 44.3%	21 26.6%	23 29.1%
	After 4 yrs. of College	20 32.2%	16 25.8%	26 42.0%
College B	As Entering Freshmen	47 78.3%	1 1.7%	12 20.0%
	After 4 yrs. of College	43 89.6%	4 8.3%	1 2.1%
College C	As Entering Freshmen	109 51.7%	49 23.2%	53 25.1%
	After 4 yrs. of College	71 45.0%	35 22.2%	52 32.8%
College D	As Entering Freshmen	9 36.0%	2 8.0%	14 56.0%
	After 4 yrs. of College	0 0.0%	3 37.5%	5 62.5%
TOTAL	As Entering Freshmen	200 53.4%	73 19.5%	102 27.1%
	After 4 yrs. of College	134 48.5%	58 21.1%	84 30.5%

While it could be contended that for the most part, students became slightly more liberal after four years of college in their attitudes toward female premarital sex, they remained fairly conservative on this issue, with almost half of them indicating they felt it to be morally wrong. At the private school affiliated with the fundamentalist denomination (College B), the students clearly became more conservative on this issue.

TABLE 3

RESPONDS TO STATEMENT: "It is important to marry someone of your own religious faith." (N and %)

		Agree	Undecided	Disagree
College A	As Entering Freshmen	36 46.2%	16 20.5%	26 33.3%
	After 4 yrs. of College	34 54.8%	6 9.7%	22 35.5%
College B	As Entering Freshmen	57 95.0%	2 3.3%	1 1.7%
	After 4 yrs. of College	47 97.9%	0 0.0%	1 2.1%
College C	As Entering Freshmen	105 49.8%	49 23.2%	57 27.0%
	After 4 yrs. of College	77 48.8%	31 19.6%	50 31.6%
College D	As Entering Freshmen	6 23.0%	3 11.5%	17 65.5%
	After 4 yrs. of College	2 25.0%	2 25.0%	4 50.0%
TOTAL	As Entering Freshmen	204 54.4%	70 18.7%	101 26.9%
	After 4 yrs. of College	160 57.9%	39 14.2%	77 27.9%

Religious Endogamy

Two items were included in the questionnaire to assess students' attitudes toward endogamy. The first dealt with the significance of marrying someone of the same religious faith (see Table 3).

One would assume that students at the two church-related colleges (Colleges A and B), would express more agreement with the importance of intra-faith marriage than their counterparts at the two state-supported universities (College C and D), but this was not found to be the case. Only at College B, where 95% of the entering freshmen indicated they agreed it was important to marry within one's religious faith was it still important four years later. After four years of college socialization at College B 97.9% of these students expressed the same idea. Only about 2% of the students as entering freshmen and later as graduating seniors disagreed with the importance of marrying a member of one's faith.

At the other private, church-related school (College A) the norm of religious endogamy was not so pronounced. While the percentage of entering students who agreed was relatively high (46.2%), one-third of them did not feel it was important to marry someone of the same faith, and an additional 20.5% were undecided. After four years of college the percentage who agreed with the importance of intra-faith marriage rose to 54.8%, but the percentage who disagreed also rose slightly to 35.5% (indicating much less indecision on the matter).

At the two state-supported schools, the percentage of entering freshmen who felt it was important to marry someone of the same faith was also fairly high (49.8%) at College C and 23.0% at College D), and these figures changed very little after four years of college.

On this issue, the college experience seemed to differ in its impact depending upon the type of school attended. Religious endogamy norms were clearly strengthened at the two private schools (Colleges A and B) with students becoming more conservative on this issue, but at public institutions these same norms changed little over time.

Racial Endogamy

Table 4 summarizes the data on the attitude towards marrying within one's own racial group.

Clearly, at all three predominantly white schools, fairly strong racial endogamy norms existed. Again College B and C emerged as

TABLE 4
RESPONDS TO STATEMENT: "It is important to marry someone of your own race" (N and %)

		Agree	Undecided	Disagree
College A	As Entering Freshmen	41 51.9%	24 30.4%	14 17.7%
	After 4 yrs. of College	33 53.2%	12 19.4%	17 27.4%
College B	As Entering Freshmen	46 76.7%	11 18.3%	3 5.0%
	After 4 yrs. of College	39 81.3%	7 14.5%	2 4.2%
College C	As Entering Freshmen	168 79.6%	28 13.3%	15 7.1%
	After 4 yrs. of College	128 81.1%	18 11.3%	12 7.6%
College D	As Entering Freshmen	9 34.6%	3 11.5%	14 53.9%
	After 4 yrs. of College	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	8 10- 0.0%
TOTAL	As Entering Freshmen	264 70.2%	66 17.6%	46 12.2%
	After 4 yrs. of College	200 72.5%	37 13.4%	39 14.1%

more conservative on this issue. Futhermore, after four years at these two schools, a larger percentage of students expressed conservative attitudes on this issue. College A students also expressed support for racial endogamy, although not nearly as pronounced. After four years, over one-fourth of its students (27.4%) disagreed that it was important to marry a person of the same race.

College D, the predominantly black state university was the on-
ly school where the majority of the students expressed disagree-
ment with the idea that one should marry within one's own race.
As entering freshmen, about one-third expressed support for racial
endogamy (34.6%), but 53.9% disagreed. Four years later, 100% of
those who remained in college disagreed that it was important to
marry someone of the same race.

TABLE 5

RESPONDS TO STATEMENT: "The activities of married women
are best confined to the home and family." (N and %)

		Agree	Undecided	Disagree
College A	As Entering Freshmen	15 19.0%	13 16.5%	51 64.5%
	After 4 yrs. of College	7 11.3%	4 6.5%	51 82.2%
College B	As Entering Freshmen	25 41.6%	17 28.2%	18 30.0%
	After 4 yrs. of College	9 18.8%	17 35.3%	22 45.9%
College C	As Entering Freshmen	57 27.0%	48 22.7%	106 50.3%
	After 4 yrs. of College	28 17.8%	24 15.1%	106 67.1%
College D	As Entering Freshmen	5 19.2%	1 3.8%	20 77.0%
	After 4 yrs. of College	1 12.5%	1 12.5%	6 75.0%
TOTAL	As Entering Freshmen	102 27.1%	79 21.0%	195 51.9%
	After 4 yrs. of College	45 16.3%	46 16.6%	185 67.1%

Traditional Female Sex Role

The final social issue explored involved attitudes toward the traditional female sex role. Students were asked to respond to the statement, "The activities of married women are best confined to the home and family" (see Table 5).

