A CULTURAL MODEL OF LIFE GOALS FOR YOUNG MEN

IN THE ROANOKE VALLEY

by

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A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in the
Department of Anthropology
in the Graduate School of
The University of Alabama

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2015

ABSTRACT

Parents and educators might assume that young people understand the expectations of adulthood by the time they achieve their majority. In a rapidly changing cultural scene, this may not be the case. To address the question of whether young men share a cultural model on their pathway to adulthood, forty-four men, aged 19-25, were interviewed in the Roanoke Valley during the summer of 2014. Through free-listing interviews, pile-sorting and surveys, the researcher elicited a set of goals these young men share. General agreement did emerge that they should be building good character, seeking direction, achieving financial independence, and avoiding trouble.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

n   Size of sample

SPSS   IBM SPSS Statistics software

$\bar{x}$ Sample mean

$\pm$ Plus or minus

$>$ Greater than

$<$ Less than

t   The value of the computed *t* statistic

df   Degrees of freedom: number of values in the sample free to vary

F   Fisher's F ratio: A ration of two variances

p   Probability

$p < .10$ Probability of committing a Type I error is less than ten percent

MtF   Monitoring the Future – survey of high school seniors

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I also owe thanks to my fellow students in the graduate program at the University of Alabama, who have helped me with advice, editing, data analysis, and moral support throughout the past two years. Finally, I would like to extend special thanks to Dr. Josh Eyer, whose friendship and sage advice have gotten me through the most difficult times

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INTRODUCTION

Life history perspectives explain adolescence as an evolved trait that lets parents and younger offspring benefit from the help older children can provide. Meanwhile, the adolescent gains an advantage from being able to practice the skills required in adulthood (Bogin 2010; Ellis et al. 2012; Kaplan et al. 2000; Worthman 1993). Yet the modern Western lifestyle may not provide a good fit for a physiology evolved among hunters and gatherers. While modern living offers obvious benefits, there is a body of research that suggests the dietary, exercise, and social arrangements encouraged in economically developed regions are in many ways contributing to an increase in chronic and degenerative disease conditions, including psychosocial disturbances (Eaton et al. 2009; Ellis et al. 2012; Kuzara and Worthman 2005). With regard to social influences on adolescents, such changes as smaller family size, less intimate housing environments, decreased association with both younger and older age groups, and diminished opportunities to observe the parents in their work could affect a young person's preparation for assuming adult roles (Ellis et al. 2012).

Young men in today's complex society may not be receiving all the benefits that prolonged childhood and adolescence evolved to provide. When a boy has opportunities to practice foraging, hunting, craftsmanship, or farming while still partaking of family food resources, he learns complex subsistence techniques that increase life chances and the likelihood of perpetuating the lineage (Kaplan et al. 2000). In contrast, while many modern parents can, and do, teach their children some of the skills by which they earn their livings, few of them can bring

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their teens to work with them. In the same vein, a young man who is able to rehearse culturally defined social roles from a relatively safe place of sexual immaturity enters adulthood better prepared to compete for mates and to parent offspring (Bogin 2010; Ellis et al. 2012). Yet today's youth achieve sexual maturity earlier, at the same time that they are confronted with rapidly changing patterns of courtship and are exposed to many more options in both the selection of mates and establishment of families (Eaton et al. 2002; Fox et al. 2013; Hawley 2011; Sassler and Cunningham 2008; Worthman 1993). While young men in traditional societies reach the age of 18 or 20 knowing what their role will be and how to enact that role, it is not known whether young men in the United States today share such a clear model for making a successful transition into adulthood.

This study developed a cultural model for behavioral expectations among young men in the Roanoke Valley. It utilized a cognitive theoretical approach, which maintains that while culture is clearly shared by the members of a society, knowledge of cultural norms is variably distributed among the individual members (de Munck 2000; Pelto and Pelto 1975). Cultural consensus methods provide a way to elicit the salient components and dimensions of a given cultural domain from the members of that culture, and to measure the degree of knowledge, or cultural competence, that each respondent holds (Romney et al.1986; Borgatti 1999). These techniques were applied in a convenience sample of young men from low income to upper-middle income backgrounds in the Roanoke Valley of Virginia during the summer of 2014, with the primary goal of determining whether they share a common model for life preparation. The participants were recruited by word of mouth and non-random convenience sampling methods, and they contributed data for the model using the methods of cultural domain analysis, including

semi-structured interviews, free-listing, pile-sorting, and surveys based on questions about the

goals appropriate for their age cohort.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Life history theory is based on the proposition that some aspects of behavior and physiology have been selected for, not because they have any immediate benefit to the individual organism, but because they have a long-range payoff in terms of passing along genetic material. Incorporated into this theory are the concepts of deferred reproduction, parental investment, and embodied capital (Bogin 2010; Ellis et al. 2012; Hawley 2011; Jones 2010; Kaplan et al. 2000; Sotomayor-Peterson et al. 2012). The theory is used to explain variation in the life cycles of species, including *Homo sapiens*. In some species, for example, the strategy is to produce the highest number of offspring possible, with a minimum of energy expended on care of those offspring. This works best for smaller organisms that have short lives and high rates of predation or other environmental risks. For such a species, it is a numbers game: the more prolific their reproductive rate, the more likely that some percentage of their genetic material will survive the dangers of life long enough to reproduce in turn. In other species, the object is not quantity but quality, where quality means that extra energy is expended to ensure that any offspring produced will actually survive to a reproductive age. This deferred reproduction strategy works best in relatively large creatures that live longer, have lower mortality rates, or are higher on the food chain. A stable environment with reasonable assurance of a long lifespan drives slower reproductive strategies. This theory also predicts individual-level variation in reproductive behavior (Del Giudice 2009; Draper and Harpending 1982; Hawley 2011).

Inherent in this strategy are the notions of parental investment and embodied capital – because human offspring need at least twenty years to develop the brain and body needed for success, the parents must continue maintenance to some degree over that period of time (Bogin 2010; Kaplan et al. 2000; Sotomayor-Peterson et al. 2012). In the end it pays off genetically, because the more energy a parent puts into the care and training of their children, the more likely that child will be to succeed not only in terms of health and vitality, but in terms of finding a means of subsistence, winning a mate, and continuing the genetic line. *Homo sapiens* is the only species which has either the childhood or adolescence phase, both of which are universal in humans and which contribute to the ability of adult females to continue procreation while the young are still dependent (Bogin 2010; Kaplan et al. 2000; Konner 1990; Worthman 1993). Having older children and adolescents around helps adults with care of the infants and production of food, but it also benefits the older child and adolescent to remain under adult protection and serves as a kind of apprenticeship for life skills (Bogin 2010; Pinker 2010). In prehistoric times, as in hunting and gathering societies today, adolescent interactions with both older and younger members of the group were common, and socialization was carried out by people well-known to the child and the family, typically relatives. Supervision levels were low, but social expectations were clear (Eaton et al. 2010; Ellis et al. 2012; Paradise and Rogoff 2009). These life history traits evolved in conjunction with each other in order to increase fitness over a lifetime rather than in the moment.

In recent decades, some anthropologists have taken the view that many chronic and degenerative diseases seen in industrial society are due to a mismatch between our genetic propensities and a radically changed environment (Eaton and Eaton 2002; Eaton et al. 2009; Hawley 2011; Konner 1990). Their research addresses the ways in which modern lifestyles

conflict with the adaptations that have evolved in humans as hunter-gatherers over the hundreds of thousands of years between the appearance of *Homo sapiens* and the Neolithic revolution (Konner 1990). Included in the categories of problems that may derive from such discordance are some of special concern in the adolescent, such as substance abuse, anxiety, and attention deficit disorders (Baler and Volkow 2011; Bogin 2010; Del Giudice 2009; Panksepp 2007; Nesse 1999). It is conceivable that such a mismatch might also lead to post-adolescents simply not being prepared to assume the responsibilities of adulthood.

The human brain, while unique in its plasticity, may not be able to stretch sufficiently to meet the demands of a rapidly changing and unprecedented environment (Baler and Volkow 2011; Ellis et al. 2012). "Because human brains and bodies have been shaped by natural selection to solve recurrent problems faced by ancestors, adaptations can misfire when the developing person experiences environments outside of the species-typical range" (Ellis et al. 2012:616). Among the postindustrial social conditions that have been shown to negatively affect adolescent development are reductions in free play time, age segregation, smaller families, and exposure to a wide range of varied social influences (Ellis et al. 2012; Gray 2011; Hawley 2011; Marlowe 2000). Additionally, the widening span of time between puberty onset and assumption of adult status can produce confusion about social roles (Ellis et al. 2012).

Most importantly, in terms of the present research, the work world of parents today is closed to their children in most cases by law or employer regulation (Ellis et al. 2012). The obligation to family is an important motivator, but has been diffused and weakened in the modern environment (Weisner 2001). For example, there is less need for children to work caring for siblings, since the advent of pre-K education. Instead, children's most important obligation is to do well in school, an activity with diminished immediate rewards and less obvious

connections to the welfare of other family members (Weisner 2001). The pathways that formerly involved working among kin to perform essential tasks, which conveyed to the adolescent a sense of community and competency for life's demands, are pathways that exist now only in the relatively rare circumstance of a small, family-owned enterprise (Ellis et al. 2012; Paradise and Rogoff 2009; Weisner 2001).

Adolescence is a trait adapted to fit into a long life history strategy, a phase of development prolonged so that the young can assist in the survival chances of their kin while improving their own life chances. If lifestyles in today's complex society are radically different with regard to adolescent social development, it seems reasonable to ask whether today's youth are receiving the same benefit for which the trait evolved. Does adolescence, as we know it in the industrialized world, result in young adults with the social and economic skills they need to function as competent members of society?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Developmental Task Perspectives

There is a wealth of literature within the field of anthropology on the transition from childhood to adulthood, and an extensive literature from other disciplines that can inform this anthropological approach. Psychological perspectives are essential to any examination of behavioral issues, while the voices of social workers, educators, and health researchers cannot be ignored.

The psychologist, Erikson (1963), offers the concepts of developmental tasks, identifying two tasks pertinent to subjects ages 19-25, *identity-vs-role confusion* and *intimacy-vs-isolation* motivations. Youth at this age are trying to locate themselves in the context of social expectations and potential occupational roles, and learning to open themselves up to intimate sharing in friendships and partnerships with romantic others (Erikson 1963). Arnett (2000) endorses Erikson's theory, but adds to it with the concept of emerging adulthood as a relatively recent developmental phase occurring in industrialized society. "Sweeping demographic shifts have taken place over the past half century that have made the late teens and early twenties not simply a brief period of transition into adult roles but a distinct period of the life course, characterized by change and exploration of possible life directions" (Arnett 2000:469). He argues that the age span of 18-25 is a time between roles, when exploration and instability are the norm. Young people are sorting out possibilities – change of residence and educational enrollment happen frequently. In qualitative studies, people report feeling during this period that

they are not quite adults yet, although they have achieved legal majority (Arnett 2000; Groth 2011; Markstrom et al. 1998).

Research in biomedicine extends Piaget (1970) to confirm that executive function is continuing to develop during this stage. Risk-taking is found to be higher in young adults than in adolescents, although brain research predicts that the young adult should be better able to practice self-regulation (Pharo et al. 2011; Willoughby et al. 2013). Cultural contexts (such as going away to college) may do more to increase the relative frequency of risky behavior in young adults. Studies have found that young men are more likely than women or older men to engage in unhealthy or dangerous behaviors such as reckless driving, substance abuse, and aggression (Pharo 2011). Thus, much is happening in the mental world of the post-adolescent, and it is hard to imagine that they can negotiate all the choices and pitfalls before them without some kind of a model for appropriate behavior.

Life Course and Transitions

Rites of passage

No anthropological discussion of young men's transition into adulthood can omit reference to the many ethnographic examinations of rites of passage practiced in various societies around the world (e.g., Bateson 1958; Mead 1930; Turner 1967; van Gennep 1960). Van Gennep (1960) describes three ritual phases of separation, transition, and incorporation that are enacted during critical transitions over the course of the individual's life. There are similarities world-wide in the way such changes and life crises are marked, and always the essential pattern of separation (pre-liminality), transition (liminality), and incorporation (post-

liminality) is present. Van Gennep (1960) takes pains to emphasize that there are rites which, while serving to mark a child as either man or woman, are not equivalent to making them into adults, and often do not even coincide with the appearance of physical or biological signs of sexual maturity.

Schlegel and Schlegel (1980) report that, in the 62 male initiation rites they studied, the most common themes were taking on responsibility as an adult, sexual capacity (reinforcing gender roles), and the character traits of courage and wisdom. Ceremonies for boys are not common in simple societies, contrary to van Gennep's assertion that such initiations occur "in all societies and all social groups" (1960:67), but they appear more often in small agricultural subsistence groups. Indeed, Schlegel and Schlegel (1980) assert that initiation rituals are absent in complex societies. They posit that this absence is because they are not needed – the ceremonies exist only to cement people into socially defined gender categories related to food production. However, in the industrial society, similar ceremonies can be used to mark a person's status in relation to such things as military service, educational achievement, religious membership, and fraternal organizations, and marriage itself is often construed as an initiation into adulthood (Johnson 2011; Schlegel and Schlegel 1980; van Gennep 1960).

In van Gennep's (1960) *Rites of Passage*, he describes how, during the initiation of the Kurnai boy to manhood, he is cut off forever from his previous life and separated from his mother. From that point on his connection is with the men of the group, "…instructed in and sensible of the duties…" appropriate to a man of his community (1960:75). Afterward, he learns the laws of the tribe, the stories of his people, and their ceremonies. Completion of the process is marked by a religious ceremony and a permanent marking of the initiate, so that no question of his status will arise. American anthropologists have not provided descriptions of such rites of

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passage in our society (Kimball 1960; Markstrom et al. 1998). "One dimension of mental illness may arise because an increasing number of individuals are forced to accomplish their transitions alone and with private symbols" (Kimball 1960:xvii-xviii). We rely on parents and teachers, primarily, to instruct young men in their duties and to teach them about laws, customs, and stories, although in this prefigurative time, they must rely on their peers and the internet for much of what they need to know (Mead 1969). In any case, there is no completion of the process marked by a single ceremony to put to rest any doubts about the boy's new status as a man.

Becoming an adult today

While "…in archaic societies there were rites…which marked, irreversibly, the person's passage…" (Pais 2000:220) to adulthood, youth in modern, postindustrial societies have the option to come and go from childhood throughout their third decade (Arnett 2000; Markstrom et al. 1998). In his address to the 8th Australian Men's Gathering, Groth (2011) expressed the confusion that exists in 21st century industrial cultures about the end of boyhood and achievement of manhood.

> Does the boy disappear with puberty and his entry into the world of the adult sexually competent male, whether that is at age 12 (now the standard age of puberty for most boys in the West) or 16 (the age of puberty for most boys until the 20th century), or when he is 18 or 21 (legal milestones)— or 30, when Plato says men are ready to begin philosophizing? [Groth 2011:105]

Especially for those who continue their education beyond high school, the sense of being an adult in the world can be postponed well into their twenties (Arnett 2000; Groth 2011; Hockey 2002; Mitchell 2006). Some researchers have studied the nature of what has come to be

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called emerging adulthood, a new developmental phase peculiar to modern, industrialized societies (Arnett 2000; Rankin and Kenyon 2008). Generally, these studies focus on what kinds of life course markers can be taken to indicate the individual's status as an adult.

Family life researchers Rankin and Kenyon (2008) use a symbolic interactionist approach to examine the influence of cultural norms on markers of the life transition in American youth. They asked participants, drawn from a population of college students, to rank the importance of various types of events or accomplishments traditionally associated with becoming an adult. What they called role transitions were events that changed the person's role in the world: finishing their education, taking on full-time employment, having a child, getting married, settling into a career, or buying a house. They found that these transitions are more likely to be seen as important markers of adulthood for Greek organization members, traditional-aged students, minority students, members of religious organizations, and people who were not cohabiting with a partner. The authors suspected it is because these populations tend to consist of people who orient their behavior toward the benefit of the group instead of pursuing more individualistic paths (Rankin and Kenyon 2008).

Jenny Hockey (2002) used qualitative methods to explore the experiences of young couples in the United Kingdom as they navigated the passage from carefree youth to settled adulthood. She found a distinct difference in view between the male and female perspectives, with the young women having a settling effect on the men. However, her data showed that standardized, or traditional, understandings of life transition sequences and significant markers of adulthood do yet exist in industrialized society. The conditions that were understood by her subjects to represent transitioning into adult life included permanent employment, having a nice home, promotions at work, being in a committed relationship, and parenthood. Interestingly, she

found that white-collar workers felt more compelled to abandon a youthful attitude, while blue collar men were able to continue more of the playful ways of youth among their co-workers. In both cases, the women in their lives, focused on coordinating economic needs with family planning, were the ones who held most to traditional expectations of a sequential maturation process (Hockey 2002).

Twenge, Freeman and Campbell (2012) used an etic approach to study the changes in life goals among American youth over three generations. They utilized data from two long-standing surveys of high school seniors and college freshmen to compare the attitudes of Baby Boomers (born 1946–1961), GenX'ers (born 1962–1981) and Millennials (born after 1982). For Millennials, the most importance was ascribed to having a good marriage and family life, being able to find steady work, having strong friendships, being able to provide opportunities for their children, success and respect at work, finding purpose and meaning in life, being able to help others, and having time for leisure activities. Interestingly, having lots of money was not considered very important in the Monitoring the Future survey of high school seniors (although still rated more highly than the Boomer generation), whereas being very well off financially was rated essential or very important in the American Freshman project (Twenge et al. 2012).

In contrast to the approaches described above, Brown et al. (2009) developed a measure of life course priorities for young people, using interviews, pile sorts, ranking tasks, and forest analysis to explore the domain. This measure was created in the service of their study on the relationship between depressive symptoms and the success of Appalachian youth in achieving life course goals. These methods yielded a set of milestones, barriers, material goods, and socio-emotional resources that their subjects, Cherokee and Anglo-American youth aged 19-24, thought were most important to pursue. In addition to the usual demographic data, they had

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access to information about the respondent's family context and neighborhood, and thus were able to explore relationships between variations in goal prioritization and aspects of personal history (Brown et al. 2009).

The outcome of the study was that attainment of life course goals did predict less depression, and that barriers to the life course mediated the effect of stressful life events on depression. They found that family-related items and conspicuous consumption tended to be more important among the poor, while independence from the family was less important. Additionally, a history of exposure to traumatic events was associated with less concern about establishing one's self economically (Brown et al. 2009).

Of more interest to the present research, however, is the organization and rating of the life goals enunciated by this population. Seven clusters of life course priorities were revealed: (1) education, (2) family, (3) economic establishment, (4) socio-emotional resources, (5) independence, (6); material consumption, and (7) community relations. Displayed below is data from Brown, et al. (2009:232), showing the exact items obtained in the free-listing, and the percentage of respondents endorsing them (Table 1). It is evident that socio-emotional resources were the most important across the board, while elements of education, family, and independence also rated very highly.

Table 1. Lifecourse Priority Clusters and Items from Appalachia Study

Cluster	Items (percent of sample endorsing each item)	Interitem r*
Education	High school degree/GED (95); College degree (59); Higher education (77)	.4052
Family	Have children (56); Get married (73); Settle down (90); Good partner (76)	.3465
Economic establishment	First house (66); Permanent job (77); Financial security (64)	.3106
Socioemotional resources	Honest/responsible/polite (99); Common sense/think for yourself (99); Determination/motivation/drive (96); Passion/focus (95); Health/fitness (90); Self-esteem (97); Life experiences (77); Plan ahead/have goals (87); Respect elders/know cultural roots (82), Family support/family time (96)	.4131
Youth independence	Driver's license (88); First car or truck (83), Move out of parents' house (85); Start first job (94), Hanging out with friends/partying (64)	.4209
Material consumption (consume)	Recreational vehicles (67); Big/nice house (89); Expensive sports/hobby equipment (53); Fancy/expensive vehicle (78); Home entertainment center(75); Jewelry (40); Vacation home (92); Nice clothes (74)	.5007
Community reliance	Community connections (51); Govt/Tribal support (27); Status/power in the community (16)	.3596

* This is the average inter-item correlation obtained from K-R 20 scale analysis. The alpha coefficient is not reported, as this is highly influenced (increased) by the number of items included.
Source: data adapted from Brown et al. 2009: Table 2.

The above studies of goals for emerging adulthood and conceptualizations of life transition markers will be useful for comparison with the present research. With the exception of the Appalachia study (Brown et al. 2009), the researchers have brought to their data-gathering previously conceived ideas about the likely goals and markers respondents will rate. The present study shares with Brown et al. (2009) a conviction that cultural models are most useful when they have been composed and delineated using information gathered from the population being investigated. Yet it differs from Brown et al. (2009) in terms of the population demographics, as their work was done among mixed ethnicities and with care to include at-risk youth.

Evolutionary Perspectives

The rationale for this study draws primarily on research in medical anthropology that examines the way adaptations of the human body that developed over hundreds of millennia influence human behavior that can be maladaptive in the modern age (Ellis et al. 2012; Hawley 2011). Adolescence can be seen as an adaptive trait of *Homo sapiens* that allows the young to improve their life chances by working and learning alongside older members of the group (Bogin 2010; Hawley 2011). This perspective relies on life history theory, with the concepts of parental investment and embodied capital, and hypotheses that derive from life history theory, such as the discordance and mis-match hypotheses. Some anthropologists have set up direct tests of these hypotheses, while others produce studies that provide the results that would be expected if those hypotheses were correct.

Life history is generally understood as applying to the reproductive styles of species, but it has also been applied to the reproductive strategies of individuals. It is thought that, when the developing fetus receives signals that life outside may be dangerous or uncertain, epigenetic changes occur that will instill a propensity for faster life history behaviors, that is, for having offspring relatively early and with relatively little parental investment (Del Giudice 2009). Draper and Harpending (1982) exemplify this approach in their examination of how variation in paternal investment patterns among societies may affect offspring behavior. They found that, where fathers are not heavily involved with their own children, adolescents tend to display more aggression and competitiveness, relate poorly to members of the opposite sex, and are inclined toward early sexual activity. They suggest that the social environment into which a child is born triggers a propensity to adopt either the fast or slow life history strategy, through a sensitive-period learning mechanism.

Proponents of the discordance hypothesis point out that modern youth face an "exciting-but-daunting array of life choices" (Eaton 2010:112) that contrasts with the uncomplicated and obvious social expectations held for youth in earlier societies (Konner 1990). Additionally, children today spend much of their time in age-segregated groups led by adults who are unrelated and may hold ways of thinking that are quite different from the child's family (Ellis et al. 2012; Gray 2011; Marlowe 2000). The opportunity for developing self-esteem and finding one's role in such an environment is more challenging than it would be in a small community of 15-50 people made up in large part of relatives and other people who share expectations for the child's progression into adulthood (Eaton et al. 2010). Informal learning by observation and participation in the common tasks of the family and community is a natural feature of human culture (Paradise and Rogoff 2009). Not only has life changed in postindustrial society, but the pace of continuing change has increased dramatically (Konner 1990, Mead 1969).

Hawley (2011) suggests that teens in Western society may feel they have no respected social role to play. Modern material trappings serve to distance this age group from their families and leave them in a teen subculture where norms are constantly changing. She also makes note of the increasing gap between children's physical maturity, which commences ever earlier due to better health practices and diet, and children's psychosocial maturity, which arrives later (if at all) due both to a greater volume of necessary knowledge and a greater propensity of parents to continue providing for their adult children. Thus, the youth may find themselves in a confusing state of being both adult and child for many years.

The predictions of the discordance hypothesis have been extensively researched in areas of physical health (Armelagos et al. 2005; Buzney and DeCaro 2012; Eaton 2010; Eaton et al. 2009). For example, the transition from a hunting and gathering subsistence strategy to an

agricultural lifestyle has been associated with high rates of malnutrition (Armelagos et al. 2005). The human preference for foods rich in sugar and fat is a prime example of a trait evolved to protect against starvation which, in a postindustrial society where such foods are abundant, leads to chronic diseases such as dental caries, diabetes and heart disease (Eaton et al. 2009; Eaton et al. 2002). Finally, the earlier sexual maturation of girls, particularly when motherhood is postponed, leaves them more vulnerable to reproductive cancers than women in non-industrial societies (Buzney and DeCaro 2012; Eaton 2010).

A few studies have linked mental health consequences with divergence from the evolved pattern of social behavior (Buzney and DeCaro 2012; Gray 2011). Gray (2011) contends that changes in patterns of play have diminished children's ability to develop social skills and competencies, to make decisions, and to exercise self-control. Buzney and DeCaro (2012) found that early childhood stress led to earlier onset of menarche. Although Mead (1969) expressed concern, little has been done to investigate the possible consequences of rapid social change on the mental preparedness of young people to enter into competent adulthood.

Cognitive Anthropology

The purpose of this study was to seek evidence regarding a hypothesized consensus among post-adolescent young men as to what they were expected to be doing with their lives. Changes in social institutions of postindustrial America may have led to a situation in which the roles young men should play may not be obvious to them, or it may be that the means of meeting social expectations have become complicated (Mead 1969; Steinberg 2002). In the United States, a young man at the age of eighteen or nineteen automatically assumes certain legal rights and

responsibilities, yet some rights are withheld until age twenty-one in many regions of the country. American youth today rarely have the option to work alongside their parents in support of the family or community, nor is there a widely shared initiation ceremony that prepares them psychologically to enter into the adult realm (Pais 2000; Paradise and Rogoff 2009; Schlegel and Barry 1980; Weisner 2001). The dearth of opportunities to learn proper conduct by participation in daily routines, and the lack of an occasion in which the young man's status as an adult is formally recognized by all may leave these youth uncertain about their role in society.

Given the circumstances, it seems reasonable to ask whether a cultural model exists among young men that guides them in pursuing both short-term and long-term life goals. To answer this question, the perspective of cognitive anthropology is particularly apt. One of the great debates in traditional anthropology has revolved around the question of defining culture. An early proponent of cognitive anthropology, Goodenough (1956) suggested that culture is that which one must know to be a competent member of society. Boas (1910) had previously introduced the paradox of cultural constructivism, the idea that culture is constructed jointly by the members of the group, versus structural constraint, the recognition that individuals are constrained by rules outside their power to control. Cultural constructivism in its weak form holds that there is a world outside the individual, yet the individual is a participant in its creation and maintenance. Cognitive anthropology takes the view that cultural knowledge is shared by the members of society, but that it is not uniformly distributed among its members (Anders and Batchelder 2012; de Munck 2000; Romney et al. 1986). The cognitive approach recognizes also that knowing what the model is does not imply necessarily that individuals endorse it or implement it in their lives (Dressler et al.1998). It addresses the limitations of the two sides of

Boas' paradox, by showing how one can characterize what is principally shared at an aggregate level, while not losing sight of the fact that each member of society has their own version.

Cognitive anthropology defines social reality by asking the members of the society about relevant mental categories, or domains, and how those categories are organized. It draws on research methods introduced by the ethnoscientists, but brings in ways of measuring salience and distribution in its exploration of the elements of cultural domains (de Munck 2000; Dressler 2004; Frake 1962; Spradley 1972). These diverse methods can be collectively referred to as "cultural domain analysis" (Borgatti 1999). New methods have also been introduced that measure dimensions of meaning within the domain, illuminate those dimensions that are of highest value, and determine whether a consensus exists regarding what belongs to the domain (Borgatti 1996b; Dressler 2009; Romney et al. 1986). Meaning is no longer a matter of interpretation by the researcher; rather it is provided by the respondents and then measured in comparison with the meanings given by other respondents.

The cultural consensus model is a way of examining a given domain of culture by exploring how much consensus exists in understandings of that domain within a given group of people (Borgatti 1999; Dressler 2009). It provides evidence that people are drawing on shared knowledge as, for example, they think about what they should be doing in the years between adolescence and full adulthood. It defines the widely shared elements of that cognitive category, and "operationalizes culturally salient" (Sweet 2010:2030) elements of that domain of social life, first defining and then quantifying that shared knowledge on both the individual and collective levels (Dressler 2009). Ethnographic methods are employed in collection of potential elements of the domain, then quantitative methods are used to determine its cognitive structure, the degree of salience for each element, and which respondents are most knowledgeable about the domain

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(Borgatti 1999). Finally, the analysis produces a score for each individual that represents the degree to which they understand the shared model, which is referred to as cultural domain competence (Borgatti 1999).

The methods described above have shown themselves useful for understanding the cultural models that people share. Previous descriptions of culture by observers have been highly susceptible to personal bias, but presently, while recognizing that a degree of bias is impossible to eliminate, anthropology has produced a method for describing domains on the terms made evident by members of that cultural group. In the bargain, it has acquired a means to assess cultural change, and the effects of such changes in behavior on both individuals and groups.

THE CULTURE OF GENERATION

The term "Millennials" refers to individuals who were born between the early 1980's and the early 2000's (Waters and Bortree 2012). Also known as NetGeners, their world is different in major ways from that of previous generations. It exists in an era of increasing global interdependence, ubiquitous access to information, and global competition for labor (Godbey and Mack 2006; Miller et al. 2013; Powell 2009). The scope and rate of change in the modern world is unprecedented (Godbey and Mack 2006). Because of their early and consistent use of video games and other electronics, Millennials are able to process information more quickly, to multi-task more efficiently, and to collaborate easily with others. Unlike television, Internet gaming and surfing engage the mind and the imagination, and promote social interaction (Tapscott 2009).

In a study of life goals among American high school seniors, Twenge et al. (2012) found that this generation rated higher than Boomers – those born in the 1940's and 1950's – in wanting to have a lot of money, live near family, work in administrative positions, and be community leaders. However, the desire to be a leader was associated more with a craving for fame than with service values. Millennials rated lower than Boomers in feeling the need to find purpose and meaning, keep up with politics, or participate in civic activities and environmental activism. They have also been strongly affected by two major events: the terrorist attack on 9/11, and Hurricane Katrina. These events brought about a realization that politics matter, and encouraged an ethic of community service (Scuderi 2012).

Because of technological innovations, people are able to maintain social relationships with increasing numbers of people, sometimes resulting in "social saturation". Input from so many may make it difficult to establish and maintain a strong sense of self (Godbey and Mack 2006). Compared to their parents' generation, there is a higher incidence of anxiety, depression, and poor mental health, possibly resulting from the value placed on extrinsic goals that are typically affected by circumstances the individual cannot control (Tapscott 2009; Twenge et al. 2010).

Education and Labor

It has been argued that education in the U.S. has been in trouble for decades, with declines in rank when compared to other nations on high school completion, college graduation, and science and math performance. Some of this is due to economic disparities, but some say the problem is that policy-makers in the U.S. have focused excessively on making sure students learn the basics, although such traditional educational priorities may no longer be the most appropriate ones (Godbey and Mack 2006; Powell 2009; Schleicher 2009). As one educator has noted, "In many ways, we are currently preparing students for jobs that do not yet exist, using technologies that haven't been invented yet, in order to solve problems we don't even know are problems yet" (Schleicher 2009:42).

While many experts recommend that a Bachelor's degree is necessary for economic success (Albrecht and Albrecht 2009; Canon and Gascon 2012; Mahoney 2010), some educators have argued that there is also a place in the world for skilled workers and technicians (Beaver 2010; Crawford 2015). Such jobs can pay better than many jobs requiring college degrees and

schools often collaborate with industry to produce the kinds of workers needed at a regional level (Adams 2014). The employment rate is higher and more secure for those with more education, yet the amount of education needed in order to assure even the possibility of a secure future continues to grow, along with increased cost, which translates to high debt for the students (Beaver 2010; Facer 2012; Schleicher 2009). Nonetheless, because of the influence of the internet, many young people are able to thrive in the environment of innovation that modern business demands (Godbey and Mack 2006; Powell 2009; Waters and Bortree 2012). Most millennials have had constant access to technology, and the Internet is an essential part of daily life. They are tech-savvy and accustomed to multi-tasking (Miller et al. 2013; Rideout et al. 2010; Waters and Bortree 2012). They tend to be confident, self-centered, and prefer a flexible work schedule to higher pay (Miller et al. 2013). There is a preference for casual attire, and a high proportion have tattoos, piercings, bright colored hair, or some mixture of the three (Pew Research Center 2007). In spite of their parents' consternation, employers are adapting to these style innovations (Pais 2000; Miller et al. 2013).

Relationships and Family

Bauman (2003) argues that relationships have become fragile, and that people no longer know how to remain in a long-term relationship. Divorce rates are nearly 50 percent, and about a third of babies are born to single-parent homes (Godbey and Mack 2006; Mitchell 2006). Indeed, the modern generation may not share their parents' goals of having children or even getting married (Brown et al., 2009; Mitchell 2006; Lundberg and Pollack 2007). A 2011 report from the

Pew Research Center (Cohn et al. 2011) found that marriage was in decline, and that the average age at which American men enter into their first marriage was 28.7 years old.

The Internet has both helped and hindered young men in this realm. The new ability of people to have daily contact through video chats, unlimited texting and long-distance calls (unheard of even in their parents' dating days) makes long-distance relationships more feasible for those gone away to college (Szymanski and Stewart 2012). In addition, finding a partner online has become a common tactic in modern life (Henry-Waring and Barraket 2008). People can look for love, intimacy, friendship and sex using the internet, instant messaging services, and social network sites, often establishing a romantic connection before ever meeting in person. Looking for partners online is in many ways less risky than meeting people face to face, and certainly can seem more efficient.

However, the Internet has also brought much easier access to pornography, now available in endless variety with minimal risk of discovery. In a study of pornography use among college women, Szymanski and Stewart (2012) found that use of pornography by their partners was negatively associated with relationship quality. High exposure to pornographic material may create unrealistic expectations in young men's minds, both for how women should appear and for the nature of typical sexual relationships (Szymanski and Stewart 2012). Especially at risk is the ability to express intimacy in a sexual relationship, which is rarely portrayed in pornographic fantasies.

The Millenials' outlook on life and life's possibilities differs from the social environment in which their parents came of age. Their socio-political views have been affected by an overwhelming and relatively unfiltered exposure to a diversity of cultural practices and political

opinions. They encounter a rising need for higher education in the employment market, yet at a dramatically increased expense, and with less guarantee of a stable, high-paying job on graduation (Beaver 2010; Facer 2012; Schleicher 2009). Finally, the availability of personal models for stable and fulfilling relationships has diminished, while the combination of online dating and online pornography may be contributing to unrealistic expectations in the search for a mate (Bauman 2003; Szymanski and Stewart 2012).

Summary

Psychologists and anthropologists have described developmental stages, including childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, each with age-dependent psychological tasks and evolutionary functions (Bogin 2010; Erikson 1963; Piaget 1970). Many archaic and simple societies practiced formal rites of passage that clarified a young man's passage from one stage to the next, including enunciation of community norms, new responsibilities, and gender roles (Mead 1969; Turner 1967; van Gennep 1960). In groups that did not employ such rites, adulthood was presumed to begin at marriage, an event that typically followed sexual maturation and was in turn followed by fatherhood (Schlegel and Schlegel 1980). In postindustrial society, a new phase of development has been described to fill the space between adolescence and adulthood, which has been called "emerging adulthood" (Arnett 2000). This period is characterized by the pursuit of new experiences, taking on of perspectives beyond that of the native environment, high mobility, and new relationships.