As can be seen in Table 5, at three of the four schools (Colleges A, C, and D) the majority of students disagreed with this statement. At these same schools four years later, the percentage who disagreed increased, thus indicating even more liberal attitudes on this issue.

Once again students at College B (the private, fundamentalist church-affiliated school) emerged as the most conservative on this issue. After four years of college, the percentage of students who disagreed increased to 45.9% and only 18.8% expressed agreement, however, a substantial 35.3% remained undecided on this issue. While it would be safe to conclude that after four years of college, a larger percentage of each of the four cohorts expressed the more liberal view toward married women's activities than they did as entering freshmen (67.1% as compared to 51.9%), students at College B still remained fairly conservative on this issue. This most dramatic change in attitudes on this issue were seen at College A (the other private school).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our study found that students at all four universities were fairly conservative both as entering freshmen and four years later as college seniors. However, there were noticeable differences in attitudes among the cohorts at the four different universities.

On each of the five social issues explored students at College B, one of the private, church-related colleges emerged as most conservative (both as entering freshmen and four years later). Interestingly, there were marked differences in student attitudes at College B and College A, the other private, church-related school. In fact, on each of the issues under study, students at College C, the predominantly white state university were more closely aligned with those at College B than were students from College A. On all of the issues under study, students at College D, the predominantly black state school projected the most liberal attitudes both as entering freshmen and four years later as college seniors.

Although all four cohorts expressed fairly conservative attitudes on issues studied both before and after four years of college socialization, changes in attitudes over that four year period were observed. These changes must be interpreted with some reserva-

tions, as it is impossible to know what impact the attrition rates and smaller population sizes after four years may have had on data. Although the bulk of the literature indicates that the college socialization experience tends to have a liberalizing impact on attitudes toward social issues, these data are not supportive of such a notion. On only two of five social issues explored in this study (premarital sexual activity for females and traditional female sex roles) were there a distinctively larger percentage of all the students indicating more liberal attitudes as seniors as compared to when they were entering freshmen. The only exception was at College D where a much larger percentage favored the legalization of marijuana after four years of college socialization.

On the two items dealing with endogamy (both religious and racial), students for the most part tended to become more conservative rather than more liberal after four years of college. This was particularly the case at College B where a larger percentage of seniors stressed endogamy than they did as entering freshmen.

In conclusion, data from this study indicate that perhaps contrary to the notion that the college socialization tends to make people more liberal, it would be more accurate to conclude that the college experience indeed impacts upon one's attitudes. Whether that change in attitudes is toward a more liberal rather than more conservative bent may be dependent upon the college environment in which the students' four years are spent. For example, in this study, while students at College D (the predominantly black state school) tended to become more liberal after four year of college, the students at College B (a private, church-related school) obviously became more conservative. In other words, it is probably correct to asume that the college experience is a socialization experience which affects students' attitudes toward social issues. However, it should not automatically be assumed that students will become more liberal as a result of college attendance.

During the four years in which this study was being conducted, the entire nation was undergoing a noticeable shift towards political, economic, and social conservatism. Perhaps these student-subjects reflect that current national trend toward more conservatism. Additionally, this study was conducted in an area of the Southwest somewhat noted for conservatism. It might also be argued that given the attrition rates between the freshman and senior years, that those who were most conservative as freshmen, were those who persisted to graduate. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that the different college environments

tended to have differential impacts on the students who attended there. Administrators at College B and College C acknowledged and tended to reinforce the conservative atmosphere provided on their campuses. College A, on the other hand, although a private, church affiliated school emphasized a strong liberal arts curriculum and more liberal attitudes toward the educational process. These attitudes seem to be reflected in changes in attitudes of the students who attended there. College D attracted black students from metropolitan areas who tended to be fairly liberal on all these issues even as entering freshmen. After four years of college they apparently became even more liberal. Thus, where a person goes to college seems at least as important (if not more so) in regard to attitudinal changes as does the mere fact of having attended college.

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Rest Room Graffiti: A Descriptive Study
by
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INTRODUCTION

Graffiti appear in many places and nearly everyone has seen them. When they are mentioned, public rest rooms and subways immediately come to mind. Graffiti are often presented in the form of prose, poetry, art, and artifact. They typically cover the entire spectrum of human expression from obscene to hilarious and from incomprehensible to enlightening.

The word, *graffiti*, is derived from the Italian verb, *graffiare*, which means to scratch. Graffiti may be a variation of the ancient Italian art of "sgraffito," the artistic technique of etching or scratching designs in glass or clay vases. In their present form, graffiti are inscriptions or drawings penned, penciled, painted, crayoned, lipsticked, or scratched on desks, walls, and subway trains or virtually anywhere vacant surfaces may be found. (Gach, 1973:285). Graffiti are not always confined to desks and walls; in Philadelphia, the backside of a zoo elephant was sprayed by an adolescent "graffitist," and in another incident a youth sprayed a police car while his friend held the officer's attention. (Ley and Roman, 1974:493).

Most graffiti today have the following general characteristics. They are universal, appearing in virtually all of the world's cultures. They take a variety of forms, usually appearing as statements, single words, or pictures, but typically they include symbols most people can understand. Most graffiti do not last very long before being eliminated by cloth, paintbrush, or weathering. Despite public understandings that all graffiti are sexual and obscene, most are not. (Deiulio, 1978:518-519).

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF GRAFFITI

How old a graffiti? The evidence suggests that graffiti are older than civilization itself. Among the artworks found on the walls of European caves, with some considered to be at least 35,000 years old, are "meanders" created by persons who once ran their fingers along clay walls in a seemingly aimless manner. Unlike most cave

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art that seems to be related to hunting rituals, the meanders do not appear to serve any obvious purpose, and thus they may be one of the earliest expressions of graffiti. Also, stenciled handprints have been found in which a person held his hand against a wall and painted around it, thus leaving a contrasting handprint in the middle of a large patch of painted cave wall. Like some graffiti today, this too may have been the Paleolithic artist's way of saying, "I was here." (Breuil, 1906:255-256).

Abundant graffiti have been found in Roman ruins and European cities as well. Two of the more famous graffiti sites are Pompeii and the Tower of London. When the buried Roman city of Pompeii was rediscovered in the early eighteenth century, excavators found numerous examples of the graffitists' handiwork; not surprising for a port city, the dominant theme of their scribblings was love and amatory adventure, (Tanzer, 1939:85-87). The Tower of London, long used to hold prisoners in Renaissance England, has been found to contain what may be described as one of the most extensive and interesting collections of graffiti in Western Europe. Many of these inscriptions carry sixteenth century dates which were literally carved or scratched into the stone walls. (Fenn, 1969:419-421). In the eighteenth century, an enterprising English publisher named Hurlo Thrumbo assembled a book of graffiti by asking his fellow countryment to send him examples of graffiti wherever they were found. Later, at the turn of the 19th century German sociologists also conducted a study of graffiti by focusing their attention on public toilets in Germany. (Reisner, 1974:vi).