Research has shown that a formal initiation rite is not necessary for the assumption of adulthood, though it does have benefits (Schlegel and Schlegel 1980). Additionally, it has been

found that some idea of what marks adulthood is shared in Western society – permanent employment, setting up a household, marriage, parenthood, et cetera (Elchardus and Smits 2006). Other studies have asked young people about their aspirations, and even about some of the barriers they encounter in pursuit of those goals (Brown et al. 2009).

From the evolutionary perspective, adolescence is supposed to be a kind of apprenticeship period, when the young person learns their adult roles without all of the risks of full independence and responsibility (Bogin 2010). Given the complexity of subsistence in modern society, it seems reasonable to ask, first, whether young men are learning enough about their adult roles during adolescence, or if this task has been pushed forward into the "emerging adulthood" phase. Second, if young men, who are legally (and often, practically) responsible for themselves at age eighteen or nineteen, have not learned those roles while in the safety of the family home, what tactics do they understand to be available for learning those roles now, and what kinds of problems are they having as they strive to become adults?

From the cognitive perspective, the answers to such questions are best found, not alone in the administration of a survey, nor solely in the intimate interview, but in a mixed-methods approach that uses both conversation and statistical analysis to find out what young men say are their important tasks, their challenges, and their goals. Recognizing that any such description of a cultural domain must be specific to its local context, a population of American youth was sought that was expected to be, if not typical, then at least not obviously unusual in their life circumstances.

THE CULTURE OF PLACE

Setting

The Roanoke Valley lies between the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Appalachian Plateau, in the southwest corner of Virginia, on the central eastern seaboard of the United States. Within this valley, the City of Roanoke and the City of Salem are two distinct political entities lying adjacent to each other, surrounded by a third political entity, Roanoke County.

The City of Salem was originally chosen as a field site in part for convenience sake, but also because, among a number of convenient sites, it best approximated national averages on certain variables considered potentially influential in shaping a young person's view of life (Table 2). The proportion finishing high school is higher than the national average, and the poverty level and crime rate lower. However, where the proportion in Salem varies in one direction from the national average, the proportion in Roanoke tends to vary in the opposite direction. For example, the national violent crime rate for 2011 was 213.6 per 100,000 residents, while in Salem it was 65.9, and in Roanoke it was 318.5. Since the two cities blend into one another, the field site was expanded to Roanoke and northwestern areas of the county. It was expected that participants then would be able to represent a range of childhood environments typical of American youth.

Table 2. Comparison of Pertinent Variables from the 2010 Census and City-Data Crime Pages

	NATIONAL AVERAGES	SALEM	ROANOKE
persons under 5 yrs	6.4%	5.0%	7.2%
persons under 18	23.5%	19.9%	21.8%
persons 65 & older	13.7%	16.8%	14.4%
females	50.8%	52.2%	52.1%
white	77.9%	88.9%	66.1%
black	13.1%	7.3%	28.9%
living in same house 1 year ago	84.6%	83.6%	80.2%
foreign born	12.8%	5.3%	6.4%
finished high school	85.4%	87.9%	81.5%
bachelors	28.2%	30.1%	22.4%
homeowners	66.1%	69.0%	56.4%
Housing units in multi-unit structures	25.9%	22.4%	33.1%
home value	$186,200	$166,200	$131,800
per capita income	$27,915	$27,143	$23,023
median household income	$52,762	$48,050	$37,753
below poverty level	14.3%	9.4%	20.8%
violent crime rate -2011	213.6	65.9	318.5
unemployment	9.6%	7.1%	4.20%

Sources: Advameg 2013; U.S. Census 2010.

American Cultural Considerations

The study of young men in the Roanoke Valley is situated in the larger context of American culture, history, and economy. These subjects are, naturally, influenced by the norms and values promoted in national dialogues, and impressed either directly or indirectly by significant events in the life of the nation, as well as the ups and downs of the national economy (Mitchell 2006; Varenne 1986). The timing and outcome of decisions that young men make are affected by such cultural and historical factors as growing globalization, a job market that

increasingly demands post-secondary education, and changing norms regarding marriage and family (Mitchell 2006).

The United States is a predominantly English-speaking country, and some states (including Virginia) have made English the official state language (Virginia General Assembly 1996). It has a capitalist economy, and utilizes market exchange in distribution of goods (Nanda and Warms 2009). Comparative studies of national character indicate that Americans place high importance on the values of freedom, equality, choice, individualism, self-reliance, and rationality (Jansson 2003; Varenne 1986). As a result of political values that emphasize the importance of individual effort, many localities lack the broad public programs often seen in other industrialized societies, such as: centralized health care, efficient public transportation, or safety nets available to help people with limited means – which would include many young people who are trying to make their transition into adulthood (Brown 1990; Jaskyte and Dressler 2004). American society is informally stratified, and although the American dream of rising out of poverty through hard work and honest living persists, mobility between social classes has become increasingly more difficult (Nanda and Warms 2009). As in most complex societies, labor is highly specialized, and qualification for a good job generally requires specialized training (Nanda and Warms 2009). These structural considerations may account for the relatively late average age at which American youth leave their parents' homes, particularly during periods when the nation is experiencing economic downturns (Mitchell 2006).

Traditionally, the ideal American family is composed of a monogamous heterosexual couple, with their children conceived only after a marriage rite (Schneider and Homans 1955). Today, however, American youth are more likely than youth in other countries to be the children of divorced parents, with some estimating that 50 percent of American marriages end in divorce,

compared to 33 percent in Canada and just slightly more in Great Britain (Mitchell 2006). Since the 1960's, America has also experienced the "un-linking" of sex, marriage, and childbearing (Lundberg and Pollack 2007). The proportion of children living in single-parent households has tripled in the past half-century, and many of them have endured repeated transitions in the make-up of their families, such as a mother re-marrying, new half-siblings, or a father assuming custody (Johnson 1989; Lundberg and Pollack 2007). Extramarital pregnancies have become increasingly common, although the fathers are held financially accountable for the care of their offspring (Lundberg and Pollack 2007).

Cross-culturally, entry into adulthood can be marked by events such as initiations, marriage and a first job, or induction into military service. In American society, these lines are fluid and inconsistently recognized, or even reversible in the case of marriage and work. Unlike simple or traditional communities, in the United States these typical markers no longer occur in any particular order by which a person may clearly understand himself to be acting as an adult (Groth 2011; Pais 2000; Rankin and Kenyon 2008). Since colonial times (and even before), the European model of individual mate selection, monogamy, and neolocal marriage have prevailed in American society. Today, the standards of mate selection and family formation have expanded in terms of models available, although traditional views of what is permissible persist in many sub-groups (Alter 2013; Johnson 1989; Rankin and Kenyon 2008). American men in the post-adolescent period experience social pressure to become self-sufficient, but recent changes in the economy have made it more difficult to leave the parental home (Mitchell 2006). Uncertainty about what goals and behaviors are appropriate would be an anticipated result of these conflicting pressures on men who are legally adult, but not necessarily accorded all the status markers of adulthood in their daily lives.

Virginia Cultural Considerations

Political environment

The State of Virginia has considerable influence over the quality of life in the Roanoke Valley, and state-level factors are therefore taken into account. Virginia state government is distinct in that it has a city-county system – one lives either in a city or in a county, which are separate political entities. These are governed by either a board of commissioners or a city council, and the state operates under the Dillon Rule, a 19th century court ruling that gave state governments power over municipal governments (Grymes 2014; Neimeier 2009). Unlike most localities around the country, Virginia counties have successfully resisted efforts to give cities annexation power, thus forcing cities to negotiate with counties in matters such as cooperative emergency services, water and waste projects (Neimeier 2009). It also means that cities can lose their tax base, if they are not able prevent flight from the urban center into neighboring countryside.

Virginia is considered a "purple" state politically, the numerical advantage of its solidly Republican rural counties balanced by the Democratic tendencies of its growing urban areas. Most of the Democratic vote is concentrated in the strongly cosmopolitan area emanating from the District of Columbia in northern Virginia, and in the southeast urban port areas, where many military and other federal governmental institutes exist (Teixeira and Frey 2008). Conservative Democrats controlled state policies until the mid-60's, but since then Republicans and Democrats have more or less shared power (Teixeira and Frey 2008). Although the 1902 state constitution "disenfranchised both the state's blacks and half of the white electorate, including large numbers of Southwest Virginians" (Noe 1994:142), the constitution was rewritten in 1972

to accommodate the demise of the Jim Crow era and desegregation, and is still in effect today. That Virginians value government services, even though many complain of the cost, has resulted in the state's recognition by national organizations on many fronts, such as education, public housing, technology incorporation, and child support enforcement (Somashekhar 2008).

Economic environment

Virginia's economy was founded on tobacco and other kinds of agriculture. In the 20th century, manufacturing and federal government became important economic contributors, with Washington, D.C. in the northeast and multiple military establishments along the Chesapeake Bay (Richards 2007). Its chief manufactured goods for many decades were chemicals, tobacco products, processed foods, and textiles, but today the chief export is computer chips (Richards 2007). Important natural resources have been coal, timber, and the seaport at Hampton Roads. Tourism has also been influential, with an active campaign to draw in visitors to the state's many historical sites and to scenic natural areas. State policies have made it an attractive location for new business since the beginning of the new century (Badenhausen 2009; Cohn 2011).

Educational environment

Unlike many states, Virginia uses a state income tax in part to fund local school systems. In an assessment of overall school quality published by Education Week, Virginia was rated fourth in the country (Educational 2011). For young men in the class of 2013, the high school completion rate was 95 percent statewide, but only 88 percent finished on time, meaning that 7 percent received a GED or certificate of completion. This indicates an improvement over the class of 2008, whose completion rate was just under 87 percent (Virginia Department of

Education 2014b). Thus, education in the state overall has shown improvement during the five years since the older members of the sample graduated high school.

<center>Local Cultural Considerations</center>

History

Salem was one of the first white settlements west of Richmond and the first county seat, while Roanoke started as Big Lick, a trade depot just down the river (Anderson 2000; Dotson 2008). Historically, the most dramatic of issues in terms of resolution was certainly the early 1800's problem with East vs. West, which contributed to West Virginia splitting away at the time of the Civil War. In the mountainous western region, there was a culture of small landholders and pioneers, which clashed with the powerful eastern aristocracy (Noe 1994). Although "Southwest Virginia [was] surely the part of Appalachia most devoted to the Confederacy" (Noe 1994:6), Roanoke differed from many southern cities in that it attracted a large number of northern businessmen during the late 19th century. This was due in the greatest part to the arrival of the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, which met up with the Norfolk and Western in Roanoke, and drew numerous industries to the city (Chester 2000; Jones 2013).

The high proportions of Northerners, blacks, and hill people who came to the city meant that it was never a typically Southern Democratic population (Dotson 2008). Nonetheless, desegregation of the schools during the mid-20th century led to movement of white citizenry to the outskirts, and a deterioration of the city's downtown. Between 1950 and the 70's, the black neighborhoods just north of downtown changed physically, subjected to slum clearance efforts like the Commonwealth Project, which bulldozed poor neighborhoods, relocated residents, and

established business districts in their place (Jones 2013; Racine 2001). In Gainsboro, the mostly black neighborhood northwest of downtown, there was no bulldozing, but the schools were closed, streets were diverted, and easements for new thoroughfares imposed. Thriving local businesses withered from the loss of traffic. Coincidental with these changes came the decision of Norfolk Southern to transfer its headquarters to the coast, with ensuing layoffs (Jones 2013). By the 1970's, Roanoke was a dying post-manufacturing town, with deserted and deteriorating inner city shopping venues and neighborhoods (interview with Roanoke County administrative employee). Crime was rising, and so was unemployment.

Economic environment

Employment rates, educational opportunities, and community resources are important local factors that vary widely and affect young men's options (Mitchell 2007). The Roanoke area is distinct from other major urban areas of Virginia, but also from other Southwest Virginia localities, in terms of economic base, politics, and lifestyle.

The economy of Roanoke was built for many decades on the presence of rail activity. Norfolk and Western Railroad established its headquarters in the city in 1882, and the town became a hub for moving coal and timber out of southern and western Virginia (Dotson 2008; Noe 1994). During the 1980's, what remained of the area's textile manufacturing, tobacco, and apparel industry all but vanished (Dennis 2009). Although the railroad is still a strong presence (employing over 1500 workers), the departure of their corporate headquarters in the 1980's was a devastating blow (Jones 2013; "Norfolk Southern" 2013; Racine 2001).

The population examined in this study was born between 1989 and 1995, a period in which the economic structure of the United States was undergoing dramatic change. Large

companies were engaging in mergers and acquisitions, hostile takeovers, trading of junk bonds, and speculation in real estate. In twenty years, manufacturing jobs in the Southern U.S. went from 27.5 percent to 18 percent of all jobs, replaced by low-paying, low-skilled service jobs with no benefits. During the recession of the early 1990's, corporate restructuring had a profound effect on Virginian workers. "For the administrative assistants, data processors, mail-room clerks, and middle managers in Virginia, the defining experience of the era was the struggle to compensate for the collapse of the social contract" (Dennis 2009:60). The economic strain was accompanied by "a loss of dignity and self-worth". White men over forty (in 1990) suffered a blow to morale as their life plan evaporated – the good job with a good retirement no longer existed for mid-level employees, let alone for lower levels (Dennis 2009). This generation was at the same time raising the young men of the present study.

These changes in the economy were reflected by changes in employment in the Roanoke Valley. For example, several Virginia banks were bought and downsized by out-of-state financial firms, and most mid-level banking jobs in Roanoke were eliminated (Dennis 2009). Salem's meat-packing plant, owned and operated by a local family since 1933, was sold to a regional chain in 1992, and in 2006 the plant was permanently shut down. Even more recently, the company was sold to a foreign buyer, and the local sales office has been closed (Hibbert 2014; Valleydale 2004). Mergers of local business into larger conglomerates continued at the time of this study, as with the recent acquisition of Wachovia Bank by Wells Fargo. However, this no longer necessarily entails lay-offs (Sturgeon 2014). For example, a window manufacturing plant operating in the area since 1939 was bought by a national company in 2004, at which time the company had fewer than 350 employees ("Top 50" 2014), while today it has over 900 and is planning to hire even more ("Ply Gem" 2012).

Labor data show that in terms of unemployment Roanoke was sharply affected by first the September 11 attacks, then the financial industry collapse of 2008. During the 1980's, the unemployment rate dropped over six percent to under two percent. From 2001, the rate climbed towards five percent, then was headed downward again until the banking scandal hit, when it leaped to almost nine percent. In 2014, the unemployment rate continued a slow decline, and had gotten back in the range of five percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014).

A list of major employers in the area is dominated by health industry, school systems, and local government. Small manufacturing and regional service centers also play a role, but the majority of young people are employed in retail trade or hospitality (Virginia Employment Commission 2014). In Roanoke City, there are approximately 7800 inhabitants in the 19-24 age range, and approximately 7100 are employed (Virginia Employment Commission 2014).

Education

While there are, naturally, better and worse school districts in the Roanoke Valley, overall the educational system functions well. In addition to good K-12 schools, the area is served by an active early childhood education focus and numerous options for post-high school educational advancement. According to state reports, both Roanoke County and the City of Roanoke schools are meeting federal standards, but the county schools have begun lagging a little in terms of students who enter Advanced Placement programs (Virginia Department of Education 2014b). The mostly white and well-to-do neighborhoods of Salem, southern county, and northwest area schools have achieved statewide recognition for their excellence (Virginia Department of Education 2014a).

For secondary education, Roanoke is situated approximately one hour north of Virginia Tech, and two hours south of the University of Virginia. In addition to these large state universities, there are private schools like Hollins and Roanoke College, plus the city has a large and growing community college. Recently, the city has created a Center for Higher Education downtown, where local residents can take courses from a variety of area schools and universities all in one place.

Lifestyle

The entire area is endowed with natural beauty, and opportunities for outdoor recreation and tourism characterize life there. Both cities have worked to create abundant parks, including a greenway that follows the Roanoke River through both cities, and recreation departments that afford the residents endless kinds of teams to join, from slow-pitch softball to swimming and Frisbee (Groves, 2012). Baseball and softball are enormously popular – Salem has a minor league home team, and hosts softball tournaments all summer. For those who prefer individual sports, there are well-maintained bike trails both in town and in the surrounding state and national parks, skate parks, jogging trails, and opportunities to fish and canoe in the river.

Nonetheless, the city of Roanoke is among the least healthy of Virginia districts, rated 124th out of 130 state districts on health factors, and 116th on health outcomes (BRFSS 2012; Rankings 2012). The surrounding Roanoke County, and the City of Salem, rank far higher –ninth and 29th, respectively, in health factors, and 33rd and 35th in health outcomes. Tobacco use is quite high, with 26 percent claiming to use it in some form daily, but alcohol use is relatively low, with a mere 32 percent saying they had had a drink in last 30 days. Roanoke residents are among the heaviest in the state, with 75 percent having a BMI more than 25 (BRFSS 2012;

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Rankings 2012). Seventeen percent have been told by a health professional that they have diabetes, a relatively high rate among Virginia health districts.

In recent years – during the lifetimes of the study participants – the area has been undergoing somewhat of a renewal. Roanoke especially has seen the implementation of progressive policies in urban planning, education, and policing. Vacant old buildings downtown have been turned into apartments and community service buildings, shopping and entertainment venues, and museums, through combined efforts of private citizens with local, state, and federal programs. Beginning around 2002, city leaders and local developers who advocate for "placemaking" have put an emphasis on historic preservation, including renovation of old school buildings "…because they have served as anchors to the surrounding neighborhoods for generations" (The Roanoke Star 2011). The Roanoke Neighborhood Partnership, formed in the 1980's, has made a strong effort to create a sense of place and community in the city's various neighborhoods (Racine 2001), although there have been some problems with gentrification.

A major personnel overhaul in the city schools has led to improved test scores. The schools utilize a science-based sex education program, and local ordinances allow the sale of contraceptives to any person regardless of age (interview with Roanoke County official). Law enforcement utilizes community policing strategies and works closely with social services to aim for solutions rather than to punish (Johnson and Staples 2006). The Community Policy and Management Team, a state mandated program, pools the efforts of the local government, school system and social services. This joint project assists youth with special problems – such as drugs, sexual abuse, or mental health issues – who are referred to this program by school staff (Roanoke County 2014).

While these developments are clearly beneficial to many, and make the area increasingly more attractive to business and to young urbanites, some sectors of the community are lagging behind. Between the prospering downtown and the upper-middle class suburbs, areas of trouble exist, with shuttered shops, decaying old homes and housing projects, but the population that inhabits these areas maintain a sense of what Racine calls "a penchant for civility" (2001:232) that keeps the neighborhoods from devolving into blight (Racine 2001; Ryzik 2012).

The population for this study was found, therefore, in a place that is moderate in many ways. It is neither a disadvantaged community, nor one of extraordinary privilege. The political atmosphere and resultant policies are motivated by a preference for balance in fiscal policy, encouraging business interests while attending to the needs of the of the poor, and maintaining an infrastructure that allows for social mobility. It is found also at a time when opportunity is on the rise, but with a high probability that dramatic changes are in store, requiring vigilance and flexibility in the career path. In an era when new technologies expose the developing child to an amazing array of ideas and possibilities, the physical place where he is found may be less important to mental development than it was in traditional childhood. Finally, as new ways of thinking about families and relationships overtake the nation, the pursuit of intimacy may lead in directions un-dreamed of by his father.

METHODS

A cultural domain analysis begins with ascertaining elements of a cultural category that are shared in at least some degree by respondents within a particular social group – in the case of this study, this elicitation was accomplished by means of free listing and interviews. The next step is to determine relationships between those shared elements that constitute the cognitive structure of the domain – how people organize the elements of the domain in their thinking. For instance, people may think of these elements by order of importance, by chronological order, or as being divided into subcategories of similar items. This can be done using pile sorts, surveys, and rating or ranking tasks – this study used pile sorts and surveys with Likert scale response options.

Statistical analysis helps the researcher to explore the distribution of cultural knowledge and the dimensions of meaning by which it is organized among the respondents. Software has been designed to help in this specialized kind of analysis, which is called Anthropac (Borgatti 1996a). Cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling reveal the sharing of a pattern of association between items in the domain, and the interviews suggest how each grouping is labeled (Borgatti 1986b; Dressler 2009). Consensus analysis of the responses produces eigenvalues representing the degree of consensus that exists for three factors (Borgatti 1996b; Dressler 2009). The main model is represented by the first factor – if consensus exists about the domain, the first factor will be at least three times larger than the second factor (Borgatti 1996b). The analysis compares the degree to which each respondent's rankings or ratings correlate with

every other respondent's rankings or ratings. This process differs from simple compilation of survey results in that the responses of individuals who have more knowledge of the domain are weighted (Dressler 2009). If there is little correlation, there probably is not a model, but there may be evidence of a contested model, or of changing models (Caulkins and Hyatt 1999).

The output from Anthropac's consensus analysis includes an answer key with the culturally "correct" response for each survey item and a cultural competence score for each respondent that shows how closely their knowledge correlates with the rest of the group on each of the three factors (Borgatti 1996b). If the level of competence among all respondents is high, then it is evident the model is highly shared (Borgatti 1996b). Differences in mean scores between sub-groups, such as young-old or wealthier-poorer, may indicate patterns in the distribution of knowledge. Significant variation on the second factor indicates the presence of a secondary pattern of agreement among sub-cultural groups (Bosters and Johnson 1989).

The fieldwork for this study was conducted from May 17 through August 9, 2014, in the Roanoke Valley of southwest Virginia. The actual data collection period ran from June 31 to August 9, including analysis of the Phase 1 data and preparation of surveys derived from that data to be used in Phase 2. Analysis of the Phase 2 data was carried out between August 2014 and February 2015 at the campus of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa.

Participants were sought on the campus of Roanoke College, both through addresses to classrooms and recruitment flyers, at local churches, and at sports centers. Posting of recruitment flyers around town resulted in four interviews. A few were discovered by snowball method, but the remaining participants were recruited through convenience sampling in the City Market plaza, at public parks such as the Salem skate park, which is part of the Salem Parks and

Recreation facilities, or from sidewalk encounters. Every participant read and signed a consent

form. A gift voucher worth $10 to a local eatery was offered to each participant after the

interview.

Phase 1: Obtaining Elements of the Domain

The first fifteen respondents (n = 15) contributed the data for free-lists of goals and

processes involved in pursuing them. Their ages ranged from 19-25 ($\bar{x}$ = 22.4), with an even

distribution of college graduates (46.7%) and those who had not (yet) gone beyond high school

(53%). The sample was primarily Euro-American (80%), with three African American

participants (20%). Most participants were employed (73.3%), and those who were unemployed

(26.7%) were college students. Only one was married, but eight were in some kind of paired

relationship (53.3%), and six were single (40%). Two of the respondents had children. The

largest proportion (33.3%) lived with house- or room-mates; the remainder lived alone (20%),

with family (20%), or with a partner (13.3%). One was in transition between colleges and one

had no current residence (Table 3).

Table 3. Demographic Data for Phase 1 Participants

	Frequency	Percent
Respondent Age		
19	1	6.7
20	2	13.3
21	2	13.3
22	4	26.7
23	1	6.7
24	1	6.7
25	4	26.7
Total	15	100.0

Respondent Ethnicity

Euro-American	12	80.0
African-American	3	20.0
Total	15	100.0

Employment status

not working	4	26.7
hospitality worker	3	20.0
retail sales worker	2	13.3
work in other field	6	40.0
Total	15	100.0

Educational status

Did not graduate High School	1	6.7
High School graduate or GED	5	33.3
In college or trade school	1	6.7
Starting college or trade school this fall	1	6.7
Have bachelor's degree	1	6.7
In graduate school or have graduate degree	6	40.0
Total	15	100.0

Relationship status

Single	6	40.0
Partnered (not cohabiting)	5	33.3
Live with partner	3	20.0
Other	1	6.7
Total	15	100.0

Residence status

Live alone	3	20.0
Live with parents	2	13.3
Live with other family	1	6.7
Live with partner	2	13.3
Live with housemate (s)	5	33.3
Other	2	13.3
Total	15	100.0

After the preliminary structured demographic interview (Appendix A), respondents were asked first to list all the goals they thought young men in the area might have, then to elaborate on what is involved in pursuing those goals (Appendix B). It was emphasized to them that these should not be personal goals, but things that "everyone knows" are important. Prompts included

questions about (1) what short and long-term goals might be, (2) what behaviors or characteristics were identified with being an adult, (3) what was important to avoid, and (4) what young men typically spend their energy on.

After obtaining a list of domain items this way, a semi-structured interview was conducted, seeking more biographical background and thoughts about the processes involved in pursuing the goals the respondent had mentioned. The respondent was asked what a person would need to do if he wanted to go to college, how a person should go about getting a job, and if there were preliminary steps he would need to take. He was asked about problems people typically encountered with either staying in college or keeping a job. He was asked about social support – whether there is anyone who helps young men figure out what they need to do or guides them through processes like applying to school. If starting a family were a goal, how would a young man prepare himself to be a husband and father? The respondents were also asked specifically about the role, if any, that their own father played in their lives, or if there was someone else they turned to for assistance. These responses were recorded by hand and transcribed to a laptop later.

When fifteen interviews had been concluded, the demographic response sheets, goals free lists, and processes interviews were amalgamated separately. The demographic data was transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet. Anthropac software (Borgatti 1996a) was used to analyze the free-list responses, resulting in a list of 92 domain items sorted by frequency of mention. Thirty items were mentioned by at least two respondents, and these were selected for use in the pile-sorting exercise (Table 4). These same items were used to create a survey, by converting the item to a statement about its importance (Appendix C). For example, if the item was "Pursue a career", the statement was "Getting and building your career is a major goal for most young

men," which was a typical statement respondents had made during their interview. Responses to this "goals survey" were given in a range of agreement on a four-point Likert scale.

Table 4. Free-list Items, with Percent of Respondents (n = 15) Who Included Them

Item	Percentage
PURSUE_CAREER	40
MOVE_OUT	33
GET_DEGREE	33
BE_RESPONSIBLE	33
STEADY_JOB	33
AVOID_DRUGS	27
DONTFOLLOWCROWD	27
EDUCATION	27
START_FAMILY	27
MANAGE_MONEY	27
SUPPORT_FAMILY	27
MATURITY	20
INDEPENDENCE	20
AVOID_CRIME	20
HAVE_PARTNER	20
AVOID_ARREST	20
GOOD_REPUTATION	13
NO_UNWANTED_KIDS	13
SUPPORT_SELF	13
GET_LAID	13
WORK	13
BE_RESPECTED	13
NO_FIGHTING	13
GET_MONEY	13
HAVE_COURAGE	13
FIND_DIRECTION	13
RESPECT_WOMEN	13
HAVE_FUN	13
AVOID_TROUBLE	13
GOOD_JOB	13

Another survey was constructed from the responses to the process questions in the second half of the interview (Appendix D). Although the responses in these interviews were generally

more complicated, several themes recurred. Seventy-seven items were coded and then analyzed

with Anthropac's free-list program (Borgatti 1996a). The top six items on the resulting list had

been mentioned by three or more interviewees – these were used in the process survey (Table 5).

Table 5. Results of Free-list of "Process" Statements, with Percent of Respondents (n = 15) Who Included Them.

ITEM	RESPONDENT PERCENT
WORK_ETHIC	40
FINANCIAL_AID	27
GET_EXPERIENCE	20
APPLY_TO_SCHOOLS	20
GET_DEGREE	20
BE_PUNCTUAL	20
HAVE_AMBITION	13
MAKE_MONEY	13
MAINTAIN_GRADES	13
GET_CERTIFIED	13
PRIORITIZE_FUN_WORK	13
MAKE_CONNECTIONS	13
LOOK_AT_COLLEGES	13
COMMUNITY_COLLEGE	13
SERIOUS_STUDENT	13
STUDY_HARD	13
KNOW_WHATS_IMPT	13
SAVE_MONEY	13
TAKE_INITIATIVE	13
INVESTIGATE_CAREER	13
APPLY_IN_PERSON	13
TAKE_ENTRY_TESTS	13
APPLY_FOR_JOBS	13
CHOOSE_CAREER	13

In addition, the interview notes were searched for assertions made about the process of

goal-setting and goal-pursuit. Such ideations were made into declarative statements that roughly

quoted something an interviewee in Phase 1 had said. For example, in talking about choosing a

career, more than one interviewee mentioned the importance of balancing work with family life, and of keeping this in mind when deciding what kind of career they would pursue. This ideation resulted in a declarative statement for the survey: "In choosing a career, it is important to think about how it will affect your family life." Forty such statements made up a "process survey" with four-point Likert scale responses. The four-point scale is preferred because it discourages over-thinking on any question, while requiring the participant to choose and not avoid the question.

Phase 2: Data Collection

For the second phase, the thirty items from the goals free-list were written on index cards, and two surveys were produced as described in the previous section – one to allow rating of the goals, the other to allow rating of items relevant to the processes associated with such goals. The wording of each survey statement was adapted from comments made by interview participants, with only the alteration necessary to make a complete sentence with which a person could agree or disagree. Respondents (n = 29) were sought by convenience sampling and snowball sampling, similar to Phase 1. However, permission was also obtained during this phase to seek recruits at a locally-owned rock-climbing gym, the River Rock. Additionally, two of the participants in Phase 2 had also participated in Phase 1 (Figure 1).
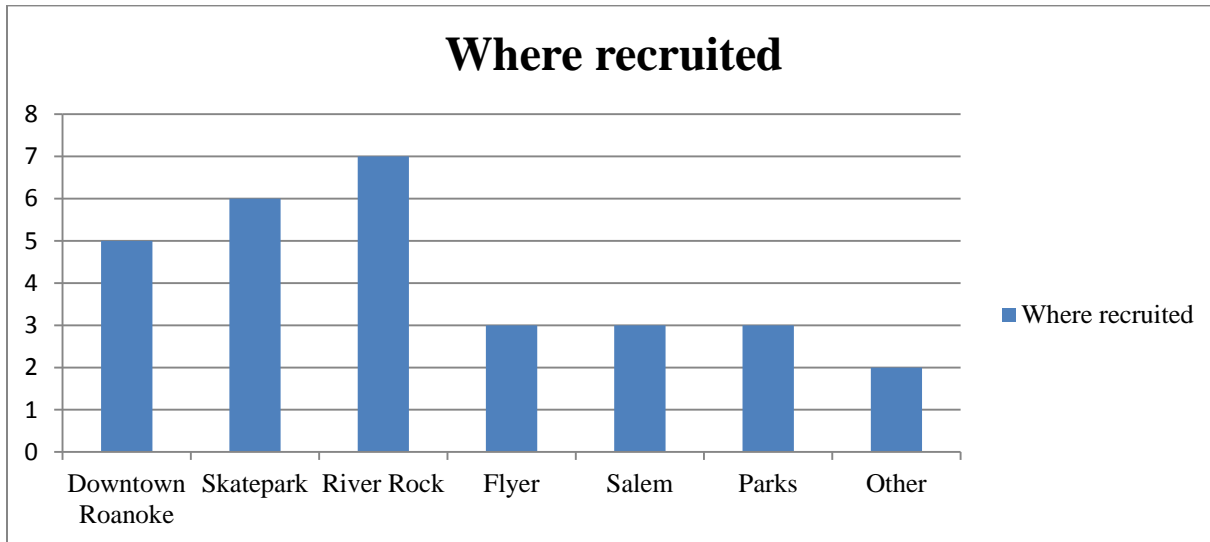
Figure 1. Recruitment Sites for Phase 2 Participants

Each participant in this phase signed a consent form, responded to a structured demographic survey, sorted the index cards into pile by similarity, then filled out both the goal ranking survey and the process ranking survey. When completed, each participant received a $10 gift voucher to a local pizzeria.

The ages in this group ranged from 19-25 ($\bar{x} = 21.24$), primarily of Euro-American descent, with one African American, one Hispanic, and one mixed-ethnicity participant. Sixteen had no more than high school education (44.8%), while thirteen had gone or were going to trade school or college (55.2%) (Table 6). The majority was employed (75.9%), and although Labor Department statistics indicate that most young people are employed in hospitality, leisure, or retail sales, these industries accounted for only half of the employment in the sample (Virginia Employment Commission 2014). The majority were single (58.6%), only one was married, and the remainder (34.4%) were in a relationship (one respondent refused to answer). Four respondents had children (13.8%), and one was expecting a child. A majority (55.2%) lived with

family, four lived alone (10.3%), one was in transition, and the remainder had roommates or

housemates, including partners (31%).

Table 6. Demographic Data for Phase 2 Participants

		Frequency	Percent
Respondent Ages			
	19	6	20.7
	20	7	24.1
	21	5	17.2
	22	4	13.8
	23	1	3.4
	24	4	13.8
	25	2	6.9
	Total	29	100.0
Relationship status			
	Single	17	58.6
	Married	1	3.4
	Partnered (not cohabiting)	6	20.7
	Live with partner	3	10.3
	Other	2	6.9
	Total	29	100.0
Time lived in the area			
	Grew up here	16	55.2
	Moved here before age ten	6	20.7
	Moved here after the age of ten	5	17.2
	Total	27	93.1
Missing		2	6.9
Total		29	100.0

After the demographic interview, each respondent was given a shuffled deck of thirty

index cards, each with a word or short description of an item from the Phase 1 free-list on one

side, and a number on the back. They were asked to sort the cards into stacks according to

similarity – "which things are similar to each other?" They were told they could make as many piles as they wished, then the investigator picked up each pile in turn, asking the respondent to explain what he would call that pile, or why he had put these items together. His responses were noted, and the numbers from the backs were used to record quickly which cards went in which piles. The deck was shuffled between interviews.

Next, the respondent completed both surveys, circling a response for each statement: "Agree strongly", "Agree", "Disagree", or "Disagree strongly". Questions about the survey statements were usually manageable with the explanation that this statement was something one of their peers had said, and should be taken at face value. When put into the context of being something another young man had verbalized, it seemed easier for them to decide whether they agreed. The data collected in the field was jotted down by hand, and transcribed into a word processor at night.

RESULTS

The purpose of this investigation was to discover whether there was a consensus among young men in the Roanoke Valley regarding the cultural model of what they should be doing with their lives during this age period of 19-25. The two surveys regarding goals and processes provided data that could be used to conduct a cultural consensus analysis. Anthropac (Borgatti 1986a) was used first to analyze the pile sorts and the Likert scale responses from the each survey, then the analysis of variance was used to identify any significant differences along demographic variables.