THE GRAFFITISTS

What type of person creates graffiti? The answer is that little is known about graffitists, probably because their activity is considered a deviant form of expression and they usually prefer to remain anonymous. Graphologists have inferred certain personal characterisitics from handwriting, but other conclusions about the artist's personality can only be constructed from an analysis of the messages themselves. (Reisner and Wechsler, 1974:ix).

There may be many personal motives for writing on a wall. For example, it has been suggested that bare walls offer a person a limited sensory stimulation that makes him/her more aware of internal conflicts and sensual feelings. Others have hypothesized that for the individual, obscene words inscribed on walls or other surfaces may serve as a tension reliever, a safety valve for pentup emo-

tions, sexual or otherwise. According to other authors, graffiti may express many emotional states including: love, joy, sorrow, boredom, despair and hatred. Some researchers have suggested that graffiti tell us something about human nature. For example, they may be a most poignant expression of the basic human need to communicate. Anonymously writing one's feelings, hopes, desires, and fears also seems to give a person a certain satisfaction, and the wall may, in fact, be the graffitist's major therapist. (Reisner and Wechsler, 1974:vi).[1] By means of graffiti, individuals or groups may vent their hostilities, express fantasies, communicate triumphs, express frustrations, proclaim rebellion, or declare a socially unacceptable point of view with minimal personal cost. Some psychologists have suggested that cursing one's enemy through graffiti may be therapeutic for it serves as a useful substitute for assaulting him directly, and writing an anonmyous obscenity on the wall about him is usually considered more socially acceptable than punching him in the nose. (Reisner and Wechsler, 1974:x).

A great deal of graffiti may have little to do with the individual's psyche. They may instead be purely reactionary; i.e., they may be typically a person's response to another's inner feelings. According to this interpretation, there seems to be a tendency for graffiti to proliferate wherever empty spaces can be found. Empty space, in fact, seems to be an invitation that few graffitists can resist. One "graffito" attracts another and eventually these two "breed an epidemic." (Lewis, 1978:823).

TYPES AND FUNCTIONS OF GRAFFITI

While historians and archaeologists have made many fascinating discoveries of graffiti, social scientists have only recently begun to describe and classify these scribblings. (Tahir, 1980:214). At present, researchers have decided that graffiti, both ancient and modern, can be classified into three main types: public, private, and personal.

The first type, public graffiti, consists of intials, names, code names, and symbols that are written, carved, or spray painted onto the exteriors of buildings, trees, fences, billboards, subway trains, and similar places frequented by the masses. A second type, private graffiti, consists of inscriptions found indoors, most often made in public toilets. Private graffiti has been termed "latrinalia" by anthropologist, Alan Dundes, who has proposed that this term be used to describe inscriptions made in public rest rooms, as opposed

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[1]In a hospital setting, graffiti were used by hospital personnel to cheer up patients. (Bayer, 1980:217).

to the rather broad term "graffiti," which he believed should be applied to all other inscriptions, regardless of where they are found. (Cited in Abel and Buckley, 1977:16). Personal graffiti, the third variety, refers to the practice of body tattooing or scarification. According to researchers, the inmates of depersonalizing institutions such as jails, hospitals and the military often use personal graffiti (tatoos) to establish and communicate a measure of their own identity. (Horn, 1974:26).

There are many theories concerning the meaning and function of graffiti in modern industrial society. Some social scientists have suggested that in large metropolitan areas, public graffiti created by adolescent street gangs may serve as boundary markers, much the same as territorial animals scent mark their territories. Others have suggested that graffiti enhance status among certain urban subcultural groups. According to Ley and Cybriwsky, there seems to be a basic rule among many groups that the more inaccessible the location of the graffiti, the greater the prestige accrued to that person or group responsible for the art work. (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974:491-505).

Urban graffiti also have been studied in sociopsychological terms. According to sociologist, Nathan Glazer, "graffiti, at least the subway variety, is very much a manifestation of the young adolescent; they commonly begin at around 11 years of age, the mean age is about 14, and they begin graduating away from such 'kid stuff' after age 16." (Glazer, 1978:5).

Sociologists have suggested some other possible functions of graffiti. Some have suggested that an increased incidence of graffiti may reflect particularly intense periods of social change and unrest reinforcing the idea that they may be tension relievers both for the individual and for society. (Reisner and Wechsler, 1974:vi). Some politicians have used graffiti to gather clues about the interests and concerns of their constituencies. (Reisner and Wechsler, 1974:vii). For example, in a study by Jorgenson, the content of graffiti was examined one day prior to a national election, and it was found that they were indicators of political behavior, if not voting intentions. (Jorgenson et al., 1977:630). Studies of graffiti in public schools have suggested that graffiti may also provide indications of student attitudes and frustrations. (Deiulio, 1973:100-104).

LATRINALIA STUDIES

Of all graffiti research, latrinalia have received the greatest amount of attention by social scientists, and our study seeks to

build on this rich tradition. Our study like that of many earlier investigations focuses on bar latrinalia collected in the vicinity of a university campus. In contrast to most earlier studies which have focused on large urban universities, our research was conducted at a small midwestern university, a type of unversity that until now has received relatively little scholarly attention. Following a brief review of the literature on latrinalia studies, we will examine the kinds of graffiti found in our investigation. As earlier researchers have done, we will give special attention to similarities and differences in latrinalia produced by college men and women.

In a 1953 study, Alfred Kinsey and his associates suggested that female and male inscriptions epitomized some of the most basic sexual differences between females and males. (Kinsey et al., 1953:673-675). According to their study, females are less inclined to make wall inscriptions, and less inclined to make erotic inscriptions because of their greater regard for moral codes and social conventions. Their data showed that most females are not erotically aroused by the psychologic stimuli that are of significance to males, and thus they tended to produce less graffiti, and their creations were typically less sexual in content. (Kinsey et al., 1953:674). This point of view seems to have received support in a 1975 study by Jorgenson and Lange. After an inspection showed a very low incidence of graffiti in female rest rooms, the researchers stated that such a low incidence greatly reduced the possibility of analyzing female graffiti. (Jorgenson and Lange, 1975:616-617). A study of college graffiti at the State University of New York at Stony Brook also excluded women's rest rooms, for according to the researchers, there was "too little written in them to make further study worthwhile." (Bess et al., 1976:19).

Numerous studies have demonstrated that the differences between male and female graffiti behavior may not necessarily reflect biological differences, but rather be the result of different childhood socialization practices. Thus, if differences are found in the amount and type of graffiti between the sexes, it may reflect a change in some aspect of men's or women's socialization patterns, rather than biology. Several researchers have concluded that in those instances in which the thematic content of women's latrinalia approached that of men's, their socialization experiences probably closely approached those of the opposite sex. (Stocker et al., 1972:365). In support of this position, a study of women's latrinalia in St. Louis by Reich and her co-workers concluded that female graffiti must be analyzed differently than that produced by males because of differences in the social environment of each sex. They

further concluded that there was a need to consider both the kinds of graffiti produced by the women, and the importance of social situations surrounding all varieties of women's expressive graffiti before formulating conclusions. (Reich et al, 1977:190-191).

In a 1974 study of male and female graffiti in the rest rooms of four high schools, Wales and Brewer found to their surprise that adolescent females produced three and one-half times as much graffiti as their male counterparts. Further, of the total graffiti collected, 88 percent came from female rest rooms. (Wales and Brewer, 1976:119). Their study was revealing in regard to other social dimensions as well. For instance, content analysis of graffiti showed that whereas females most often wrote romantic inscriptions, the type of graffiti created was primarily a function of socioeconomic level, with an upper socioeconomic white group generally creating less romantic and more erotic material than other class groupings. For some unexplained reason, race was found to have little or no influence on the likelihood or the amount of graffiti. However, the school which had the greatest amount of racial and socioeconomic diversity produced over twice as much graffiti as those schools with more homogeneous populations. (Wales and Brewer, 1976:115). Schools surveyed in the above study were classified as lower socioeconomic black, lower middle socioeconomic white, middle socioeconomic mixed, and upper socioeconomic white. (Wales and Brewer, 1976:117-118). The authors concluded that while their findings may be valid only for adolescent populations from which their graffiti data were obtained, they seemed to raise questions about Kinsey's claims that the general lack of female graffiti is due to females having a greater regard for moral codes and social conventions than their male counterparts. (Wales and Brewer, 1976:120).

A relationship between latrinalia, sex roles and politics has also been suggested by several researchers. For example, Tahir reported in her study of graffiti, this one at the University of California Berkeley campus, that about one-fourth of female graffiti concerned women's rights. She concluded that this form of writing may very well symbolize emancipation of women from their traditional role of submission. In another study, Tahir suggested that ourpourings of graffiti by women may depend on the degree of liberalism in their lives and community. In a study of three universities she discovered that 50 percent of female graffiti from a rather progressive university was sexual in nature, whereas graffiti found at a somewhat conservative school had only 26 percent sexual content.

She found no graffiti at the most conservative school. (Tahir, 1980:218).

Tahir has suggested that consumption of alcohol might be a factor in the high incidence of graffiti in the women's rest rooms studied. (Tahir, 1980:218). Alcohol has both a psychological and physiological affect on drinkers, but the psychological effects seem to vary more than the physiological. For most people, small amounts of alcohol are pleasant, if they have learned to enjoy them. One ounce of alcohol consumed in less than an hour normally results in a blood alcohol concentration of .02 to .03 percent in a person of average size. This produces a mild euphoria, a diminution of anxiety, fear, and tension, and a corresponding increase of self-confidence, along with what is usually termed a release of inhibitions. (Goode, 1978:270-271).

In the 1970's during a period of campus unrest, three other studies suggested that there was a relationship between graffiti and a university's political persuasion. For example, Stocker and Bess found that liberal universities had more rest room inscriptions than conservative universities in the graffiti categories of sex, philosophy and drugs. Moderate universities, in contrast to liberal and conservative universities, had the most examples of political, religious, and social graffiti. Conservative universities, when compared with the other two types of universities, typically contained more latrinalia in the categories of romance/love, personal abuse or insult and nonsexual drawings, but few or no graffiti examples in the racist, religion, philosophy, and drug categories.

For exclusively female graffiti, Stocker and Reich found a similar relationship between a university's ideological classification and its latrinalia content. They found liberal universities had more rest room inscriptions than moderate and conservative universities in the categories of heterosexual, homosexual, romance/love, political, and religion. In contrast, moderate university rest room graffiti typically consisted of racist, philosophy, social statements, and nonsexual drawings. Data were not available on female latrinalia from conservative universities.

Despite a number of shortcomings of rest room studies, several tentative conclusions seem in order. First, graffiti seem to be largely a product of the adolescent personality, and they appear to be motivated by subconscious urges, impulses, and conflicts. Second, although graffiti may be predominantly sexual in nature, this clearly is not typically the case, for there are a wide range and variety of other themes. Third, the consumption of alcohol, even in limited

quantities, seems to have a definite psychological affect on the release of tensions and inhibitions, and this too appears to influence the amount and content of graffiti, especially that produced by women. Finally, there seems to be sufficient support for a relationship between latrinalia and a university's sociopolitical leanings.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A number of previous studies have analyzed the content of graffiti at large urban universities classified as either liberal, moderate, or conservative. These studies have concluded that there is a relationship between a university being liberal or conservative and the nature of rest room graffiti, especially the sociopolitical content. Until now, no research has been undertaken at a small midwestern university town which has analyzed bar latrinalia content. In the following section we will analyze bar graffiti created largely by university students, and compare our findings with those collected at large liberal and conservative universities. Based on our findings, we will then attempt to determine where the midwestern university should be placed on a liberal to conservative scale.

PROCEDURES AND METHODS

A pilot study was undertaken to survey the amount and kinds of rest room graffiti in all bars in a midwestern college town of 25,000.

According to statutes in the state in which our research took place, there are two distinctly different types of establishments that sell alcoholic beverages for consumption on their premises: One, termed the "tavern," is defined as an establishment which sells only cereal malt beverages containing 3.2 percent or less alcohol content; it may be patronized by persons 18 years of age or older. The other, classified as a "private club," may sell liquor and mixed drinks and may be patronized by persons 21 years of age or older, who have either complied with certain membership requirements, or who are the approved guests of club members.[2]

For the purposes of our survey, a bar was defined as any establishment whose primary objective is the sale of alcoholic beverage for consumption on its premises, which maintained rest rooms for the exclusive use of its patrons, and which was located within the City's corporate limits. Twenty-one bars were found to fit this definition and these were included in our investigation.