Mapping the Domain

After completing the data collection period, the demographic information and survey answers were entered into SPSS, and the pile-sorting data was analyzed using Anthropac's pile-sort, cluster analysis, and multi-dimensional scaling functions (Borgatti 1996a). The pile-sort program determines how often people put any two cards in the same group – a measure of agreement about the similarity of those two items. Cluster analysis produces a diagram that reveals patterns in how frequently each pile-sort item was associated with each other item. Multi-dimensional scaling plots these relationships onto a graph in which items that were frequently sorted together appear in close proximity (Figure 2). The pile sort data were scaled in two dimensions, with a resultant stress of 0.154, indicating an acceptable fit to the data. Most of the

items fall into one of four main categories: (1) Career and Getting Money, (2) Attributes of a Successful Man, (3) Your Intimate Life, and (4) Staying out of Trouble. The fifth category, Have Fun, was usually sorted into its own category.
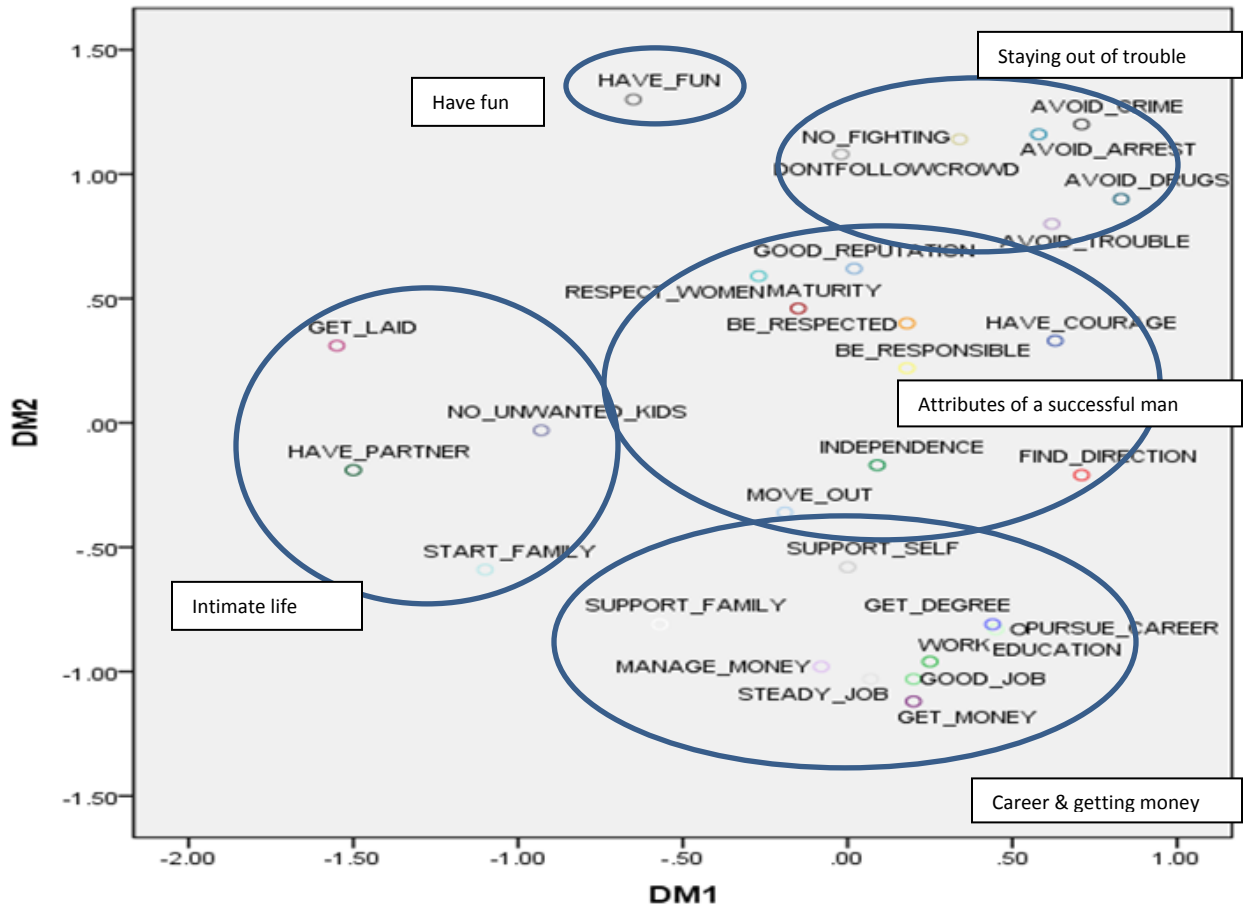
Figure 2. Multi-Dimensional Map of Pile-Sort Items. Stress in Two Dimensions Is 0.154

When looking at this map, it is noted that the top right grouping are things that young men should be doing to avoid the worst possible outcomes (getting arrested, for example), and the bottom right grouping are things they should be doing to ensure the best possible outcomes (getting money, having a good job). Remembering that participants were initially asked to list "things that young men should be doing," and these items (which imply activities) appear to be

ranged vertically on the dimension of positive versus negative social outcomes, with 'have courage' and 'find direction' falling somewhat in the middle, since the actual outcome of such behaviors is nebulous.

Horizontally, the items appear to move through a spectrum of involvement with other people. At the far right, 'finding direction' is a highly personal activity, as is "having courage." "Getting laid" and "having a partner" are intensely social, while the activities of "being responsible", "moving out (of parents' home)", and "being respected" are all things that involve other people, without the element of intimacy found in items farther left.

Cultural consensus analysis utilizes the Likert responses to the surveys, coded as continuous variables, to calculate eigenvalues that suggests the presence (or not) of a widely shared cultural model for the domain in question. According to Borgatti (1996b), the eigenvalue of the first factor should be three times that of the second factor, if a coherent cultural model is to be inferred. A score is also calculated for each participant that represents his personal competency in the shared model. A wide range of scores among participants raises the possibility of a subset within the model, what is called *residual agreement* (Kempton et al. 1995).

The Shared Model

The response data for both surveys were entered into Anthropac, and a modest consensus was indicated (ratio of the first-to-second eigenvalue = 4.3, mean competence = .494 ± .127, range = .20 - .71) (Figure 3). The answer key provides a list of scores derived from all of the responses to each survey item, weighted by the responses of individuals demonstrating higher

competence in knowledge of the model. By looking at these scores, then, we can determine the

relative importance of survey statements within the model.
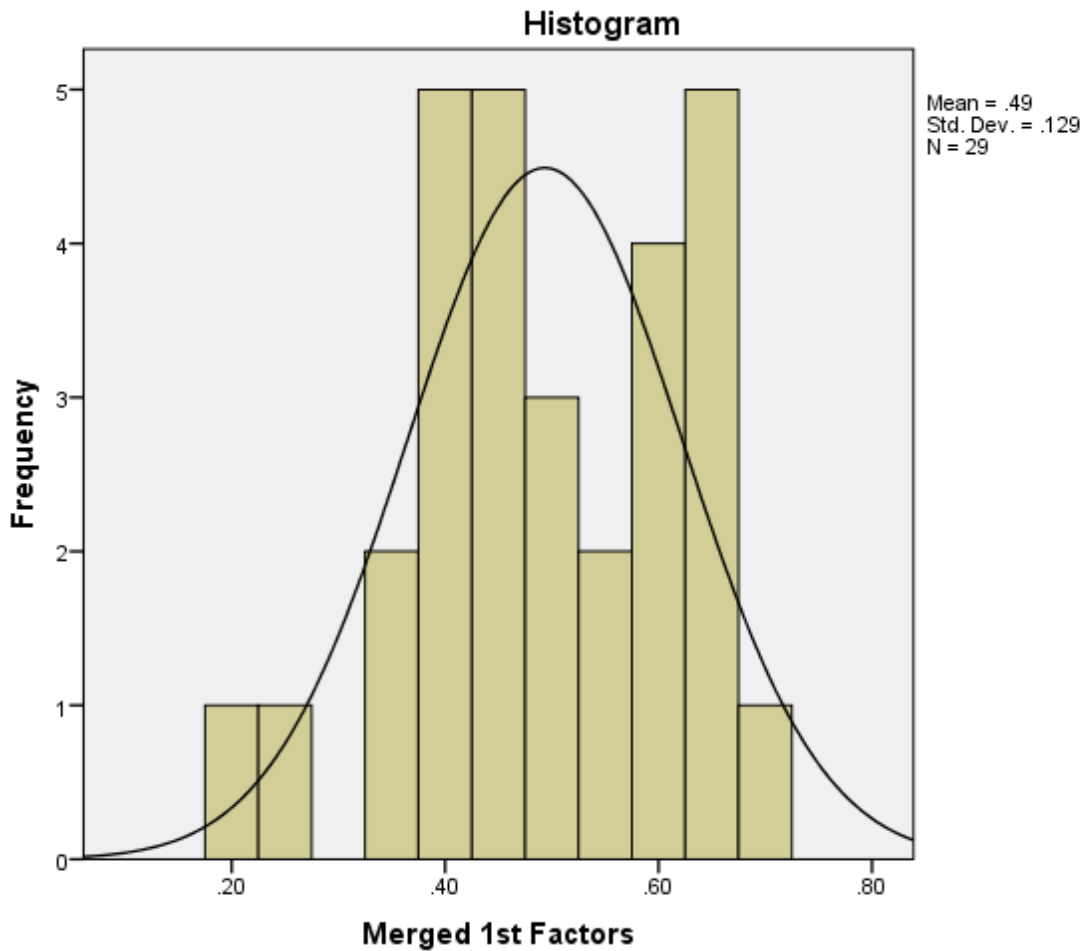
Figure 3. Distribution of Cultural Competency Scores in Life Goals Model

Of the seventy statements used in the surveys, nine of them received an answer key score

above 3.5, indicating a strong level of agreement. It is interesting to note than none of these have

anything to with preparation for a career or getting a job, although being able to support one's

family was often related to "getting money" in the pile-sorting. Consistent with what Erikson

(1963) might have predicted, six of these nine statements are about internal attributes, character

traits, or self-identity: (1) showing responsibility, (2) respecting women, (3) having courage and believing in oneself, (4) being willing to take initiative, (5) controlling one's impulses, and (6) finding some purpose or direction in life. Two of them are about the intimate life of family and relationships, particularly about being responsible in planning one's family, and two items from other categories are very much related to this – supporting your partner and children, and respecting women (Table 7).

Fifty-one items on the list have a score that falls in the range of moderate agreement (2.5 – 3.5), and the highest proportion (43%) of these are related to career, education, and making money. Primarily, they agreed on the importance of getting a good job, or at least a steady job, and that starting a career one way or another is a major goal for most young men. More than one mentioned, and the model indicates most concurred, that it is important to consider how one's choice of career will affect family life. They agreed that one has to get money somehow – it might be necessary to start with a job one does not like, but one should not hesitate to walk in and ask for the job one wants. More agreement was found for the statement "It's not hard to find work, but finding a good job is difficult" than for "It is hard to find work in this area". Most agreed that it is important for a young man to be working, and that showing up for work on time was an important component of success.

There were concerns about support during the transition to adulthood. Moving out of the parental home and being able to support oneself garnered high agreement, but there was concern about the problem of learning how to manage one's money. There was also some agreement that finding someone to help you figure out how to do find a job or get into school can be difficult.

With regard to entering the workforce, they did agree that if one does not go to college right after high school, one should get trained in skilled work, and that those who do not get a college education are likely to spend their lives in physical labor. Most thought that it was best to get a college degree or some other kind of formal education. It was generally agreed that if one decides to go back to school later, community college is the best place to start. With regard to the process of getting into school, getting good advice poses a problem for some, but most agreed that the primary task is to get the application in, while the importance of obtaining financial aid or maintaining a good grade average garners less support.

Twenty-two percent (22%) of the items in this zone of moderate agreement have to do with the young man's internal qualities and interpersonal behavior. A surprisingly high level of support was found for the idea that "a lot of people today feel like they are entitled to things without having to really work for it". Similarly, little opposition was found for the assertions that: "a lot of guys have problems at this age because they are just being lazy". Valued traits included being respected as a man, not following the crowd, maintaining a good reputation, keeping physically fit, and showing maturity. Echoing the strong concern with finding one's purpose, there was found at the lower end of this range some agreement that the search for happiness, self-doubt, and indecision about what one wants for one's life are widespread issues.

Things that could get a young man in trouble were clearly a concern in this population, and were expressed in this range of moderate agreement (18%), but perspectives varied widely. A high level of agreement existed for the essential idea that one needs to stay out of trouble, and that most people know being arrested would constitute a major problem, but also that many young men fail to think about the consequences of their actions. Additionally, taking care not to

follow the crowd got a high score, while avoiding illegal behaviors and staying out of fights were seen as important by most respondents.

The question of drug use was raised obliquely with the statement "too much partying messes up a lot of young men's plans", and more directly with "getting caught up in drugs is a problem for a lot of young men", both of which found overall agreement. However, there was an underwhelming level of concurrence with the statement "most young men can make sure they don't get into trouble with the police". This discrepancy may be explained by the high level of agreement on learning to control one's impulses.

Statements about the realm of the intimate life – family and relationships – make up sixteen percent (16%) of this range. Respondents mostly agreed that much effort is spent trying to gain the attention of women, while somewhat fewer thought that finding a partner is a major goal. (It was not asked, but none of the young men interviewed gave any indication of preferring male romantic partners. Care was taken to use gender-neutral language in the interviews, and the statement about seeking specifically female attention was raised spontaneously by some of the Phase 1 respondents.) More respondents agreed that partners were found in one's circle of friends than that partners were usually found at clubs (not on the internet, interestingly). Within this category, it was revealed that the problem of men becoming fathers before they are ready is considered an issue in the area. Most of them agreed this was not the time to be thinking about starting a family, yet not surprisingly, for many of them having a good sex life was still important.

"One of the main goals of a young man is just to have some fun ". This concept came up in at least two of the Phase 1 interviews, and met with general agreement. It was sometimes

associated with the "intimate life" category, and sometimes with "staying out of trouble", but quite often was placed in a category by itself.

The model includes ten items (7%) for which the consensus was disagreement – the answer key yielded a score of 2.5 or less for the statement. A few of these are really things with which almost all respondents disagreed, but many of them are contested statements, with a wide range of strong or moderate agreement and disagreement across respondents. Few respondents agreed with the following statements:

- Everyone understands that you need to stay away from illegal drugs

- You have to know somebody to get a good job

- You have to work two jobs to make enough money

- Gangs are a problem for young men in this area

However, responses varied widely regarding problems with gaining experience in one's career and about the availability of help learning how to manage one's money. As noted previously, respondents disagreed with each other about the importance of getting financial aid and maintaining good grades in school. They disagreed also about the acceptability of using drugs, and finally, they disagreed on whether young men are thinking about starting families at this point in their lives.

Table 7. Domain Items from Total Survey Responses, with Mean Response Values for Both College-Oriented and Non-College-Oriented Men. (*Bold lines separate strong agreement, moderate agreement, and disagreement sections*)

Total Data	Total Answer Key		College Oriented	Non-College Oriented
BERSPBL	3.87	An important part of being an adult is showing responsibility	3.92	3.81
RESPWMN	3.84	Men should be respectful toward women	3.92	3.75

FAMPLAN	3.81	You've got to be sure you don't have kids until you are ready and can take care of them	3.92	3.69
FAMPLAN	3.78	It's important to have a stable household and finances before you start having children	3.69	3.81
COURAGE	3.67	You have to have courage to face challenges and to believe in yourself	3.77	3.5
INITIVE	3.65	Taking the initiative in going after what you want is important	3.77	3.56
SUPFMLY	3.64	A man needs to be able to support his family (his wife or partner and any children)	3.38	3.69
IMPULSE	3.63	Knowing how to control your impulses is an important part of becoming an adult	3.69	3.56
PURPOSE	3.56	A lot of young men are just trying to find some purpose or direction for their lives	3.85	3.38
TROUBLE	3.44	Whatever goals you are pursuing, you need to be sure you stay out of trouble	3.08	3.63
GOODJOB	3.44	Every guy needs to find a good job	3.23	3.38
MOVEOUT	3.42	One of the main goals young men have is to move out of their parents' house and get their own place	3.38	3.44
STDYJOB	3.39	Finding a steady job is very important to a young man	3.46	3.31
SUPSELF	3.38	It's important to be able to support yourself without your family's help	3.31	3.31
PROMPT	3.34	Successful people make sure they show up on time	3.38	3.31
ENTITLD	3.33	A lot of people today feel like they are entitled to things without having to really work for it	3.31	3.19
SKILLED	3.31	If you don't go to college, you should get certified for some kind of skilled work	3.08	3.31
CNSQNCE	3.31	People run into trouble by not thinking about consequences, living too much in the present	3.15	3.25
ARREST	3.30	Most guys know not to get arrested for anything if they want to get anywhere with their lives	3.38	3.19
STRTJOB	3.30	If you want to have a good job, you might have to start with a job you don't enjoy	3.23	3.31
CROWD	3.29	It's important to not just follow the crowd	3.31	3.25
BALANCE	3.24	In choosing a career, it is important to think about how it will affect your family life	3.15	3.25
GFFRNDS	3.24	Most people find a girlfriend or partner through their circle of friends	3.31	3.13
ASKJOB	3.24	If you want a job, you have to walk in and ask for it	3.23	3.31
CRIME	3.23	It's important not to do things that are illegal	2.69	3.5
LAZY	3.20	A lot of guys have problems at this age because they are just being lazy	3.08	3.13
PARTY	3.16	Too much partying messes up a lot of young men's plans	3.15	3.06
BERSPCT	3.13	It's important to be respected as a man	3.00	3.06
INDPDNC	3.11	It is important for a young man to be independent from his parents and family	2.77	3.19
BBYDADY	3.08	Having children before they are ready is a problem for lots of young men around here	2.77	3.31