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[2]Recent changes in the state drinking age have modified these statutes. Today, persons must be 21 to drink alcohol at either establishment.

A graffito was defined as any informal inscription, marking, or drawing of any sort, made by any instrument, and placed upon any surface inside a bar's rest room. This identification specifically excluded any type of informational message from the bar management, or any type of commercial writings or messages which may have appeared on vending machines or other devices within the rest rooms.

Based on the findings of earlier studies, a list of twenty-five major types of graffiti were used in the classification of our findings. These were as follows: Sexual statement/question, Romance/love, Feminist, Scatalogical, Humorous, Religion, Racial, Ethnocentric, Personal abuse or insult, Graffiti about graffiti, Chained graffiti, Drawings/doodlings, Social commentary/statements, Frustrations/anxieties, Ecology/pollution, Drugs, War/peace, School/education, Celebrities/known personalities, Philosophical statements, Geographical locations, Names/dates, Music/performing groups, Political. The final category, Miscellaneous, included those graffiti that did not fit any of the other twenty-four categories. For the purpose of research comparisons, three categories were further subdivided. The Sexual statement/question category was divided into heterosexual, homosexual pro, homosexual con, and other. The Humorous category was divided into obscene and nonobscene. The Drawings/doodlings category was subdivided into sexual and nonsexual.

Each graffito category was encoded according to: (1) the apparent overall intent or subject matter of the graffito; and (2) the word content or meaning of the first line when there was a question about the overall intent or subject matter of the graffito.

With these parameters established, one of the authors visited and inspected twenty-one bar rest rooms and classified all graffiti discovered therein. Data were collected in the early afternoon hours to avoid large crowds, distractingly loud music, and possible harassment by patrons who might be under the influence of alcohol.

After the initial survey, it became apparent that there was an uneven distribution of graffiti in bar rest rooms; some bars had few or no graffiti, whereas others had scores of inscriptions. It was decided that a supplemental survey was needed to obtain additional information which might help explain the disparities. Three questions were constructed to present to bar owners about graffiti in their rest rooms. They included: (1) Do you have a policy about cleaning graffiti from rest room walls?; (2) how long has it been

since rest rooms have been redecorated?; and, (3) what proportion of your trade do you think are college students? The results of the supplemental survey were added to the original survey.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

A total of 481 graffiti were recorded and classified in the study; 274 in men's rest rooms, and 207 from women's rest rooms. Our classification of graffiti appear in Table I. In analyzing the amount of graffiti in the twenty-one bars studied, we found that six bars had no graffiti, six had from one to five inscriptions, six had from six to thirty-nine graffiti, and the remaining three bar rest rooms had forty or more inscriptions or 81 percent of all graffiti produced in our sample. The three bars with the greatest amount of graffiti were located near the state university, and they were in all cases taverns.

Fourteen bar owners who were interviewed indicated that the proportion of their trade that appeared to be college students was relatively low. Seven bar owners indicated that their trade was primarily college students; four of them stated that they had a policy which had the goal of keeping graffiti at minimal levels in their rest rooms. The other three bar owners had no specific policy regarding graffiti, and not surprisingly, these bars were the same ones in which a large number of graffiti were found. All three of these bars were located within a four-block radius of the university campus.

Our findings suggest that a relationship exists between bars frequented by college students, the consumption of cereal malt beverages, and the incidence of bar latrinalia. It might be conjectured that most college students are adolescents in the 18 to 21 age range. Further, the "tavern type" bars can be legally patronized by persons as young as 18 years of age, and if age can be associated with behavioral patterns, then this might lend added support to a relationship between graffiti and the adolescent personality mentioned earlier. Also, it was noted that all rest rooms studied in the "private club" bar category had little or no incidence of graffiti. Patronage of these clubs was restricted to persons 21 years of age or older, and they sold the more potent varieties of alcoholic beverages. These differences also may have had some bearing on the relative amount of graffiti we found.

Another aspect of our findings which might be a factor in graffiti production was esthetics. In all bars surveyed, the women's rest rooms were found to be uniformly cleaner, less odorous, and more

esthetically pleasing than the men's rest rooms. Men's rooms, particularly in the vicinity of the urinals, were without exception poorly maintained.

Although neither the exact location nor the locational content of graffiti were recorded in our survey, it was observed that when

TABLE I

Classification of Graffiti for Male and Females by Percent

	N = 274 Male		N = 207 Female
Sexual statement/question		12.4	14.0
Heterosexual	10.5		9.7
Homosexual pro	1.5		1.9
Homosexual con	0		0
Other	.4		2.4
Romance/love		6.2	5.8
Feminist		0	.5
Scatological		1.8	3.9
Humorous		3.0	1.5
Obscene	2.6		.5
Nonobscene	.4		1.0
Religion		.4	1.0
Racial		.4	.0
Ethnocentric		1.8	0
Personal abuse or insult		5.8	4.3
Graffiti about graffiti		2.2	8.7
Chained graffiti		12.8	10.0
Drawings/doodlings		2.6	3.9
Sexual		1.1	0
Nonsexual		1.5	3.9
Social commentary/statement		1.8	1.0
Frustration/anxieties		.4	0
Ecology/pollution		0	0
Drugs		.4	1.4
War/peace		0	0
School/education		2.9	1.4
Celebrities/known personalities		.7	7.2
Philosophical statements		1.5	4.8
Geographical locations		2.2	1.9
Names/dates		22.2	9.2
Music/performing groups		.4	2.4
Political		0	1.0
Miscellaneous (none of the above)		17.5	15.9

graffiti appeared in men's rooms they were especially abundant in the vicinity of urinals. A topic for future research might be the classification and comparison of urinal-vicinity graffiti with those found in the confines of rest room stalls.

In analyzing the data, some interesting differences in male and female graffiti were found. The six highest ranked categories for male graffiti were as follows: Name/dates, Miscellaneous, Chained graffiti, Sexual statement/question, Romance/love, and Personal abuse or insult. For female graffiti, the six highest ranked categories were as follows: Miscellaneous, Sexual statement/question, Chained graffiti, Name/dates, Graffiti about graffifi, and Celebrities/known personalities. When compared, the top six ranked categories for males and females were as follows: Names/dates, 1st for males and 4th for females; Miscellaneous, 2nd and 1st; Chained graffiti, 3rd and 3rd; Sexual statements/question, 4th and 2nd; Romance/love, 5th and 7th; Personal abuse or insult, 6th and 9th; Graffiti about graffifi, 10th and 5th; and Celebrities/known personalities, 19th and 6th.