WOMEN	3.07	Most of what young men spend their energy on is geared toward getting female attention	3.00	3.13
DRGPRBM	3.06	Getting caught up in drugs is a problem for a lot of young men in this area	2.77	3.19
SELFDBT	3.06	Self-doubt is a big problem for a lot of young men	3.08	3.13
MONEY	3.05	A young man has to get money some way	3.00	3.00
UNDREMP	2.96	It's not hard to find work, but finding a good job is difficult	2.85	3.06
REPUTE	2.95	You need to worry about having a good reputation	2.85	3.00
COMMCOL	2.95	If you want to go back to school, start at a community college first	2.77	3.06
MATURE	2.94	Being an adult means showing maturity – putting childhood behind you	2.85	2.81
GETDGRE	2.94	Getting a college degree is important to being successful	3.00	2.94
FRMLED	2.93	One of the most important things to do is to get a formal education	3.00	2.81
CAREER	2.91	Getting and building your career is a major goal for most young men	3.08	2.81
FIGHTS	2.90	Men should not get into fights	2.92	2.88
MNYMGMT	2.87	Learning how to manage your money is a real problem	3.00	2.88
FATHERS	2.85	Your own father shows you how to be a husband and father	3.08	2.50
NOGOALS	2.84	A lot of young men don't really have any goals	2.77	2.81
FITNESS	2.83	Working out and keeping fit is a high priority for most guys	2.92	2.75
HAVEFUN	2.80	One of the main goals of a young man is just to have some fun	3.08	2.69
LGLTRBL	2.77	Most young men can make sure they don't get into trouble with the police	2.85	2.69
SINGLE	2.76	Most guys at this point in their lives are not thinking about starting a family	2.93	2.63
HAPPY	2.7	If you aren't happy, you can't make anyone else happy	3.00	2.50
PARTNER	2.69	A major goal is to find and have a partner or girlfriend	2.69	2.69
APPLY	2.68	The most important thing if you want to go to college is to get your application in	2.69	2.63
GFCLUBS	2.66	Most people find a girlfriend or partner by going out to clubs and other social events	2.62	2.69
DREAMS	2.65	Young men spend a lot of time thinking about what they want to do with their lives	2.85	2.44
UNEMP	2.63	It is hard to find work in this area	3.00	2.63
LABORER	2.61	If you don't go to college you'll have to work harder physically all your life	2.62	2.63
WORK	2.59	The main thing a young man should be doing is working	2.23	2.81
DEGREE	2.58	Getting a college degree is one of the most important things a young man should do	2.46	2.56
GUIDNCE	2.57	Finding someone to help you figure out how to find a job or get into school can be a problem	2.85	2.44
SEXLIFE	2.56	Having a good sex life is one of the main goals of a young man	2.54	2.69

FAMILY	2.42	Men at this age are starting to think about having a family	2.23	2.56
GRADES	2.41	You have to get a certain level of grades in school if you want to be successful as an adult	2.31	2.44
BUDGETS	2.40	There is no one teaching young men how to manage their money	2.62	2.25
FINAID	2.39	The most important thing if you want to go to college is getting financial aid	2.31	2.50
DRGSOK	2.39	Using drugs sometimes is not a problem – getting arrested with them is the problem	2.85	2.19
EXPRNCE	2.38	Knowing how to get experience in your career is a problem	2.92	2.06
DRUGS	2.37	Everyone understands that you need to stay away from illegal drugs	2.46	2.13
NETWORK	2.24	You have to know somebody to get a good job	2.46	2.13
TWOJOBS	2.11	You have to work two jobs to make enough money	2.15	2.13
GANGS	1.96	Gangs are a problem for young men in this area	2.08	1.94

Sub-Group Differences

With a broad range of competence scores (Figure 3), it was expected that comparisons of mean scores among the demographic variables would reveal some non-random variation in patterns of response. The competence coefficients (first factor) and residual agreement coefficients (second factor) were compared among the sub-groups to determine if any significant difference of means could be identified. The highest ranges of scores are in bold font, and the lowest are italicized (Table 8).

Table 8. Respondent Competence Scores on First and Second Factors of Consensus Analysis (names are fictive).

Respondent	Factor 1	Factor 2
Alex	*0.23*	0.07
Bill	**0.64**	*-0.38*
Chris	**0.59**	**0.36**
Don	**0.58**	0.06
Ed	0.55	-0.04

Fred	0.34	0.04
Greg	**0.66**	-0.03
Henry	0.5	0.19
Ike	**0.65**	*-0.24*
Jim	0.46	0.22
Keith	0.53	0.12
Lou	**0.64**	-0.03
Mike	0.38	0.36
Ned	0.42	*-0.48*
Owen	**0.62**	-0.15
Pete	0.44	0.18
Quinn	*0.2*	0.27
Rob	0.45	-0.19
Sam	0.41	0.07
Tom	0.42	**0.39**
Uri	0.43	0.09
Vic	0.51	0.09
Will	**0.63**	*-0.35*
Xavier	**0.61**	*-0.34*
Yul	0.35	**0.33**
Zeke	**0.71**	-0.22
Asa	0.52	-0.11
Bob	0.4	0.3
Cedric	0.44	**0.33**

Since the sample was relatively small (n = 29), most of the demographic variables were recoded into dichotomies. A statistically significant difference was found in only one of the demographic variables. Comparisons of means yielded significant results (p < .033) between college-oriented (.44) and non-college-oriented (.54) men on the first factor (Tables 10, 11).

College-oriented made up 45 percent of the sample, and included those who had either received education beyond high school (including trade school), or were headed for college in the fall of 2014. Non-college-oriented were 55 percent of the sample, and included those who had a high school education or less (Table 9).

Table 9. Frequency Table for Educational Status Categories

Educational status		Frequency	Percent
Did not graduate High School		3	10.3
High School graduate or GED		13	44.8
In college or trade school		8	27.6
Starting college or trade school this fall		2	6.9
Have bachelor's degree		1	3.4
In graduate school or have graduate degree		2	6.9
Total		29	100.0

Table 10. Statistics for College-Oriented vs Non-College-Oriented on Answer Key (overall mean = 4.94)

Group Statistics					
	College vs non-college	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total data 1st Factor	non-college	16	.5388	.11254	.02813
	college	13	.4377	.12950	.03592

Table 11. T-test Results for College-Oriented vs Non-College-Oriented on Answer Key

		Levene's Test				
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Total data 1st Factor	Equal variances assumed	.001	.975	2.248	27	.033

The size of the sample precluded further statistical analysis, so subsequent explorations were intended to describe the nature of the differences. T-tests were run on each survey item with "Educational Orientation" as the independent variable. This revealed 8 of 70 items for which there was a significant difference in mean between college-oriented and non-college-oriented. Five other items exhibited large differences between means but failed to achieve statistical significance due to high variability (Figure 4) (Figure 5, p.67).
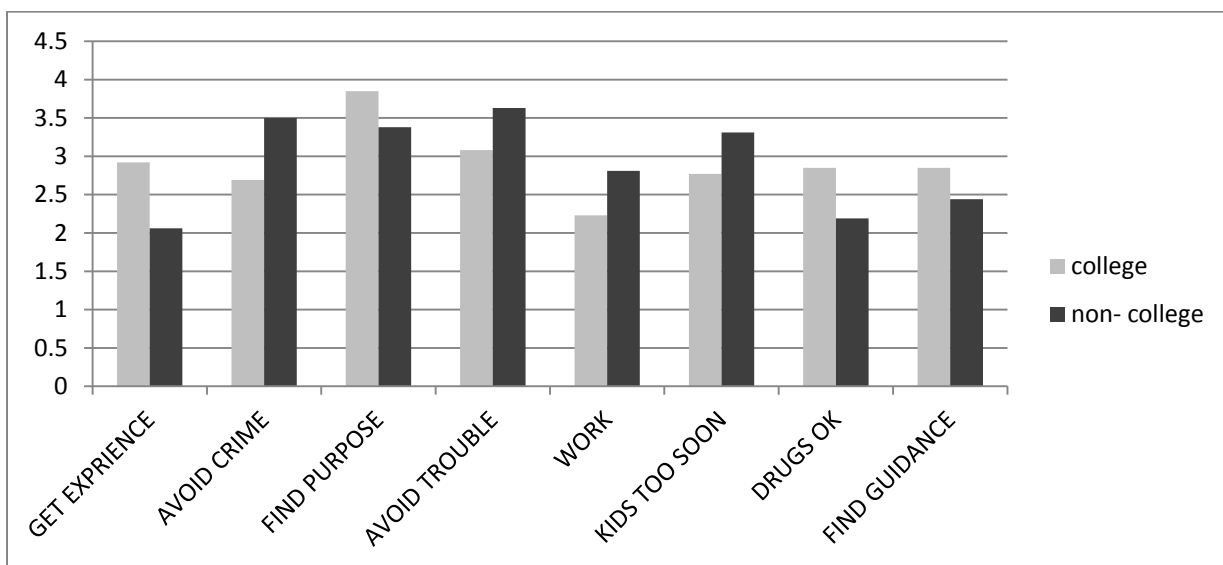
Figure 4. Items with Significant Difference of Mean between College and Non-College Oriented.

The survey statements associated with significant differences are:

- Knowing how to get experience in your career is a problem (mean difference = 0.86, p < .002)

- It's important not to do things that are illegal (mean difference = 0.81, p < .007)

- A lot of young men are just trying to find some purpose or direction for their lives (mean difference = 0.47, p > .014)

- Whatever goals you are pursuing, you need to be sure you stay out of trouble (mean difference = 0.55, $p < .027$)

- The main thing a young man should be doing is working (mean difference = 0.58, $p < .032$)

- Having children before they are ready is a problem for lots of young men around here (mean difference = 0.54, $p < .037$)

- Finding someone to help you figure out how to do find a job or get into school can be a problem (mean difference = 0.41, $p < .078$)

- Using drugs sometimes is not a problem – getting arrested with them is the problem (mean difference = 0.66, $p < .084$)

College-oriented respondents indicated more agreement with the items that young men have difficulty knowing how to get work experience, figure out a purpose, and obtain guidance as they look for work or apply to school. They were less likely to think that it is important to stay out of trouble and not to break laws, including laws regarding the use of illegal drugs. Non-college-oriented men were more likely to think that the main thing a young man should do is to work, and they were more concerned about the problem of having children before they are ready.
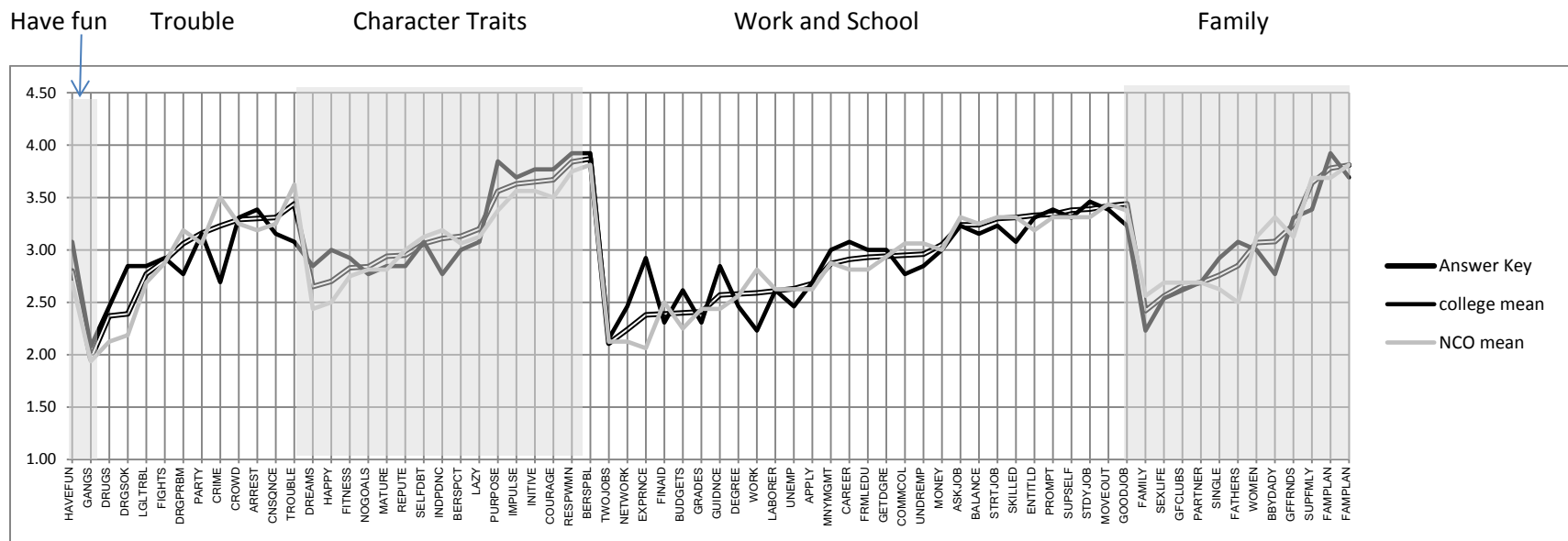
**Figure 5. Mean Scores for College and Non-College Men, Arranged by Category**

Exploring Categories of the Domain

The five main categories of the domain are reviewed below, along with descriptions of the differences between respondents by educational status (Figure 2, p.53). For full description of each category, the piles obtained in the sorting of goal items were expanded by the addition of items from the process survey. Any items that were not consistently grouped together were duplicated. Each pile was then examined to see which of the included items garnered the most agreement (according to the answer key), which showed less agreement, and contrasts in the way college-oriented versus non-college-oriented groups scored them.

Career and getting money

Not surprisingly, this was the largest of the five main categories. The core elements of this group were: "Getting a college degree is one of the most important things a young man should do ", "One of the most important things to do is to get a formal education", "Finding a steady job is very important to a young man", "Every guy needs to find a good job", "A young man has to get money some way", and "Getting and building your career is a major goal for most young men". There was general but not strong agreement on all of these items. Also included in this pile was "The main thing a young man should be doing is working" – not surprisingly, college-oriented tended more to disagree with the statement.

Some respondents categorized with this the items having to do with independence, self-support, family support, and moving out of the parental home. Concerns about money management were also grouped here. Nineteen items from the Process Survey, which were not included in the pile-sorts, are related to this category:

- Taking the initiative in going after what you want is important.

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- If you want to have a good job, you might have to start with a job you don't enjoy.

- Successful people make sure they show up on time.

- If you want a job, you have to walk in and ask for it.

- In choosing a career, it is important to think about how it will affect your family life.

- If you don't go to college, you should get certified for some kind of skilled work.

- It's not hard to find work, but finding a good job is difficult.

- If you want to go back to school, start at a community college first.

- The most important thing if you want to go to college is to get your application in.

- If you don't go to college you'll have to work harder physically all your life.

- Finding someone to help you figure out how to do find a job or get into school can be a problem.

- The most important thing if you want to go to college is getting financial aid.

- There is no one teaching young men how to manage their money.

- Getting a college degree is important to being successful.

- It is hard to find work in this area.

- Knowing how to get experience in your career is a problem.

- You have to get a certain level of grades in school if you want to be successful as an adult.

- You have to know somebody to get a good job.

- You have to work two jobs to make enough money.

The point about taking initiative was the only item in this category that garnered strong agreement from both groups. Both groups rejected the need for good grades, working two jobs, or having to know someone to get work. The only items that registered significant difference by educational status were "Finding someone to help you figure out how to do find a job or get into school can be a problem" and "Knowing how to get experience in your career is a problem". However, there was also division over "There is no one teaching young men how to manage their money". Interestingly, the college-oriented tended to agree with these statements more than non-college-oriented.

Attributes of a successful man

This grouping contained items that were seen as individualistic, moral matters, or character traits. Several of these were among those items rated highest on the answer key, such as: "An important part of being an adult is showing responsibility", "Men should be respectful toward women", "Knowing how to control your impulses is an important part of becoming an adult", and "You have to have courage to face challenges and to believe in yourself". Also typically included were "It's important to be respected as a man" and "Being an adult means showing maturity – putting childhood behind you".

Few disagreed that "A lot of people today feel like they are entitled to things without having to really work for it". More controversial were the statements "Self-doubt is a big problem for a lot of young men" and "Working out and keeping fit is a high priority for most guys". Another somewhat contested theme had to do with identity – college-oriented tended to *strongly agree* that "A lot of young men are just trying to find some purpose or direction for their lives" while non-college-oriented were likely to *disagree* that "Young men spend a lot of time

thinking about what they want to do". Yet, members of both groups grant that "A lot of young men don't really have any goals".

Some respondents used this pile to categorize items related to staying out of trouble and avoiding criminality. The impulse control question can be seen as relevant in that regard. There was overall agreement that "It's important to not just follow the crowd" and "A lot of guys have problems at this age because they are just being lazy". College-oriented men tended to agree more with "Everyone understands that you need to stay away from illegal drugs" and "Most guys know not to get arrested for anything if they want to get anywhere with their lives", but less so with "It's important not to do things that are illegal" and "Whatever goals you are pursuing, you need to be sure you stay out of trouble". The phrasing of these statements and pattern of agreement indicate that what is at issue is what the respondents think their peers understand about avoiding problems.

Intimate life

Solidly in this pile were the goals of having a good sex life, getting a partner, and starting a family, but none of these were highly ranked. The three highest ranked items from the answer key that often occurred in this category were: "You've got to be sure you don't have kids until you are ready and can take care of them", "A man needs to be able to support his family (his wife or partner and any children)", and "It's important to have a stable household and finances before you start having children". The difference between college-oriented and non-college-oriented on these three highly related items, however, is interesting. College guys had more agreement than non-college-oriented with the first item, but less with the latter two items. One clue to these variations may be in the sharply differentiated response to "Having children before

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they are ready is a problem for lots of young men around here", where the non-college-oriented's mean answer was .54 points higher than that of college-oriented. Also during interviews, some of the college-oriented participants expressed an opinion that it is not necessarily the man who has to support the family, implying that it could just as well be the wife.

Non-college men are somewhat less likely to concur that "Most guys at this point in their lives are not thinking about starting a family", although the mean tends toward agreement in both groups. They are also less likely to agree that "Your own father shows you how to be a husband and father".

Many respondents included in this pile items having to do with separation from the parental household: "One of the main goals young men have is to move out of their parents' house and get their own place", "It's important to be able to support yourself without your family's help", and "It is important for a young man to be independent from his parents and family." The first two garnered a moderately high level of agreement across both groups, while the latter item was contested, with the non-college-oriented men scoring 0.42 points higher.

The goal of finding a partner was rated only fairly by both groups (2.69), but having a good sex life was rated slightly lower by college-oriented (2.54). The item "Most of what young men spend their energy on is geared toward getting female attention" did find general agreement (3.07). This indicates a separation of the three concepts (1) getting female attention, (2) having a sex life, and (3) finding a partner. Interestingly, college-oriented were *more* likely than non-college-oriented to agree that "One of the main goals of a young man is just to have some fun", although this item was not necessarily placed in the family and relationships category (it also occurred under "Work and education" and "Character traits", and was often in its own pile

entirely). In terms of where to find a partner, both groups ranked "through their circle of friends" higher than "going out to clubs or other social events", but college-oriented ranked "circle of friends" higher than did non-college-oriented, and non-college-oriented ranked "social events" higher than did college-oriented.

Staying out of trouble

The item in this group that received the highest score in the answer key was "Whatever goals you are pursuing, you need to be sure you stay out of trouble", but non-college-oriented expressed stronger alignment with this statement than did college-oriented. Both groups agreed, but non-college-oriented more strongly, with "Most guys know not to get arrested for anything if they want to get anywhere with their lives". The biggest gap (.81 points) was in the strong opinion among non-college-oriented that "It's important not to do things that are illegal", versus relative disagreement by college-oriented. However, this may simply indicate a problem of definitions – as law student "Alex" remarked, "remember speeding is also 'illegal behavior'".

A pattern of difference was seen with regard to drug use. Both groups disagreed that "Everyone understands that you need to stay away from illegal drugs", but the non-college-oriented disagreed more strongly. Both groups concurred with "Getting caught up in drugs is a problem for a lot of young men in this area", but the non-college-oriented more so. Finally, there was a divide on the idea that "Using drugs sometimes is not a problem – getting arrested with them is the problem," but college-oriented tended to agree more with the statement, and non-college-oriented less.

Some people put "You've got to be sure you don't have kids until you are ready and can take care of them" into this category, an item on which there is near unanimity, but the college-

oriented agreement was considerably stronger. However, this item showed up more often in the "family and relationships" pile.

Have fun

As one (college-oriented) respondent remarked, this can be seen as "the most basic and simple advice on living life, from start to finish." College-oriented respondents were relatively likely to agree *strongly* with the statement, while non-college-oriented respondents were much more likely to disagree.

Exploring Other Possibilities

The Goals Survey (Appendix C) was intended to focus on the model young men share regarding appropriate goals for them to be pursuing. When these items were analyzed as a separate model, competence scores ranged widely, with those at both top and bottom of the list separated from the middle range by more than a full point (Table 12). The Processes Survey (Appendix D) was expected to produce information on how much understanding young men share regarding the processes, pitfalls, and challenges they must deal with in pursuit of their goals. Here, the range of difference between top scores was smaller, but the three lowest ranked respondents in this survey drop from the fourth-lowest score by seven-tenth's points, then four-tenth's each for the last two. One of these three was among the highest scoring respondents on the Goals survey (Table 12). When the two lists were merged, the differences in score smoothed out, for the most part dropping steadily by a tenth-point most of the way down the list.

Table 12. Competence Scores on First and Second Factors for Each Consensus Analysis.
(High scores are in bold, low scores are italicized. All names are fictitious).

Respondent	GS Factor 1	PS Factor 1	M Factor 1	GS Factor 2	PS Factor2	M Factor 2
Alex	0.49	*0.11*	*0.23*	0.23	0.01	0.07
Bill	0.53	**0.7**	**0.64**	-0.19	*-0.47*	*-0.38*
Chris	0.58	0.58	**0.59**	0.27	**0.48**	**0.36**
Don	**0.64**	0.5	**0.58**	0.12	-0.02	0.06
Ed	**0.66**	0.49	0.55	-0.13	-0.08	-0.04
Fred	*0.2*	0.39	0.34	0.29	-0.18	0.04
Greg	**0.84**	0.46	**0.66**	-0.24	0.31	-0.03
Henry	*0.09*	**0.65**	0.5	**0.32**	0.2	0.19
Ike	**0.68**	0.55	**0.65**	*-0.35*	-0.2	*-0.24*
Jim	0.52	0.44	0.46	-0.12	0.35	0.22
Keith	0.41	0.53	0.53	-0.16	0.34	0.12
Lou	**0.75**	**0.63**	**0.64**	*-0.32*	0.12	-0.03
Mike	0.52	0.31	0.38	**0.58**	0.27	0.36
Ned	0.49	0.37	0.42	*-0.34*	*-0.61*	*-0.48*
Owen	**0.63**	0.61	**0.62**	-0.06	-0.14	-0.15
Pete	*0.32*	0.45	0.44	0.09	0.21	0.18
Quinn	0.46	*0.16*	*0.2*	**0.47**	0.16	0.27
Rob	*0.31*	0.51	0.45	*-0.42*	-0.19	-0.19
Sam	**0.67**	*0.2*	0.41	-0.13	0.26	0.07
Tom	0.43	*0.29*	0.42	0.28	0.32	**0.39**
Uri	**0.63**	*0.28*	0.43	0.29	-0.16	0.09
Vic	0.51	0.52	0.51	0.23	0.03	0.09
Will	**0.65**	**0.63**	**0.63**	*-0.3*	*-0.39*	*-0.35*
Xavier	0.55	**0.64**	**0.61**	-0.24	*-0.3*	*-0.34*
Yul	*0.34*	0.36	0.35	**0.64**	0.2	**0.33**
Zeke	**0.68**	**0.72**	**0.71**	-0.16	-0.13	-0.22
Asa	*0.36*	0.62	0.52	0.06	*-0.24*	-0.11
Bob	0.43	0.4	0.4	0.23	**0.35**	0.3
Cedric	0.48	0.34	0.44	**0.37**	**0.38**	**0.33**

In sum, the results of the consensus analyses showed a weak consensus on the goals young men can be working toward, but less consensus (technically, a lack of consensus) on the processes, pitfalls, and challenges they must navigate through. The low competence levels and, in particular, the range of competence (.20 to .71), suggests that sub-populations in the sample may be focusing on different aspects of this generally shared model (Kempton et al. 1996). However, absent any significant difference among the demographic groups on the second factor, identification of a sub-cultural model is problematic. College-oriented men are less competent on the first factor than non-college-oriented, but statistical tests revealed no significant difference on the second factor to indicate that they share an alternative model. Perhaps some distinction exists along a variable that was not included in those collected for this study, such as political affiliation or family income. It is also possible that if the sample were larger, a more precise division of the demographic variables would help to explain the variation in model competence. Nonetheless, the survey responses, demographic profiles, and interviews with the individuals who show most and least competence in these lists, especially when they are contrasted, may reveal clues as to what can account for these results.

Examining results for contested variables

In the shared model, most items from the survey garnered either general agreement or, less frequently, general disagreement. The individual scoring was inspected to determine which specific individuals agreed with which items, and if the same individuals tended to agree with all of these contentious statements. The list below shows the frequency for respondent agreement with a contested statement (Table 13).

Table 13. Frequency of Agreement with a Contested Statement.

Don	5
Sam	5
Alex	4
Ed	4
Mike	4
Rob	4
Asa	3
Fred	3
Lou	3
Uri	3
Will	3
Quinn	3
Chris	3
Tom	3
Pete	3

The two most consistent (frequency = 5) share a moderate degree of competence on both factors, but when the results are divided by survey, they appear in the highest competence of the Goals survey. They are both college-oriented and employed. They were born and raised in the area, and both were recruited in Salem. They differ on age, race, parental occupation, relationship status, parenthood status, and living arrangements. However, when looking at the interviews, a similarity in their *way of thinking about life goals* is apparent. Sam says, "The main focus should be making money or your career. When you've done that, then go get the girl, have kids, et cetera." Don says, "You don't have to get a degree to find a good job, but most people do. You can't move out until you have money and can support yourself, and you have to work to get money. And you have to have money to get an education."

The second set of respondents (frequency = 4) likely to agree with these statements is also in the moderate range of competence for the main model, but their scores in all other factors

are quite variable. They are all 22 years old or younger. Interestingly, three of them do not know what their father does for a living (absent father), yet the fourth works in his father's business and states in very strong terms that his father "has been unbelievably supportive in every single way".

Mike participated in both phases of the study, so there was much information about him from the in-depth interview. While filling out the Processes survey, he noted that rather than being a young man looking for work, he is actually the one who interviews people to hire. He said that from his perspective, it is hard to find people who will make good employees. Of the many applicants that came looking after a recent opening, he found only five who seemed qualified, but on checking their references, four out of the five had bad references. As he put it,

> Jobs are not hard to find, it's just that you suck. ['you' being the other young men who have told him that jobs are hard to find.] Our generation has a strange outlook, feeling that they deserve everything. They expect a perfect, high-paying job right out of school, and think too highly of themselves.

He also offers this comment: "People freak out because they don't know what they should do. At age 22, everyone thinks you're supposed to have it figured out, but at this age it is actually the perfect time *not* to have it figured out, because you don't yet have commitments."

Alex also participated in both phases – he was a confident man on his way to begin the fall semester in law school. His pile-sorting categories were contingent; he noted "If a 'steady job' isn't good, it's less important," and "Might not be a good idea to 'move out' if other things are not in place yet". Regarding his illegal behaviors pile, he said they were about "…being honest and following the law, things that have to do with following the rules – but remember

speeding is also 'illegal behavior.'" In his character traits grouping, he mentioned, "An uneducated sense of purpose is not very meaningful, so education comes before 'sense of purpose'. Better to be educated with no sense of purpose, than to have a strong sense of purpose without being aware of the consequences".

Rob does not have much to say, but in his few comments during the pile sorting he exhibits the sequential way of thinking about the goals that Don, Sam, and Alex demonstrated. While creating his "careers" pile, for example, he says "one leads to another in this stack", and when asked about another grouping he said "Pursuit of happiness – all of these things interact with and build on one another, culminating in finding your purpose".

Contrast the approach to organizing the domain taken by the five young men above, with the approaches more typical of those below who scored low on the second factor. These participants represent a range of values on all of the demographic variables, except that four of them come from upper middle -class families, based on parental occupations.

Ned declared at the outset he was going to do "fun" and "un-fun" piles. "Fun" represented things that are positives, or stuff he would like to do, while "un-fun" was the negatives. However, the only items he placed in the "un-fun" group were maturity, starting a family, and supporting a family. In similar fashion, Will (who scored high on all three first factors and low on all three second factors), made only three piles: "Stuff I don't want to do – have been taught it's bad", "Stuff I should be doing – have a responsibility", and "Things I want to do – would enjoy".

Lou scored high on the first factor in all three analyses but low on the second factor in the Goals survey. His pile-sorting was not typical. A pile he called "Deals with having a family –

longer term life goals", included only having a partner and starting a family, plus "having fun". A second pile he called "Money, making money, having the education to make money, and staying out of trouble". This pile had the usual career and education items, but also staying out of trouble and avoiding crime and unwanted children.

Ike scored high in the first factor of both the goals and merged analyses and low on the second factors of the same analyses. His approach to creating piles was novel, categorizing them mainly by whether he had done them or not. Hence, one pile was composed of "Stuff that is just kind of irrelevant, because they are things I have already done". Another was "Future things I would like to do, or would enjoy doing, or improve on", in which he included education items, finding a career and a purpose, and money management. He put "avoid crime" and "avoid drugs" together, because as he said "I smoke pot, and that's something that's illegal".

Examining profiles of low and high competence individuals

Comparison of differences between individuals who scored high in the second factor and those who scored low could be another way to seek clues about a potential residual factor. For example, Henry scored quite low on the Goals survey factor 1, yet high on factor 2, as well as factor 1 in the Processes survey (Table 12). He was born and raised in the area, is 22 years old, with a high school education, Euro-American, and single.

He sorted his pile meticulously, and atypically. While sorting, he also arranged them so that they touched, which he said indicated a connectedness of one pile with another. The card, "be responsible" was alone in its own pile – he called it the tip of the iceberg, which is connected to all the other piles. One pile was "Personal stuff", but it was sub-divided into three categories: 1) Internal - personal on the basis of morality, ethics, and how to live your life, 2) Emotional

maturity – personal on the basis of maturity, place in life, and readiness, and 3) Guidelines –

personal on the basis of guidelines. In a completely separate pile he placed items he said were

also professional, but not really related to a career, more about maintaining a living. This

included items related to working and money, but also independence and the item "stay out of

trouble."

Uri scored high on the Goals survey factor 1, but low on factor 1 in the Processes survey.

He initially put all the cards in one pile, but sorted in order of importance. I asked him if he could

make at least two stacks, and he made one pile that "has to do with family life or life with other

people", and another that "has to do with just yourself".

Henry and Uri are contrasted in their extreme scores on the two surveys' main factors.

Subjectively, Henry is a young man brimming with confidence and strong opinions. He says he

began working at the age of thirteen, and has a good job now with his own downtown apartment.

His pile-sorting indicates an analytic and sophisticated way of thinking. Uri is very much the

opposite – unable to find work, he gives a frightening first impression, with a Mohawk and

considerable body decoration. His lumping of everything into one pile is the opposite of analytic,

and the contents of his two piles indicated a primary concern over relationships with others.

Thus, these qualitative analyses suggest that evidence of a residual factor may be caused by

personality traits rather than any structural divisions, or by some other factor not yet identified.

DISCUSSION

Comparison with Previous Studies

The results of the cluster analysis in this study produced five main categories: (1) Career and getting money, (2) attributes of a successful man, (3) intimate life, (4) staying out of trouble, and (5) having fun. This is similar to Brown et al.'s 2009 study, which found, in addition to these categories, clusters for material goods and for community involvement. Their sample was different – they were studying rural, economically disadvantaged, and minority youth, and they over-sampled for those with risk factors.

The life goal items were similar in both studies – especially noteworthy is that the development of character attributes such as responsibility, self-esteem, a sense of purpose, and thinking for oneself generated the strongest levels of agreement. In addition, both studies found that getting a degree or some other kind of higher education, starting a family, finding a partner, getting a steady job, and moving out of the parental home were highly valued. Both of these drew the elements of the model from the population under examination through interviews, pile sorts, and ranking tasks. These methods contrast with etic studies of life goals that use standardized surveys, and can have much different results.

Twenge et al. (2012) found a higher valuation of extrinsic goals such as wealth or fame, and less emphasis on intrinsic qualities of the self. They relied on annual surveys which, stemming from research originating in the 1960's, included items that were presumed to have

importance for that generation, and did not attempt to discover what new questions might be more appropriate to ask a new generation. However, some of the items are similar to those that our respondents brought up. In the "Monitoring the Future" (MtF) survey of high school seniors, "Having a good marriage and family life" was rated highest among Millennials in their study, while the present study indicated that most young men today are not thinking about starting a family, nor are they particularly looking for a partner. Yet some concern with this item was reflected in their agreement that one needs to think about balancing work and family life when considering career options (a factor also raised in Hockey's study), and the strong agreement that one should not start a family until ready financially and emotionally to support them.

Being able to find steady work had the second highest rating in their analysis of the MtF study (Twenge et al. 2012), and this goal also garnered very strong agreement among Roanoke respondents. While Roanoke respondents did not speak much in terms of career success, which was a highly rated goal in the MtF study, they did agree that finding and pursuing a career and getting a good job were important. Two statements that had moderate ratings in their study but not even a mention among Roanoke men had to do with having strong friendships, and with giving one's children a better opportunity in life. The greatest contrast that is clearly notable is in the different importance of finding one's purpose, which MtF respondents agree with only moderately, yet Roanoke respondents placed in the realm of strongest agreement.

The Life Goals survey of college freshmen (Twenge et al. 2012) produced results quite at variance with our own, but again, the items to be rated were chosen without input from participants in that study. The strongest agreement was on raising a family, followed by being well-off financially, then by helping others who are in difficulty. The latter two items do not even appear in the free-list elicited from Roanoke respondents, and the first item was by no

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means an important goal for Roanoke men. In fact, most of the items that appear in their list were not raised during the interviews for the Roanoke study. It is quite possible that some of these differences exist primarily because of gender orientation – the Twenge et al. (2012) surveys included both male and female respondents, and women are more inclined to be thinking about starting families and of helping out others who are in need (Hockey 2002).

Hockey (2002) found that young people in England (aged 21-35) were conflicted over ingrained traditional expectations that they would get a steady job, buy a house, and start a family, versus recognition that life in the modern world is one where settling down into a permanent job is less feasible and where gender roles must be re-negotiated idiosyncratically and continually. One of the significant features of the young relationships she studied was the changed expectation for women – that they have an education, career, and family – an expectation was also a desire in most cases. Having all requires strategic planning and a narrowed window of optimal childbearing years. In fact, her interviews often presented a scenario of young women, aware of their biological restrictions, "managing" their male partners' somewhat reluctant transformation into responsible adults (Hockey 2002).