The comparative data show that males ranked noticeably higher than females in the graffiti categories of Humorous-Obscene, Ethnocentric, Personal abuse or insult, Chained graffiti, and Names/dates. In contrast, females ranked noticeably higher than males in the categories of Sexual statement/question-Other, Scatological, Graffiti about graffiti, Drawings/doodlings-Nonsexual, Celebrities/known personalities, Philosophical statements, and Music/performing groups. Our preliminary analysis suggests a number of interesting observations. First, for reasons that cannot at present be determined, males seem slightly less interested than females in expressing sexual matters or concerns. In the Sexual statement/question category, 14 percent of female graffiti and 12 percent of male graffiti fit this category. For a male, it seemed to be most important to leave some trace of one's existence, for the category of Names/dates occurred more often than that of any other type of graffiti. Surprisingly, the most frequent kind of female graffiti was Miscellaneous. The Personal abuse or insult category contained almost twice as many entries for males than those made by females, and the Celebrities/known personalities category contained over seven times as many entries by females as compared to those produced by males. Interestingly, the Romance/love category showed more entries for males than for females.

There were no graffiti examples from either sex in the Homosexual-con subcategory, nor were there any War/peace or Ecology/pollution graffiti. It would seem that during the period of our research, these issues appeared to be of little interest to those who produced bar rest room graffiti.

Popular beliefs that males are more aggressive than females seemed to be confirmed by the number of Personal abuse or insult graffiti in male rest rooms as compared to those in female rest rooms. Also supporting popular stereotypes, females appeared considerably more interested than males with celebrities or known personalities. Finally, males produced slightly more romance and love graffiti than females, a finding we consider unexpected.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Bar latrinalia found in the vicinity of the small midwestern university surveyed suggest that the university should be classified as "moderately conservative." In comparing our findings with those of Stocker, we found strong support for political conservatism in the amount of male graffiti concerning drugs and politics. We found moderate support for a conservative classification in a number of other categories, including: romance/love, racist, social statements, philosophy, and religion graffiti. Latrinalia in the categories of heterosexual, homosexual, and nonsexual drawings, which in Stocker's study demonstrated a strong relationship to conservatism, were relatively scarce in our study.

Graffiti found in women's rest rooms lent somewhat greater support for a conservative classification, for there were many examples of homosexual, religion, social statement, and nonsexual drawings, which according to Stocker, are strong measures of political conservatism. A large number of other graffiti types found in our survey revealed only moderate support for a conservative label. These included the categories of romance/love, racist, political, philosophical, and graffiti that concerned drugs. Findings in the categories of heterosexual, personal abuse or insult latrinalia, typically associated with conservatism were relatively scarce, lending additional support to our notion that on a scale of liberal to conservative the midwestern university should be classified as "moderately conservative."

Descriptive studies have many limitations and problems, and our study is no exception. While there are problems in conducting research in almost any area of social behavior, graffiti research, because it studies deviant behavior, presents special problems to

the researcher. Despite the obstacles, we believe descriptive studies, including our study of bar latrinalia, can provide a beginning point, a cornerstone for a more adequate understanding of this form of social expression.

Our findings are at best preliminary and much additional research needs to be done. Data from this study seem to indicate that there are differences between male and female latrinalia, however, the number of graffiti in many of our categories seem too small to make valid comparison at this time. Only one observation from our study seems to warrant moderately strong support; i.e., the age of bar patrons and the nearness of bars to a college population appears to be associated in some way with the amount and type of latrinalia.

In order to increase the validity of graffiti studies, we believe that a concerted effort needs to be made to design graffiti categories and subcategories that are comparable. It is further suggested, that if it were possible to observe and/or interview graffitists, then additional social and sociopsychological dimensions might be identified. This research direction, although fraught with methodological problems, may lead to a more precise understanding of rest room graffiti and the complex social and psychological factors that produce them.

TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF GRAFFITI TYPES ENCOUNTERED

Humorous (obscene):   (over the top of a doorway)
If you can piss this high the Fire Department needs you.

Humorous
   (nonobscene):

I've found the perfect woman,
I could not ask for more,
She's deaf and dumb and oversexed,
And owns a liquor store.

Heterosexual: My dick is hard, my balls are smoking,
If I don't get laid, I'll start to stroking.

Hugh G. Rection was here. (beside male urinal)

Philosophical: I'd rather have a bottle in front of me than a frontal lobotomy.

Social commentary: Anyone holding opinions contrary to those expressed on this wall is entitled to complain to the management.

Graffiti about graffiti: This place needs better graffiti.

Scatological: Sit here, shit here.

Personal insult: Kathy sucks shit.

Frances is a bitch.

Drugs: Man made alcohol, God made grass.
In God we trust, so kiss my ass.

Ethnocentric: White
Power

Miscellaneous: The Goddess is alive!

Look! (at eye level beside a stool)
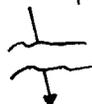
You are now sitting at a 45 degree angle.
   (near the floor)

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Authority Structure and Charismatic Challenge in Three American Denominations

by

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THEORY AND METHOD

Sociologist Max Weber (1978: 440) found that in the past challenges to religious authority were successfully advanced by a leader he named a prophet, who was able to establish a following based on his personal charismatic qualities and who often legitimated his authority through magic. In America today, with magical interpretations of events largely discredited (see Mills, 1940: 910), it is difficult for a person to claim magical powers even in religious organizations. Further, churches in the United States have evolved many means of controlling those who challenge church authority structures. This paper investigates a number of social devices used by church organizations to reduce the threat of challenges to their authority. Visits were made to three selected church organizations and the authority structures of each were examined. It is hypothesized that while there are many techniques available to church leaders to meet the challenges of prophets, the decision making hierarchy itself may be their most effective control device.

Since authority and challenge are not directly related to theology, I saw this study as one of "copying with the subtle nature of religious beliefs," and opted for a method that Simon (1978: 206) has called the Case Study method which is:

... the method of choice when you want to obtain a wealth of detail about your subject . . . [and] you do not know exactly what you are looking for.

To strengthen any conclusions made in this case study, I have chosen to investigate three churches, the Roman Catholic Church, the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints and the Church of the Nazarene, and then compare the findings from each. The churches chosen for study were selected on the basis of size, but because the

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smallest church had nearly 200,000 members, any conclusions are likely to be valid only for the largest one third of all churches in the U.S.[1]

My research into church documents and official flow charts proved inadequate in understanding how church leadership functioned, and given the size of the above organizations I did not believe participant observation alone would be sufficient. Therefore, I opted for what Simon (1978: 208) called "Expert Opinion," which he described as:

> . . . the judgements and estimates made by people who have spent much of their time working with a particular subject and who have gathered much general information that has been filtered through their minds and is stored in their memories.