Rankin and Kenyon did not investigate life goals, but they asked about events that mark the transition into adulthood or into new roles associated with being an adult. However, the identification of these events as markers was imposed etically through the use of an existing survey. They found that their respondents considered the most important marker was buying a house, followed by settling into a long-term career, finishing one's education, getting married, having a child, and becoming employed full-time. All but the first of these things were considered to be part of the domain of life goals that the Roanoke sample described.

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Examining the Non-College Model

It can be argued that the model found among young men in Roanoke does not serve them well for the political economy in which they find themselves. Primarily, the absence of strong agreement on the importance of earning a college degree would seem to relegate them to lives of economic disadvantage (Beaver 2010; Canon and Gascon 2012; Diaz-Gimenez et al. 2007). In their grandfathers' time, the uneducated were able to make a decent living, especially with union help (Albrecht and Albrecht 2009). Some of the respondents had jobs in goods-production, which still pay well even for workers with only high school education, but these types of jobs are on the decline, as the country has moved from a manufacturing to a service economy (Albrecht and Albrecht 2009, Dennis 2009). Service-sector jobs are more available for uneducated workers, but although some are well-paying, such as those in information, finance, medicine, and education, most are minimum wage and temporary (Albrecht and Albrecht 2009).

College education has come to be seen as an important, even necessary, step to success in life (Albrecht and Albrecht 2009; Beaver 2010; Mahoney 2010). Although the cost of higher education is high and rising, taking on debt to pay for college usually pays off in increased life earnings (Beaver 2010; Canon and Gascon 2012; Diaz-Gimenez et al. 2007; Mahoney 2010). "Those who are young and college educated, and who owe about two times their yearly income, need not worry. This economic situation is an illness that time will cure" (Diaz-Gimenez et al. 2007:9). College graduates find it easier to gain employment, if for no other reason than that many employers use the bachelor's degree as proof of ability, regardless of demonstrated skill sets (Beaver 2010; Canon and Gascon 2012). It is also asserted that jobs in the coming economy will be in infrastructure, technological innovations, and green retro-fitting of the society – work for which at least a college education is prerequisite (Mahoney 2010).

Yet it could also be argued that, rather than sabotaging themselves by not trying to get a college degree, working class young men are actually making the best of a bad situation. Social class not only predicts college enrollment rates, it predicts success rates (Beaver 2010). Even when low-income students enroll, completion rates are at only 11 percent for low-income, first generation students; 47 percent of community college freshman do not come back in the second year (Beaver 2010; Canon and Gascon 2012). The possibility of winding up with a mountain of debt and no job certainly must be considered (Canon and Gascon 2012). It is having the degree that ensures the ability to pay off educational loans – if one takes out a loan (or forgoes earnings during school years) and then fails to gain a degree, an already poor position is intensified (Beaver 2010; Canon and Gascon 2012). The individual's ability, motivation, and taste for academic work are important variables are not often factored into the general recommendation for advanced education (but see Chen 2008).

Although one's potential for higher income is certainly increased by education, it is also possible that one's income will not be more than could be gained by getting a high school diploma, perhaps some trade certification, and just going to work (Chen 2008). A young man of low socio-economic status must view the expense of tuition as a gamble that he cannot afford to lose. Seen this way, the job offer at hand, especially if it carries the potential for promotion, is a safer wager. In a detailed analysis of the effect of unobserved data (ability, motivation, and taste for education) on educational choice, Chen found that "high-skilled workers tend to have better learning abilities and stronger preferences for education and, therefore, like to obtain more schooling than those with lower skills" (2008:277). Conversely, a young man who sees that he has a chance to make good money at his current level of education is likely to withdraw from school and enter the labor market (Chen 2008).

For the present generation, the recession of 2008 was a significant influence. Plummeting stock and real estate values diminished families' ability to consider tuition payments, while a tightened loan market made it hard even to borrow (Canon and Gascon 2012). At the same time, college endowments also lost value, reducing the availability of financial aid. Additionally, what the millennials see happening to the cohort ahead of them has been disconcerting – the unemployment rate for college graduates has doubled, and one quarter of those who are working are under-employed (Canon and Gascon 2012).

For all young men, the decision of whether or not a college education would benefit them is more complex than the simple logic of college education = higher income potential, ergo, go to college. Not all college degrees are equivalent in terms of earnings, and those that promise the highest earnings are often the most challenging in terms of coursework and commitment. If someone's interest is not in business, law, or medicine, the payback of a four-year degree is questionable. There is some question of whether college really makes one a better employee, or if the same traits that make one able to complete a degree (an inclination to analytic thinking, perhaps) also make one a better employee, hence higher paid (Beaver 2010; Chen 2008). If the first is true, then everyone should pursue the degree, but if the latter is true, then struggling through college and taking on that debt is not going to improve someone's financial situation (Chen 2008).

Developmental Tasks

The items garnering the strongest level of agreement in this cultural model lie in the categories of family and relationships and of character traits. This finding is consistent with

Erikson's (1963) theory of developmental tasks, which assigns two challenges for the adolescent and early adult age groups. During the "identity vs role confusion" stage, youth are concerned with who they are and how they appear to others (Erikson 1963). Arnett (2000) asserts that what matters most to emerging adults is developing qualities of character, and this category of the domain also appeared to be strong in the Appalachian study (Brown et al. 2009). Closely following on this phase of development is that of "isolation vs intimacy", which reflects the need for the new adult to form a healthy sexual love relationship with another person "with whom one is able and willing to regulate the cycles of work, procreation, and recreation," (Erikson 1963:266). About this, one of the respondents volunteered, "If your goal is to get married and have kids, you can meet people at school or just out and about. You need to have stability, and you should find someone you love – make sure you love them". While interest in women was high, few of the respondents believed that their peers were typically thinking about starting families yet, and there was a strong level of concern about this happening accidentally.

The model found in this study differs somewhat between young men oriented toward pursuing higher education and young men oriented toward entering the work force after (or possibly without finishing) high school. The first group is thinking about attending college and exploring life, while the second is more oriented to start making money and prepare for having a family. A similar pattern was explored by Hockey (2002), who saw a difference in the transition from youth to adulthood between blue-collar and white-collar oriented men. The British firefighters she studied followed a fairly standardized and chronologized path, an "…ascent to adulthood…" that was "…perhaps, a shallower incline," than that of young real estate agents (2002:249). The blue-collar workers were more likely to relinquish youth, take on a steady job, and settle down early, while the white-collar workers seemed torn between pursuit of youthful

activities and the need to get serious about profitable work. However, the young men interviewed in-depth for Phase 1 of the present study all seemed to be focused on working either in a job or at school, and on staying out of trouble – none of them indicated that the relinquishment of youthful activities was an issue.

CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this study has been to acquire evidence on the question of whether young men share a model of what they are expected to do during a period of transition from adolescence to adulthood. Motivation for this question derived from an understanding of adolescence as an evolved trait that renders an evolutionary benefit by providing older offspring a period in which to acquire the social and subsistence skills of their community while remaining under parental protection. A cultural milieu that has become much more complex than that of hunting and gathering ancestors, and which continues to change at a rapid pace, may be straining the limits of human plasticity with regard to how well either cultural norms or adolescent neurodevelopment can adapt.   If this were true, we would expect to see no clear model among American post-adolescent males for how they should navigate this transition into adulthood. At least among young men in the Roanoke Valley, a shared model does exist.

The model shared by 19-20 year-old men in the Roanoke Valley for appropriate aspirations for this period of their lives includes pursuit of education and careers, developing character traits, avoiding the pitfalls of crime and unplanned fatherhood, and enjoying life. Those most competent in the model are non-college-oriented men, while college-oriented men seem to have more concern about knowing where they are going and how to get there, and less concern about getting into trouble of various kinds. It may be that this variation reflects the greater likelihood that a working-class youth will have opportunities (or perhaps need) to work alongside parents and contribute significantly to his family's subsistence during adolescence.

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While the consensus model shows a moderate level of agreement, it should be noted that the two surveys used in the study yielded differing levels of consensus when analyzed separately. The Goals survey showed a very weak consensus, while the Processes survey technically indicated no consensus. Furthermore, the participants who demonstrated the highest competence in goals were not the same group in the highest competence range of the processes. This may indicate that, while the young men in the study are in general agreement about what they should be pursuing, they are not as clear about how they should go about that pursuit.

Recommendations for future research in this population would include expanding the sample, which would allow a more detailed analysis of potential demographic differences, and could reveal a residual agreement that was disguised in the present study. The variation found in response style for the pile sorting, associated with competence in the second factor, suggests the potential usefulness of incorporating tests of cognitive function or personality type. Finally, the research question could be extended to include an inquiry into how much the model young men share is similar to a model shared by parents and educators, involving a parallel cultural domain analysis carried out among older adults in the community.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

In order to be able to consider things that might make a difference in how people feel about their lives and what they think is important to be doing at this time in their lives, we would like to begin by collecting the same background information about each person who participates.

1. How old are you as of today? [If respondent indicates they are younger than 19, say "I'm sorry for the misunderstanding. We cannot interview anyone under the age of 19." The interview should be terminated. If the respondent is willing to show that he will turn 19 within the time frame of the study, he can be rescheduled.] _____

2. What ethnic group or groups do you identify with? [IF CLARIFICATION IS NEEDED, THEY WILL BE PROMPTED WITH, "FOR EXAMPLE, EUROPEAN-AMERICAN, AFRICAN-AMERICAN, CHINESE-AMERICAN…"] _____

3. What is your employment status?
   a. Not employed
   b. Student worker
   c. Hospitality
   d. Leisure
   e. Retail sales
   f. Other

4. What is your level of education?
   a. Did not finish high school
   b. High school diploma or GED
   c. In college or trade school
   d. Starting college or trade school this fall
   e. Have AA or trade certificate

f. Have bachelor's degree

5. What is your father's occupation?_____

6. What is your mother's occupation?_____

7. What is your relationship status?
   a. Single
   b. Married
   c. Partnered (not cohabiting)
   d. Living with partner
   e. Other

8. What is your parenthood status?
   a. No children
   b. Expecting a child
   c. One child
   d. More than one child

9. What is your housing status?
   a. Live alone
   b. Live with parents
   c. Live with other family
   d. Live with partner
   e. Live with housemate(s)
   f. Other

10. About how long have you lived in this area?
    a. Grew up here
    b. Moved here before the age of ten
    c. Moved here after the age of

APPENDIX B

FREE-LISTING

[WHAT I WOULD LIKE YOU TO THINK ABOUT AS WE DO THIS EXERCISE IS ALL OF THINGS THAT ARE IMPORTANT FOR YOUNG MEN TO BE DOING AT THIS STAGE OF THEIR LIVES, AS WELL AS THINGS THAT ARE IMPORTANT FOR THEM NOT TO BE DOING. THESE TOPICS ARE NOT SO MUCH ABOUT YOUR OWN PERSONAL GOALS AND ACTIVITIES, BUT SHOULD REFLECT WHAT YOU THINK THE COMMUNITY EXPECTS YOUNG MEN TO DO OR HOW IT EXPECTS THEM TO ACT.

I'LL BE GIVING YOU AN INSTRUCTION, OR POSING A QUESTION, AND I WANT YOU TO TELL ME WHATEVER COMES TO MIND, AS MANY THINGS AS YOU CAN THINK OF. TAKE YOUR TIME, AND LET ME KNOW WHEN YOU CAN'T THINK OF ANYTHING ELSE.]

PROMPTS:

"Please list as many things as you can think of that young men spend their energy on."

"List any possible short-term and long-term goals for young men in your community."

"What kinds of behaviors and characteristics are identified with being an adult?"

"What are things that young men should avoid or not do to make sure they achieve their goals?"

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Now I would like to talk to you a little bit about your personal ideas and concerns about community standards regarding becoming an adult and the preparation that you yourself have had so far. This type of information can really help me with interpretation of the study's results after I have finished analyzing all of the data.

[THE FOLLOWING PROMPTS CAN BE USED TO STIMULATE THE RESPONDENT'S THOUGHTS.]

How does a young man decide what he should do to set and reach goals? What about preparing to be a husband and father? Tell me what kind of preparation is needed for getting into college.

1. What about the preparation for getting a job?

2. Does anyone help young people with this kind of preparation?

3. Are there any problems with knowing how to stay in college or keep a job?

4. Are there any problems get in the way of pursuing these goals?

5. What role has your father played in helping you over the last few years?

    a. Are your parents together?

    b. Is there someone besides your father who has been giving you advice or showing you how to do things?

    c. How often do you spend time with him these days, and how would you characterize that relationship?

APPENDIX C

<u>GOALS SURVEY</u>

The following are statements about what some people have said is relevant to men in your age range. For each statement on this list, please circle 'a','b','c', or 'd' according to how much you agree with the statement.

1. An important part of being an adult is showing responsibility.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

2. A young man has to get money some way.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

3. Men should not get into fights.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

4. The main thing a young man should be doing is working.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

5. You have to have courage to face challenges and to believe in yourself.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

6. A lot of young men are just trying to find some purpose or direction for their lives.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

7. Men should be respectful toward women.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

8. It's important to be able to support yourself without your family's help.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

9. You need to worry about having a good reputation.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

10. It's important to be respected as a man.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

11. Learning how to manage your money is a real problem.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

12. Everyone understands that you need to stay away from illegal drugs.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

13. One of the most important things to do is to get a formal education.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

14. Having a good sex life is one of the main goals of a young man.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

15. It's important to not just follow the crowd.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

16. Getting and building your career is a major goal for most young men.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

17. Men at this age are starting to think about having a family.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

18. Whatever goals you are pursuing, you need to be sure you stay out of trouble.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

19. You've got to be sure you don't have kids until you are ready and can take care of them.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

20. Every guy needs to find a good job.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

21. It's important not to do things that are illegal.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

22. One of the main goals young men have is to move out of their parents' house and get their own place.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

23. Being an adult means showing maturity – putting childhood behind you.
        a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

24. Getting a college degree is one of the most important things a young man should do.
     a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

25. A man needs to be able to support his family (his wife or partner and any children).
     a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

26. Finding a steady job is very important to a young man.
     a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

27. Most guys know not to get arrested for anything if they want to get anywhere with their lives.
     a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

28. One of the main goals of a young man is just to have some fun.
     a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

29. It is important for a young man to be independent from his parents and family.
     a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

30. A major goal is to find and have a partner or girlfriend.
     a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

APPENDIX D

PROCESSES SURVEY

1. Getting a college degree is important to being successful.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

2. A lot of guys have problems at this age because they are just being lazy.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

3. You have to get a certain level of grades in school if you want to be successful as an adult.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

4. In choosing a career, it is important to think about how it will affect your family life.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

5. Too much partying messes up a lot of young men's plans.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

6. If you don't go to college, you should get certified for some kind of skilled work.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

7. It is hard to find work in this area.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

8. It's not hard to find work, but finding a good job is difficult.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

9. You have to work two jobs to make enough money.
   a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

10. Taking the initiative in going after what you want is important.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

11. Its important to have a stable household and finances before you start having children.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

12. If you want to have a good job, you might have to start with a job you don't enjoy.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

13. If you don't go to college you'll have to work harder physically all your life.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

14. A lot of young men don't really have any goals.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

15. Finding someone to help you figure out how to do find a job or get into school can be a problem.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

16. Successful people make sure they show up on time.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

17. The most important thing if you want to go to college is getting financial aid.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

18. Knowing how to get experience in your career is a problem.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

19. Getting caught up in drugs is a problem for a lot of young men in this area.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

20. The most important thing if you want to go to college is to get your application in.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

21. There is no one teaching young men how to manage their money.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

22. Gangs are a problem for young men in this area.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

23. If you aren't happy, you can't make anyone else happy.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

24. If you want to go back to school, start at a community college first.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

25. Most people find a girlfriend or partner by going out to clubs and other social events.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

26. Most people find a girlfriend or partner through their circle of friends.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

27. Having children before they are ready is a problem for lots of young men around here.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

28. Your own father shows you how to be a husband and father.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

29. People run into trouble by not thinking about consequences, living too much in the present.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

30. Most guys at this point in their lives are not thinking about starting a family.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

31. Self-doubt is a big problem for a lot of young men.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

32. If you want a job, you have to walk in and ask for it.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

33. Using drugs sometimes is not a problem – getting arrested with them is the problem.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

34. You have to know somebody to get a good job.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

35. Most of what young men spend their energy on is geared toward getting female attention.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

36. Young men spend a lot of time thinking about what they want to do with their lives.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

37. Working out and keeping fit is a high priority for most guys.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

38. Knowing how to control your impulses is an important part of becoming an adult.

a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

39. A lot of people today feel like they are entitled to things without having to really work for it.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

40. Most young men can make sure they don't get into trouble with the police.
    a. agree strongly   b. agree   c. disagree   d. disagree strongly

APPENDIX E

Office for Research

Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects

THE UNIVERSITY OF

ALABAMA

R E S E A R C H

June 27, 2014

Lessye DeMoss
Department of Anthropology
College of Arts & Sciences Box
870210

Re: IRB#: 14-0R-238 "Cultural Models for Life Preparation: An Exploration of Young American Men's Shared Understandings of this Developmental Task"

Dear Ms. DeMoss:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research.

Your application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies

Your application will expire on June 26, 2015. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Change in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participant. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of the IRB Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent forms to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Stuart Usdan, PhD
Chair, Non-Medical Institutional Review Board
The University of Alabama

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