There have been organized religious groups since prehistoric times. Weber (1978: 1006) has suggested that the earliest religious groups were partriarchies, and that these later became hierarchies. Hierarchies are still legitimated by traditional authority, but their believers no longer follow a patriarch; instead they generally maintain allegience to an abstraction that represent his leadership (Weber, 1978: 1006).

Few churches today derive their authority solely from tradition; instead most have developed elaborate bureaucratic hierarchies to legitimate their authority structures and to perpetuate their rule. Their authority is therefore supported by both traditional and legal-rational means.[2]

There is an important difference between the ideological authority of churches and secular bureaucracies (rational-legal authority.) The official power structure in church organizations can swiftly change, at least theoretically, because Christian ideology allows for a layman to gain "gifts of the spirit" and, through a process described by Weber as becoming "chosen," a prophet can claim to be the leader of an organization. At least two of the denominations visited were founded by this type of lay person. One, the Roman Catholic Church, claims St. Peter as its founder. He is believed to have been appointed to office by Christ and his powers are said to have been legitimated through miracles and visions. According to the Reoganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the RLDS), the second organization studied, Joseph

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[1]Visits were scheduled at the headquarters of the three selected churches and interviews were arranged with those individuals who had the most input into policymaking for their particular churches. These visits were the major source of data for this paper.

[2]Willer (1967: 231) has called this mixture of authority types "ideological authority."

Smith was visited by the Angel Moronai who gave him covenant plates along with the power to translate the words inscribed on them from an ancient language into English. St. Peter and Joseph Smith gained their authority largely by charisma, which according to Max Weber (1978: 241) is:

> . . . a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a 'leader.'

In contrast to secular bureaucracies, church leaders often gain their authority through charisma. There may be a tension between the official hierarchy (which is supported by ideological authority) and individual leaders who may gain a following (based upon their charisma). The Judeo-Christian faiths offer charismatic leaders an ideology which allows believers to interpret their acts as miracles and to follow their leadership as a result. One might conclude that, biblically, there is as much legitimation for challenging a religious organization by charisma as there is for hierarchic organizations themselves claiming traditional authority as the basis of their legitimacy.

Because of American ideology, challenges to established religious organizations may also come from the religious groups' support of democracy. Of the three churches visited, two of them, The Church of the Nazarene and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, were organized using the secular system of government in the United States as their model. In these churches, lay people meet in bodies, vote, elect representatives and introduce new legislation. Therefore, fairly rapid policy change could conceivably occur from the work of a prophet. For them, it appears leaders could most easily arise out of the laity. Obviously, in these churches, lay people may present a greater threat to church leadership than those churches organized on other principles. This presented Weberians with a paradox. Swatos (1981: 122) explained the problem accordingly:

> The Weberian is cursed because he must live on a tightrope drawn between an intellectual sacrifice to religion or a similar one to uncontrolled bureaucracy. In his many pessimistic moments, Weber seems sure that people will cling to one option or the other, with little difference in the results, rather than risk falling into the apparent abyss.

By focusing on the possibilities open to a charismatic leader in Christian church organizations, one may be misled into believing that charismatic leaders arise often, and that their visions strongly influence established churches.[3] Generally, this has not been the case because various social structures have evolved within these organizations to limit such individuals.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Roman Catholic

The Roman Catholic Church has evolved numerous methods to deal with charismatic challenge. One method discussed by Weber, lies in the very nature of charisma itself. According to Weber, (1978: 246) "charisma" usually becomes routinized after the original charismatic leader has died: ". . . it [charisma] cannot remain stable, but either becomes traditionalized or rationalized or a combination of both."

Weber (1978: 247) mentioned several ways that this process can take place, and the Catholic Church seems to have opted for "Designation of a successor by the charismatically qualified administrative staff and his recognition by the community" (Weber, 1978: 247). For the Catholic Church, this simply means that the Pope, who claims apostolic succession, is selected by the College of Cardinals. There is a major difference between this type of charisma and "pure" charisma. First, there is no challenge. The Pope is accepted as a legal leader of the entire church. Second, instead of gaining support from the laity, he is legitimated by the hierachy itself and his position is strenghened with traditional authority (apostolic succession) as well as legal-rational authority (Papal infallibility written into canon law). Moreover, the Pope has been schooled in Catholic ideology and has demonstrated to the satisfaction of church leaders that his activities are not in conflict with church norms. The office of Pope may be the most powerful office in any Christian organization for it combines the three basic authority types described by Weber. Political positions and decisions in this church are so strongly influenced by the Vatican that independent action by the Council of Bishops is inhibited.

In the United States, below the Vatican leadership, the controlling body of the Catholic Church is the Council of Bishops. The Council of Bishops is in a unique position among the three headquarters visited in my study in that it must adjust all policy

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[3]See Gillian, 1910 for a discussion of charismatic-type leaders.

statements to the will of the Vatican while at the same time, it must also address the needs of the largest religious body in the United States. The Council deals with these dual interests in several ways. First, I was told that the Bishops' position statements are not binding, but are described as advisory statements to both their following and to public officials. Any bishop can veto the Bishops' Council positions in his own diocese. However, above this level he has little authority, and it is unlikely that he would be able to control the Council through charisma alone. This is the case, because public policy issues are examined by several standing committees including the Committee on Education and, especially, the Social Development and World Peace Committees.

Further, the members of these committees are periodically changed. Most initial discussions on public policy issues begin here as well. The committee's recommendations are made to an Advisory Board, which may reject or change them, and from there they go to the General Body of Bishops for consideration and possible adoption. In addition, a General Counsel must examine the legal aspects of all new policies. This process, I believe, effectively eliminates a charismatic Bishop from promoting legislation or gaining the necessary following to seize control of an issue that might run counter to Vatican policy.

Local control by Bishops also tends to suppress the rise of charismatic leaders from below (at the Diocesan level). A Bishop can directly intervene in the activities of a dissenting priest. The Bishop may either send him to missions or he may dispatch the priest to other parts of the diocese. Charismatics may also be effectively absorbed into monastaries and other religious orders, thereby excluding them from decision-making positions. The church may also diffuse the charismatics power by publically proclaiming they possess a specific power thereby eliminating the more general qualities of charisma that are deemed necessary to build an active following. For example, the church might agree that a person has the power to heal, but deny that he has any other special gifts, especially powers that might be used to build a political following.

Lay leaders may be absorbed in a similar manner. Lay people can voice their concerns on social issues, but official policy may come only from the "Priesthood" (Weber, 1978: 424). Therefore, church social policy will reflect the ideology already accepted. Weber, (1978: 426) explained this in the following manner:

... the crucial feature of the priesthood [is] the specialization of a particular group of persons in the continuous operation of a cultic enterprise, permanently associated with particular norms, places and times, and related to specific social groups.

The RLDS

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints is not so thoroughly bureaucratized as the Roman Catholic Church. The First Secretary of the RLDS in an interview labelled his church organization a "theocratic democracy." As to the theocratic aspect, the leader of the church, the First President, is called a "prophet," and according to RLDS beliefs, he is endowed with the classic charismatic quality of personal revelation. He is also the chief administrator of his church.

The democratic aspect of the RLDS is seen in the policy-making body of this church - the World Conference - which meets biannually in Independence, Missouri.[4] At these meetings, each local congregation elects representatives to a district conference and public policy resolutions are made.

In comparison to the Roman Catholic church, the RLDS Church has a strong laity. The way the leadership is chosen has been routinized by "Designation on the part of the original charismatic leader of his own successor and his recognition on the part of the followers" (Weber, 1978: 247). According to the RLDS, Joseph Smith designated his son, Joseph Smith II, as his successor and the RLDS have accepted his progeny as their spiritual leaders ever since. But, this form of orgnization is not as restrictive as that of the Roman Catholic Church because, for the RLDS, there is no official group that functions to protect the leadership[5]. In the RLDS, the prophet must legitimate his charisma mainly through his personal qualities. An interesting case involving personal legitimation became an issue in 1984 when the question of women's ordination was brought before the World Conference. A pre-test done by the church headquarters had shown that only one-third of those responding supported the measure. However, after debate, the President announced that he had received a revelation that the Church should ordain women and, unless it did, he could no longer remain President (for rejection of his revelation would mean that he had lost his prophetic ability). The measure was passed overwhelmingly, demonstrating that challenge is a recognized process by the RLDS leadership.

[4]See Neibur, 1972 on the growth of U.S. denominations.

[5]Wrong (1979: 93) has labelled such a group a "Praetorian Guard" (the Catholic College of Cardinals seems to be a good example).

The Church of the Nazarene

Charisma for The Church of the Nazarene does not seem to be an issue. They have two avenues for making official policy statements. One is through their Christian Action Committee, whose purpose is to examine the national social environment for problems, and to coordinate activities within the church and between the church and other agencies. This office recommends action to the church. This is another device by which elites may control their followers, for according to Weber (1978: 225):

Bureacratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge. This is the feature of it which makes it specifically rational. This consists on the one hand in technical knowledge which, by itself, is sufficient to ensure a position of extraordinary power. But, in addition to this, bureaucratic organizations, or the holders of power who make use of them, have the tendency to increase their power still further by the knowledge growing out of experience in the service.

An example of the above can be seen in the Christian Action Committee's assault on pornography. Before any statement could be made by the laity in session, this committee (1) contacted several denominations, (2) contacted secular organizations such as Morality in the Media, the Federation of Decency, the U.S. Department of Justice, and (3) issued a recommendation to the local churches in its own denomination about limiting pornography.

The second agency by which policy statements are made is the General Assembly (The World Conference), which meets every four years. The General Assembly is the only body which can officially authorize statements in the name of the church. Its resolutions are by design frequently added to official church doctrine.

Difficulties faced by a Nazarene charismatic are many. First, the World Conference meets so seldom that a charismatic would have a difficult time demonstrating his powers and sustaining them over the four year period noted above. Second, since one must travel to the General Assembly, which is held at various sites throughout the world, it is likely that the cost would be prohibitive to the poor who are the charismatic's main followers.[6] Third, the administrators of the church are "knowledge elites," who according to Bell (1973) form their own power base in post-industrial society. The leaders of the Church of the Nazarene are schooled in theology as well as in secular fields, a combination which gives them almost unassailable authority in their church.

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[6] The poor follow charismatic leaders far more often than do upper status groups (see Cohn, 1957: Intro).

Summary and Conclusions

There are several general points that can be made about all organizations studied. First, Weber's concern about the power of bureaucracies seems justified by my findings. There is formal and informal interaction between the leadership and the laity in all churches but, should the leadership require separation from the laity for decision-making purposes the means is always available. Furthermore, the universal-type appeal of a charismatic would be at odds with the specialized offices that have evolved in each of the churches studied. A charismatic may attract a following in one office without being viewed as even significant in another. Informal interviews revealed that workers in one office often did not know the activities of administrators in the next office. There was even confusion about the function of offices beyond the administrator's avenue of expertise. The Roman Catholic Church is so bureaucratized that the person I interviewed did not know who handled purported miraculous events should they be reported[7]. A similar problem presented itself when I sent my survey to the Catholic Church. Four different offices were contacted and all either ignored the survey or they said that it was not their responsibility. The person interviewed at The Church of the Nazarene did not answer a question on miracles, the cornerstone of charisma. I came to the conclusion that Nazarenes seldom considered miracles (except inner feelings from the Holy Spirit) as a contemporary possibility. The RLDS does support the idea the miracles still occur through certain people (people with "gifts"), and it encourages this belief by recognizing such people at the local level.

In summary, I believe that this study reveals bureaucratic organization can be one of the strongest supports for the maintenance and perpetuation of religious ideology and power. A charismatic would literally be confounded by the maze-like Catholic hierarchy (a Sociologist certainly was), and she or he would not be respected by the Nazarene "knowledge elites," unless the charismatic could relate to the particular specialities within each office. I believe that neither of these organizations could be successfully challenged by a charismatic except under the most extreme circumstances. Catholicism defends its ideology through tradition and a bureaucracy that has evolved over centuries; the Nazarenes defend theirs through the efficiency of a legal-

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[7] I have been told, on a "rumor has it" basis, that the Vatican's Council of Miracles handles this. I never obtained data to validate this claim.

rational bureaucracy. Only the RLDS seems legitimately open to challenge. However, even in the RLDS challenge is unlikely as their history demonstrates. If my experience is any indication, even observors can only get so far in these groups and challengers I believe would face many more obstacles.

What has become of charismatic prophets? I suggest that, at least in the churches I studied, charismatics have been either coopted by the bureaucracy or they have been rejected by the church and forced to form their own independent sects. Future study into the causes and historical backgrounds of this country's emerging cults and sects seems to be the most promising avenue for researching the careers of contemporary charismatics.

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